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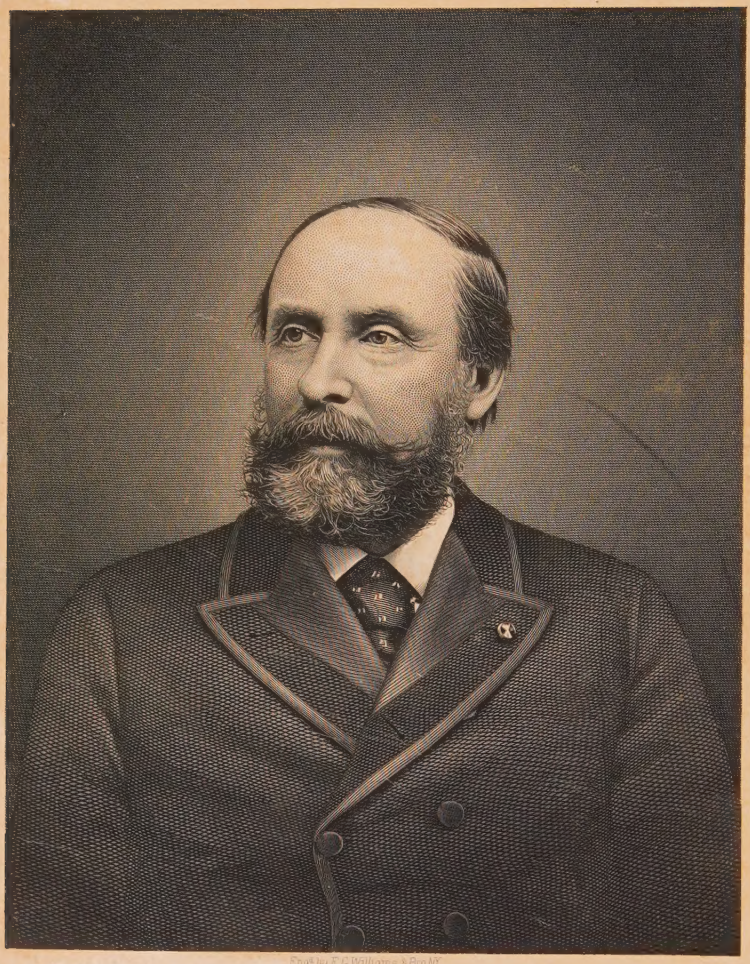

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James Grant Wilson

MEMORIAL HISTORY OF THE CITY OF NEW-YORK

AND

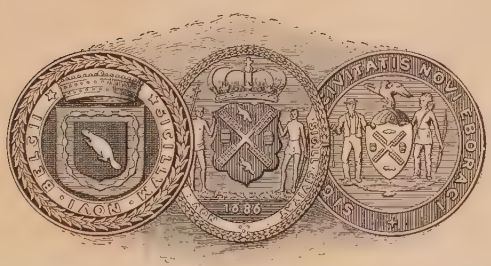
THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY

FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE YEAR 1892

VOLUME I

EDITED BY

JAMES GRANT WILSON



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PREFACE

MANY admirable writers have preceded us in preparing histories of the famous city of which the Hollanders, the Huguenots of France, and the English were the chief founders. Not to speak of the living, we may mention Brodhead and Miss Booth; the literary partners, Irving and Paulding; Dunlap and Moulton; William Smith and Dr. O'Callahan; each of whom contributed much valuable information concerning different centuries of New-York history. But there appeared still to be, in the judgment of many judicious men, a place for a single complete and exhaustive work on the subject. Two decades have passed since the poet Bryant called the writer's attention to the urgent demand for such a book, and in December, 1888, the venerable Bancroft, with kind partiality, said: "You have rendered a valuable service to your country by the completion of the 'Cyclopædia of American Biography.' Why not perform a similar service by preparing an equally trustworthy history of the city of New-York of the same character as the one that has recently appeared concerning Boston?"

What had previously been a project became, by the advice of the greatest of American historians, a fixed purpose. During the writer's sojourn in Europe, in the following year, much valuable material was fortunately discovered in England and Holland for the furtherance of the four volumes of which the first is now presented to the public. The complete work will cover nearly three centuries, including the period from the arrival in our beautiful bay of the Half-Moon, soon after the close of "the spacious days of great Elizabeth," to that of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the New World—two pregnant events in which Columbus and Henry Hudson were the chief actors. They will be appropriately commemorated in September, 1892, by the dedication of a lofty monument to be erected on the highest point of the Atlantic Highlands, near which the English

navigator landed in 1609. This enduring memorial of Hudson will be the first object that meets the eye of foreigners, and the traveler returning from the Old World, as they approach our city by way of Sandy Hook.

Unlike Venice, whose archives are complete for ten centuries and

"Rich with the spoils of time,"

the records of New-York embrace but little more than one-fourth of a thousand years. It is thought that in the chronicle of the oldest important Anglo-Saxon city of North America,—

"In one strong race all races here unite,"—

and the best seaport of the New World, good use has been made of all existing documents of the Dutch as well as of the colonial and modern periods, and that they have been utilized with what Edmund Burke describes as "the cold neutrality of an impartial judge." In the words of the illustrious Gibbon: "Diligence and accuracy are the only merits which an historical writer may ascribe to himself." These the Editor may perhaps be permitted to claim for himself and the many well-known writers who have united with him in the preparation of the Memorial History of the City of New-York, which it is believed will be welcomed not only by the people of the great metropolis, as well as the stranger within her gates, but by the citizens of the country generally. May it not also be expected that in the perusal of this story of what Irving called the very best city in the whole world, the reader will appreciate the truth of the poet laureate Skelton's sixteenth century assertion that "History makes some amends for the shortness of life"?

The main facts of modern no less than of ancient history, regarded as a whole, may unhesitatingly be accepted as genuine, but as to the minor details, which from their picturesqueness and intrinsic interest are especially calculated to impress the imagination of the reader, there is frequently a large portion that is mythical, if not absolutely fictitious. But it has been our earnest endeavor to achieve accuracy even in regard to unimportant incidents. Perfection and absolute freedom from error cannot, of course, be claimed for this or any similar work; for, in the words of the wise and witty Alexander Pope, it may safely be said that —

"Whoever thinks a faultless piece to see,
Thinks what ne'er was, nor is, nor e'er shall be."

To those who have contributed to these pages, and to the many ladies and gentlemén who have graciously aided the Editor in illustrating this and the succeeding volumes, he desires to return his most sincere thanks. In the fourth volume there will appear a full and detailed acknowledgment to the numerous friends to whom the writer is in any way indebted for assistance in the preparation of this history, which he can truly say has proved to him an unalloyed labor of love.

As a concluding paragraph to this brief Preface, which the tyranny of tradition imposes alike on the author and on the compiler of books, the Editor will borrow the beautiful lines written long ago, in the days of a generation which has now almost entirely passed away, by the admirable and ever-delightful Dutch historian, Diedrich Knickerbocker: "If, however, in this, my historic production, . . . I have failed to gratify the dainty palate of the age, I can only lament my misfortune — for it is too late in the season for me even to hope to repair it. Already has withering age showered his sterile snows upon my brow; in a little while, and this genial warmth which still lingers around my heart, and throbs — worthy reader — throbs kindly towards thyself, will be chilled forever. Haply this frail compound of dust, which while alive may have given birth to nothing but unprofitable weeds, may form a humble sod of the valley, whence may spring a sweet wild flower, to adorn my beloved island of Manna-hata!"

New-York, October, 1891.

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CHAPTER I

EXPLORATIONS OF THE NORTH AMERICAN COAST PREVIOUS TO THE VOYAGE OF HENRY HUDSON

ONE of the earliest Greek dreams, prominent in the classic literature, was that of a beautiful island in the ocean at the far West. Perhaps, nevertheless, we have been accustomed to think of the conception too much as a dream, a piece of pure imagination; for it is absolutely certain, as Pliny and Strabo prove, that bold Phenician navigators passed far beyond the Pillars of Hercules into the vast Atlantic, discovering and naming the Canary Islands, pushing their observations far and wide. Possibly, like Columbus, as on his first voyage, they sailed over tranquil seas, smooth as the rivers in Spain, and through ambient air, soft as the air of Andalusia in spring, until they reached the Edenic Cuba, and thus furnished the foundation of that Greek conception of an exquisitely fair isle, the home of the immortals, an Elysium on whose happy, fragrant shores the shrilly-breathing Zephyrus was ever piping for the refreshment of weary souls.

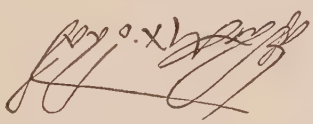
In the fifteenth century the islands in the west formed the object of many a voyage, but even in 1306 Marino Sanuto laid down the Canaries anew, while Bethencourt found them in 1402. The Azores and the Madeira Islands appear in the chart of Pizigani in 1367, and the sailors of Prince Henry the Navigator went to the Azores, the Isles of the Hawks, in 1431, as preparatory to those voyages which, beginning with the rediscovery of the Cape Verde Islands in 1460, were destined to prepare the way for the circumnavigation of Africa, and thus open the way to the Indies by the Cape of Good Hope. Long before this, however, the Spaniards were credited with the establishment of colonies in the western ocean, and on the globe of Martin Behaim, 1482, may be seen the legend crediting Spanish bishops with the founding of seven cities in a distant island in the year 734. In 1498 De Ayala, the Spanish ambassador in England, reported to his sovereign that the city of Bristol had for seven years sent out

Señor por que se que aure is plazer de la grand victoria que nro señor me ha dado en mi voyage vos escriuo esta por la qual sabreys como en xxxiij dias pase alas jndias cõla armada que los illustrissimos Rey y reyna nros señores me mandaron donde y falle muy muchas Islas pobladas con gẽte sin numero. y delas todas he tomado posessiõ por sus alteza con pregon y vãdera real estẽdida y nõ me fue contradicho. Ala primera q̃ yo falle puse nõbre sant saluador a cuya conmemoracion de su alta magestad el qual marauillosamẽte todo esto andado los jndios la llamã guanahani. Ala secũda puse nõbre la ysla de stã maria de cõcepcio. ala tercera fernãdina. ala quarta ysabella. Ala quinta la ista Jnana y. a. ysla a cada una nõbre nueno Quãdo yo legue ala juana segui yo la costa della al poniẽte y la falle tan grãde q̃ pense q̃ seria tierra firma. la puincia de catayo y como no falle ali villas y lugares en la costa dela mar saluo pequẽnas poblanes con la gẽte delas q̃les nos podia hauer fabla por q̃ luego fuyã todos. andaua yo adelãte por el dicho camino pensando de no errar grãdes Ciudades o villas y al cabo dõ muchas leguas visto q̃ no auia jnouacion y q̃ la costa me e uaua al sette trion de adõde mi volũta era contraria por q̃ el yuierno era ya encarnado yo tema posito de hazer dll al austro y tambie el viẽto me dio adelante determiẽ de no aguardar otro tiẽpo y bolui atras fasta vn señalado puerto dadõde enbie dos hõbres por la tierra saber si auia rey o grãdes ciudades andouierõ tres iornadas y ballaõ infinitas poblaciõnes pequẽas y gẽte sin numero mas no cosa de regimiẽto por lo qual se boluierõ yo entẽdia hata de otros jndios q̃ ya tenia tomados como cõtinua mẽte esta tierra ara ista y asi segui la costa della al oriẽte ciẽto y siete leguas fasta dõde fazia fin del qual cabo vi otra issa al orẽ

FAC-SIMILE OF THE FIRST PAGE OF COLUMBUS'S LETTER TO LUIS DE SANT ANGEL.[1]

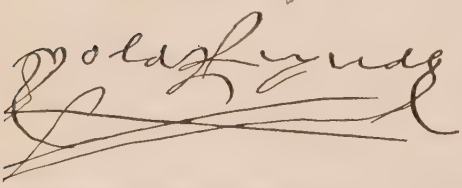
[1] In March, 1891, at the sale of a private library in this city, a copy in Spanish of the letter written by Columbus, announcing to Ferdinand and Isabella his discovery of "that famous land," was sold for $4300. As the small quarto consists of but four leaves of eight pages, containing only about 2500 words, it is, in proportion to its size, the most expensive book in the world. The sum mentioned is about the price of a perfect copy of the folio Shakespeare of 1623, and the value per volume of the equally large Mazarin or Gutenburg Bible, of which there are two copies in the United States. Some rare books are said to be worth their weight in gold, but this brochure is worth more than its weight in diamonds! Several editions of the Columbus letter in Latin may be seen in the Astor and Lenox libraries, but there are only three copies in the original Spanish known to have survived the four centuries, lacking two years, which have elapsed since the brochure was printed at Barcelona and elsewhere early in 1493. The above page is from the New-York copy; another larger octavo edition is in the possession of a London dealer in Americana, while the third copy is among the treasures of the Ambrosian library of Milan, Italy. (See p. 32, for translation.) EDITOR.

ships in search of the island of Brazil and the Seven Cities, which were commonly laid down in maps, together with the great island of "Antillia," by many supposed to refer to the American Continent.



In the time of Columbus enterprise was generally active, and men everywhere were eager to realize the prediction of Seneca, who declared that the Ultima Thule, the extreme bounds of the earth, would in due time be reached. But Columbus would win something more than beautiful islands. He aimed at a continent, and would reach the eastern border of Asia by sailing west, in accordance with the early philosophers, who had accepted the spherical form of the earth, not dreaming that, instead of a few islands, scattered like gems in the ocean, a mighty continent barred the way. Dominated by the antique notions of the classic writers, Columbus, after encountering and overcoming every discouragement, finally sailed towards the golden West, finding the voyage a pleasant excursion, interrupted only by the occasional fears of the sailors, lest the light breeze might prevent their return to Spain, by blowing all the time one way. At a given point of the voyage Columbus met with an experience, and made a decision, that perhaps determined the destiny of North America. October 7, 1492, Martin Pinson saw flocks of parrots flying southwest, and argued that the birds were returning to land, which must lie in that direction. He accordingly advised the Admiral to change the course of the ship. Columbus realized the force of the argument and knew the significance of the flights of birds, the hawk having piloted the Portuguese to the Azores. He was now sailing straight for the coast of North Carolina, and must inevitably have discovered our continent, but the parrots were accepted as guides, the course was changed to the southwest, and in due time the Island of San Salvador rose before their expectant eyes. All his efforts, therefore, after this memorable voyage, were devoted to the West Indies, and in the fond belief that he had reached fair Cathay. Consequently John Cabot was left to discover North America at least one year before Columbus sighted the southern portion of the western continent. Even then Columbus held that South America was a part of India, and he finally died in ignorance of the fact that he had reached a new world.

His error proved a most fortunate one for the English-speaking people; since, if he had continued on the western course, the Carolinas would have risen to view, and the splendors and riches of the Antilles might have remained unknown long enough for Spanish enterprise to establish itself upon the Atlantic coast. This done, the magnificent Hudson would have become the objective point of Spanish enterprise, and a Spanish fortress and castle would to-day look down from the Weehawken Heights, the island of New-York yielding itself up as the site of a Spanish city.



The mistake of Columbus, however, was supplemented by what, perhaps, may properly be called a series of blunders, all of them more or less fortunate, or at least in the interest of a type of civilization very unlike that of Spain, especially as expanded and interpreted in Central and South America. It is, therefore, to the series of nautical adventures following the age of Columbus, and extending down to the voyage of Henry Hudson, the Englishman, in 1609, that this chapter is mainly devoted, showing how this entire region was preserved from permanent occupation by Europeans, until it was colonized by the Walloons under the Dutch, who providentially prepared the way for the English.

First, however, it may be interesting to glance at voyages made during the Middle Ages, considering whether they had any possible connection with the region now occupied by the city of New-York.

That Northmen visited the shores of North America no reasonable inquirer any longer doubts. Even Mr. George Bancroft, who for about half a century cast grave reflections upon the voyages of the Northmen, and inspired disbelief in many quarters, finally abandoned all allusion to the subject, and subsequently explained that in throwing discredit upon the Icelandic narratives he had fallen into error.[1]

The probability now seems to be that the Irish had become acquainted with a great land at the west, and gave it the name of "Greenland," which name was simply applied by Eric the Red to a separate region, when he went to the country now known as Green-

[1] Letter addressed to the writer in 1890.

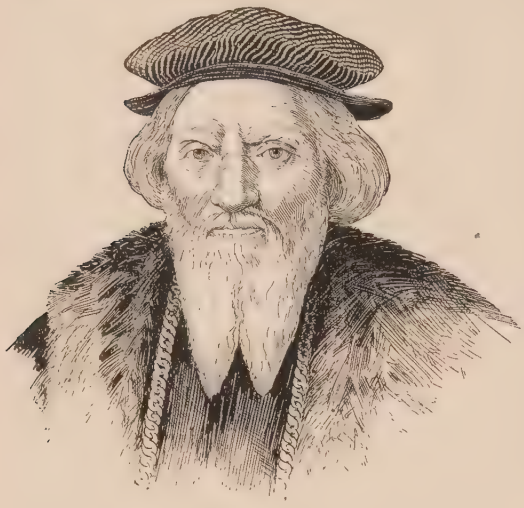
land in the year 985. The next year Biarne Heriulfsson, following Eric, was blown upon the north Atlantic coast, and in the year 1000-1 Leif, son of Eric, went in quest of the land seen by Biarne, reaching what is generally recognized as New England. Others followed in 1002 and 1005, while from 1006 to 1009 Thorfinn Karlsefne visited the same region, then known as "Vinland the Good," and made a serious but abortive effort to found a colony. Freydis, daughter of Eric the Red, visited New England in 1010 to 1012. Vague accounts in the Icelandic chronicles tell of a visit of one Are Marson to a region called White Man's Land (*Hvitrammanaland*) in 983, antedating Eric's appearance in Greenland. We also hear of Biörn Asbrandson in 999, and of the voyage of Gudlaugson in 1027. Certain geographical fragments refer to Bishop Eric, of Greenland, as searching for Wineland in 1121, while in 1357 a small Icelandic ship visited "Markland," the present Nova Scotia.[1] The voyages of Asbrandson and of Gudlaugson are generally viewed as standing connected with a region extending from New England to Florida, known as White Man's Land, or Ireland the Great. In these accounts there is found no definite allusion to the region of the Hudson, though Karlsefne's explorations may have extended some distance southwesterly from Rhode Island; while later adventurers, who came southward and followed the course of Are Marson, who was discovered in the country by Asbrandson, must have sailed along our shores. Still no record of such a visit now remains, which is not at all singular, since many a voyager went by, both before and afterwards, with the same failure to signalize the event for the information of posterity. "They had no poet and they died."

Turning to the voyages of the Welsh, who, some think, reached the western continent about the year 1170, led by Madoc, Prince of Wales, there is the same failure to connect them with this region. Catlin, who visited the White or Mandan Indians, supposes that the Welsh sailed down the coast to the Bay of Mexico and ascended the Mississippi; although there is just as much reason to hold, if the Mandans were their descendants, that they entered the continent and found their way westward from the region of Massachusetts or New-York. The latter, however, might be favored, for the reason that our noble river forms to-day the most popular and certainly the most splendid gateway to the far West.

The voyages of the Zeno brothers, who are believed by most competent critics to have reached America about the close of the fourteenth

1 The great authority on the Sagas relating to the discovery of America by the Northmen is Rafn's work, entitled "Antiquitates Americanæ," giving the Icelandic text with translations in Latin and Danish. Everything, however, that is essential in this connection may be found in the writer's "Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by the Northmen." Also in such works as "Finding of Vinland the Good," by Reeves.

century, and who left a chart, first published in 1558, show a country called "Drogeo," a vast region which stretched far to the south, whose inhabitants were clothed in skins, and subsisted by hunting, being armed with bows and arrows, and living in a state of war.[1] The description would apply to our part of the coast. At this period the Red Indians had come from the west, and dispersed the original inhabitants, known to the Northmen as Skraellings. The red man on this coast was an invader and conqueror, not the original proprietor of the land. In a very brief time, however, he forgot his own traditions and indulged in the belief that he was the first holder of this region, which was deeded to him by the Great Father in fee simple; and it was in this belief that, in turn, the simple savage conveyed vast tracts of territory to the white man, in consideration of trinkets and fire-water.



SEBASTIAN CABOT.

So far as can be discovered, the Skraelling was the first proprietor, and by the Skraelling is meant what is called the "Glacial Man," who appeared on this coast when the great ice-sheet that once covered the highlands of America was melting and sliding into the sea. Geologically the island of New-York is one of the souvenirs or wrecks of that ice-period which shaped the character of the entire coast; being, for a large part, simply a mass of ice-ground rock covered with the gravelly deposits of the glaciers. At the time when nature was engaged in putting the finishing touches to this rude, Titanic, and wonderful work, the glacial man appeared. Then this ancient island, afterwards known as Manhattan, received its first inhabitant. Whence did this mysterious man come? No one can say, though it seems to be satisfactorily established that, at the period referred to, there were two peoples of similar character and habits living on opposite sides of the Atlantic, dwelling on the estuaries, rivers, and fiords, and obtaining the means of subsistence amid similar dangers and privations. The evidences of the so-called glacial man are found at the present time in the gravels of the Trenton River, of New Jersey, consisting of stone implements that seem to have been lost while

[1] See Major's "Voyages of the Zeno Brothers," also Kohl's "Maine," pp. 92, 106.

engaged in hunting and fishing. With the disappearance of the ice and the moderation of the climate, these men of the ice-period spread along the Atlantic coast from Labrador to Florida, their descendants being the modern Eskimo and Greenlander, whose ancestors were driven northward by the red man when he conquered the country. The immediate region of the Hudson has thus far afforded none of the stone implements that abound at Trenton, yet it may be regarded as beyond question that the first inhabitant of New-York was a glacial man, ruder than the rudest red savage, and in appearance resembling the present Eskimo. In the time of Zeno, the glacial man had been succeeded by the red man, who showed a superior condition under the influence of the improved climate, and "Drogeo" was the name of the region, which included the territory of New-York.[1]

Janus Verra Zanus

We must turn, however, to note what, in this immediate connection, may be styled the course of maritime enterprise, the first voyage of interest in connection with our subject being the voyage said to have been made by Sebastian Cabot along the coast from Newfoundland in 1515. Upon this initial voyage many Englishmen based their claim, but in the present state of knowledge the expedition itself is considered debatable by some. That John and Sebastian Cabot saw the continent in 1498, or one year before Columbus saw South America, can hardly be doubted; but convincing testimony is required respecting the alleged voyage down this part of the coast in 1515. If we accept the voyage as a fact, this expedition, whose objective point was Newfoundland, may be regarded as the first known English expedition to these shores.[2]

Before this time, however, the Portuguese were very active, and had run the coast from Florida to Cape Breton, evidence of which they left in the "Cantino" Map, and in the Ptolemy of 1513. This was in continuation of the enterprise of the Costas, or "Cortereals," who made

1 The first inhabitant evidently used the oldest historical language, since Max Müller, in a letter to the writer, allows that the language of the present Eskimo is a very primitive language, that has lasted over in its integrity. If this is so, the Indo-European dialects may be modern compared with the language spoken at the end of the ice-period on this coast, by men who perched their huts on the rocks, after the fashion of the class who in our own times have taken temporary possession of the same rocks in upper New-York and dwell in cabins of a primitive character. See Pre-Columbian Discovery, p. 110; and "Popular Science Review," 18: 31.

2 See the discussion in Kohl's "Maine," pp. 206 and 502. Also the most careful monograph of Dr. Charles Deane on "John and Sebastian Cabot. A Study," Cambridge, 1886.

voyages to the north in 1500–1–2. The expedition made along our coast at this period left no memorials now known, save the maps to which allusion has been made. As early as 1520 the Spaniards began to navigate to the north from the West Indies, and in that year Ayllon reached the coast of Carolina, on an expedition to capture slaves, though Martyr speaks of the country he visited as "near the Baccaloos," a term applied at that time to the region far south of Newfoundland. Nevertheless, in the year 1524, we reach a voyage of deep interest, for in this year the Bay of New-York comes distinctly into view, Europeans being known for the first time to pass the Narrows. Reference is here made to the voyage of the celebrated Italian, Giovanni da Verrazano, in the service of Francis I. of France.

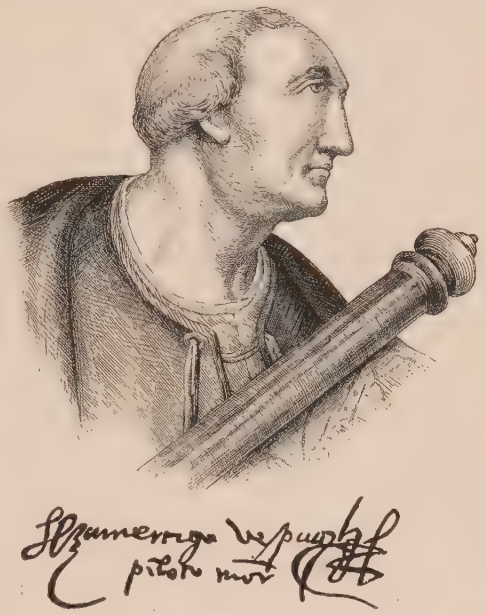
This celebrated navigator is supposed to have been the son of Piero Andrea di Bernardo de Verrazano and Fiametta Capella. He was born at Val di Greve, a little village near Florence, in the year 1485. At one time a portrait of Verrazano adorned the walls of a gallery in Florence. This portrait[1] was engraved for the well-known work entitled, "Uomini Illustri Toscani." A medal was also struck in his honor, but no copy of it can now be found. The family nevertheless appears to have maintained a definite place in local history, the last known Florentine representative being the Cavalière Andrea da Verrazano, who died in 1819.

Verrazano, the great explorer of the American coast, seems to have had a large experience as a sailor upon the Mediterranean, eventually entering the service of Francis I. of France, as a privateer or corsair, in which calling Columbus and many of the old navigators shone conspicuously, the profession at that time being quite creditable, even though dangerous. In 1523 Verrazano was engaged in capturing Spanish ships that brought the treasures of Montezuma from Mexico. In the following year he made his voyage to America, and one statement makes it appear that, subsequently, he was captured by the Spaniards and executed. Ramusio tells us that on a second voyage he was made a prisoner by the savages, and was roasted and eaten in the sight of his comrades. The light which we have at the present time does not suffice for the settlement of the question relating to the manner of his death, but we have overwhelming evidence of the reality of his voyage in 1524, which is vouched for by invaluable maps and relations contained in a lengthy Letter addressed to his employer, Francis I.

This Letter is of unique interest, especially for the reason that it contains the first known post-Columbian description of the North Atlantic coast, and the first pen-picture of the Bay and Harbor of New-York. In connection with our local annals Giovanni da Verra-

[1] The vignette on another page is a faithful representation of the Florentine portrait.

zano must hold a high place. As might be supposed, the narrative of Verrazano has exerted a commanding influence upon historical literature. For more than three centuries it has furnished quotations. This fact has not prevented one or two occasional writers from questioning the authenticity of the Letter of Verrazano, though the discussion which followed simply resulted in the production of additional proof, especially that found in two maps previously unknown, establishing the authenticity of both voyage and Letter, and taking the subject from the field of controversy.



The voyage of Verrazano was projected in 1523. On April 25th of that year, Silveira, the Portuguese ambassador at the Court of Francis I., wrote to his master: "By what I hear, Maestro Joas Verrazano, who is going on the discovery of Cathay, has not left up to date for want of opportunity, and because of differences, I understand, between himself and his men. . . . I shall continue to doubt unless he takes his departure." It appears that he first went to sea with four ships, but met a severe gale and was obliged to return to port, apparently with the loss of two ships. After making repairs, he sailed for the Spanish coast alone in the Dolphin, the captain of the remaining ship leaving Verrazano, and giving color to the story of Silveira, that he had quarreled with his men. In the Carli correspondence, there is a reference to one Brunelleschi, "who went with him and unfortunately turned back."

On January 17, 1524 (old style), Verrazano finally sailed from a barren rocky island, southeast of Madeira, though Carli erroneously says that he departed from the Canaries. The discrepancy is useful, in that it proves an absence of collusion between writers in framing a fictitious voyage. Steering westward until February 14th, he met a severe hurricane, and then veered more to the north, holding the middle course, as he feared to sail southward, by the accustomed route to the West Indies, lest he should fall into the hands of the

[1] Americus Vespucius, the illustrious Italian navigator of the fifteenth century, was born at Florence, March 9, 1451, and died in Seville, Spain, February 22, 1512. The controversy as to whether he took precedence both of Columbus and the Cabots in the discovery of the mainland of the New World has long been, and still remains, a matter of dispute. EDITOR.

Spaniards,[1] who, with the Portuguese, claimed the entire New World, in accordance with the decree of Pope Alexander. Hence the navigator, to avoid the Spanish cruisers, held his course westward in sunshine and storm, until the shores of the American continent appeared above the waves. March 7th he saw land which "never before had been seen by any one either in ancient or modern times," a statement that he was led into by the desire to claim something for France. He knew that his statement could not be exactly true, because, like all the navigators of his day, he was familiar with the Ptolemy of 1513, containing a rude map of the coast from Florida to 55° N. Evidently he did not attach any value to the explorations of the Portuguese as represented by the maps, and hence, after sighting land in the neighborhood of 34° N., he sailed southward fifty leagues to make sure of connecting with the actual exploration of the Portuguese, and then began coasting northward in search of a route through the land to Cathay. Columbus died in 1508, believing that he had reached Cathay, but in the day of Verrazano it was understood by many that the land found formed a new continent, though this was not everywhere accepted until the middle of the sixteenth century.

Navigating northward, Verrazano reached the neighborhood of the present site of Charleston, South Carolina, describing the country substantially as it appears to-day, bordered with low sand-hills, the sea making inlets, while beyond were beautiful fields, broad plains, and vast forests. On landing they found the natives timid, but by friendly signs the savages became assured, and freely approached the French followers of Verrazano, wondering at their dress and complexion, just as, in 1584, Barlow, in the same locality, said that the natives wondered "at the whiteness of our skins."[2] The descriptions of Verrazano were so faithful that Barlow, though without credit, employed his language, especially when he says, speaking of the forests before reaching the land, "We smelt so sweet and strong a smell as if we had been in the midst of some delicate garden."[3] As Verrazano held northward, his descriptions continued to exhibit the same fidelity, being used by Barlow and confirmed by Father White.[4] They are also confirmed by Dermer, who ran the coast in 1619, finding the shores low, without stones, sandy, and, for the most

[1] The usual course was to sail southward and reach Florida coasting north, or to sail to Newfoundland and coast southward. It required especial boldness to take the direct course, and, in 1562, when Ribault followed this course, he was proud of the achievement. In 1602, Gosnold's voyage was considered memorable, because he took the direct route by the Azores. Drake, in one of his return voyages, sailed up this coast, and as late as 1614 Dutch vessels going home to Holland from the West Indies crept carefully along northward close in to New-York. The fact that Verrazano sailed the direct course at that time proves the authenticity of his voyage, as a forger would not have invented the story.

[2] Buckingham Smith, who wrote strictures on Verrazano in his "Inquiry" (10), admits that the country could have been so accurately described only "from actual information."

[3] Hakluyt's "Voyages," 3: 246.

[4] See "Verrazano the Explorer," pp. 17 and 29. Also Father White, in "Force's Tracts," Vol. 4.

part, harborless. When near Chesapeake Bay, Verrazano found that the people made their canoes of logs, as described by Barlow and Father White.[1] The grape-vines were also seen trailing from the trees, as indicated by these writers; and, speaking of the fruit, Verrazano says that it was "very sweet and pleasant." This language, being used early in the season, led to the rather thoughtless objection that Verrazano never made the voyage. The simple explanation is that the natives were accustomed to preserving fruits by drying them; and hence Hudson, in 1609, found dried "currants," which were sweet and good, meaning by the word "currant" what all meant at that period, namely, a dried grape.[2] The letter of Verrazano contains exaggerations, like all similar productions. Cortez made Montezuma drink wine from cellars in a country where both wine and cellars were unknown. Cartier caused figs to grow in Canada, and Eric the Red called the ice-clad hills of the land west of Iceland, "Greenland." Verrazano, however, falls into none of these flat contradictions, and often the objection to the authenticity of the voyage has grown out of the ignorance of the critic of very common things.

Leaving Delaware Bay, Verrazano coasted northward, sailing by day and coming to anchor at night, finally reaching the Bay of New-York, which forms the culmination of the interest of the voyage, so far as our present purpose is concerned. After proceeding a distance roughly estimated, on the decimal system, at a hundred leagues, he says: "We found a very pleasant situation among some little steep hills, through which a very large river (*grandissima riviera*), deep at its mouth, forced its way to the sea," and he adds: "From the sea to the estuary of the river any ship might pass, with the help of the tide, which rises eight feet." This is about the average rise at the present time, and the fact is one that could have been learned only from actual observation. It points to the "bar" as then existing, and gives the narrative every appearance of reality. Many things observed were noted in what Verrazano calls a "little book," and evidently it was from data contained in this book that his brother compiled the map which

1 "Maryland Historical Collections" (1874), p. 35.

2 Currants were originally "corinths," or small, dried grapes brought from Corinth. Afterwards the lesser dried fruit came to have the same name. What, in the amusing ignorance of the objector, was supposed to confirm doubt really vindicates the truth of the narrative. See "Verrazano the Explorer," pp. 31 and 42.

illustrates the voyage. Verrazano, however, was cautious, as he possessed only one ship, and he says: "As we were riding at anchor in a good berth[1] we would not venture up in our ship without a knowledge of the mouth; therefore," he says, "we took the boat and, entering the river, we found the country on its banks well-peopled, the inhabitants not differing much from the others, being dressed out with feathers of birds of various colors." The natives, by their action, showed that their faith in human nature had not been spoiled by men leading expeditions like those of Ayllon, in 1521, to the Carolinas for slaves. They were still a simple and unaffected people, not spoiled by European contact, as in the time of Hudson, and accordingly, unlike the sly people met where Ayllon's kidnappers had done their work, "they came towards us with evident admiration, and showing us where we could most securely land with our boat." Continuing, the narrative says: "We passed up this river about half a league, when we found it formed a most beautiful lake, three leagues in circuit, upon which were rowing thirty or more of their small boats from one shore to the other, filled with multitudes who came to see us." This "beautiful lake" (*bellissimo lago*) was, so far as one is able to judge, the Bay of New-York.

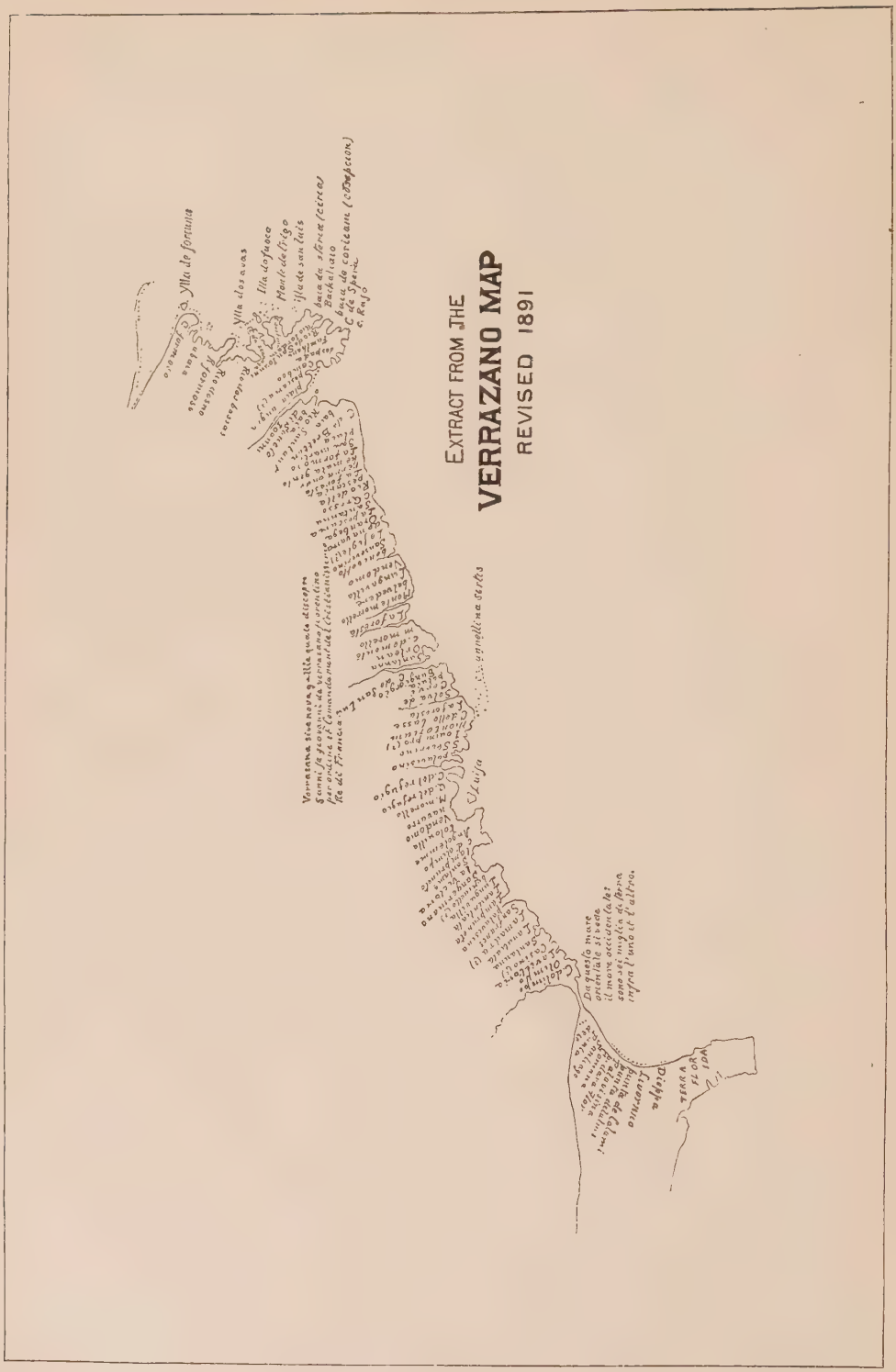
Verrazano passed the bar and anchored at the entrance of the Narrows, the position being defined as between "little steep hills" (*infra piccoli colli eminenti*), which exactly describes the heights of Staten Island, and the shore of Long Island as far up as Yellow Hook, the present Bay Ridge. Then far and wide the spacious harbor was surrounded by well-wooded shores, upon which Verrazano and his followers, evidently the first of Europeans to enter the port, gazed with admiration. It would appear that they did not cross the harbor, but they probably espied in the distance the island upon which our city now stands, clothed in the dusky brown, touched only here and there with patches of the evergreen pine. Nothing is said of the beauty of the foliage in this region, since in March none could have been apparent, though the population was evidently numerous, and from the shores the smoke of many wigwams was seen by day, with the distant illuminations that filled the eye of the sailor by night. Verrazano little dreamed of the value of the situation. It never occurred to him that on this "beautiful lake" would one day stand a city which in wealth and importance would eclipse the far-famed city of Montezuma. The situation was pleasing, but it did not offer what Verrazano sought, namely, an opening to India. He learned that he was at the mouth of a swift river that poured out a powerful tide

[1] Verrazano says that at one place the coast was so bold that twenty-four feet of water could be found within four or five fathoms of the shore at all tides. This has been pointed out as false, ignoring the fact that shore and water continually vary, and that great changes have taken place within a few years.

from between the hills, and he saw the unreasonableness of continuing his search at this place. What conclusion he might have reached eventually, had his stay been prolonged, we cannot predict, but he was soon hurried away. He says: "All of a sudden, as it is wont to happen to navigators, a violent contrary wind blew in from the sea and forced us to return to our ship, greatly regretting to leave this region, which seemed so commodious and delightful, and which we supposed must contain great riches, as the hills showed many indications of minerals." By a glance at the chart it will be seen that the ship lay in a position in the lower bay perilous for a stranger, and in case of a gale she would be in danger of being driven upon the shore of either Long Island or Staten Island. Verrazano would not take his ship through the Narrows into the harbor, on account of his ignorance of the situation, and when the wind set upon shore from the sea he at once decided to get out of danger. Accordingly he says: "Weighing anchor we sailed fifty leagues towards the east, the coast stretching in that direction, and always in sight of it." Thus he coasted along the shores of Long Island, and "discovered an island in triangular form, some ten leagues from the main land, in size about equal to the Island of Rhodes." This was Block Island, and we mention the circumstance here, in order that the reader may appreciate the fact that Verrazano first visited New-York, and that he properly describes the coast. Block Island is distinctly a triangular island. Then he went to a harbor in the main, identified as Newport Harbor.[1] The natives who appeared in the harbor, it will be noticed, had some thirty small boats *(barchettes)*. The word itself does not indicate the manner of their construction, but, when at Newport, Verrazano says distinctly, that these *barchettes* were hollowed out of single logs of wood *(un solo fusto di legno.)* The Dutch found the natives using the same kind of boats here in the early days, though the bark canoe was also employed.[2] The objections urged against the authenticity of the

1 On the Map of Verrazano, to which attention will be directed, this triangular island is delineated. The voyager approaching the island from the west comes to a point of the triangle where he can look away in the easterly direction, and at a glance take in two sides; while on reaching the eastern limit the third side plainly appears. In sailing past Block Island, as Verrazano did, from west to east, the navigator could not fail to discover its triangular shape. Indeed it is so marked that one is struck by the fact. On the Verrazano Map and the Maijolla Map, the point of the triangle is placed to the west, agreeing with the statements of the Letter. Verrazano named the island "Luisa," after the king's mother, and said that it was about the size of the Island of Rhodes, an over-estimate or a deliberate exaggeration designed to please his Majesty; saying, also, with truth, that it was hilly and well covered with trees, but the season being early he does not describe any verdure. One should distinctly keep in mind, in connection with this and the following accounts of the coast, what is described as lying on either side of the region of New-York, since, when these points are clear, our identification of the Bay of New-York in maps and narratives becomes clear beyond question. We may be certain that the region we identify as the Bay of New-York is the place in question, for the reason, among others, that it lay in a bight of the coast, which Verrazano reached by sailing northerly and in a northeasterly direction, and then turned and sailed east. Sandy Hook is the only place on the coast from which he could have taken such a departure.

2 It is important to notice this matter, in connection with the authenticity of the voyage, for this reason, that Mr. Murphy, in his "Voyage of Verrazano," ignorant of the fact that the New England Indians made canoes of logs, obliges the statement of Verrazano to do duty as a proof that


EXTRACT FROM THE
VERRAZANO MAP
REVISED 1891

voyage of Verrazano have simply resulted in fresh investigation and the production of proofs that establish beyond question the truth of the narrative, which is supplemented by a long series of maps. The series begins with the Map of Verrazano, drawn in the year 1529, by Hieronimo da Verrazano, brother of the navigator, and the Maijolla Map, which also represents the voyage, giving particulars not given in the narrative of Verrazano. The Map of Verrazano is now preserved in the museum of the "Propaganda Fide" at Rome,[1] and forms a wonderful advance upon the Ptolemy of 1513, which, after passing Florida, is vague and, upon the whole, quite useless as respects our present purpose, since it shows no knowledge of the Bay and Harbor of New-York, and calls for no particular notice here.

It has already been observed that much of that which is wanting in the Letter is furnished by the Map of Verrazano, noticeably the Shoals of Cape Cod. The map was constructed by the aid of the "little book," in which, as Verrazano told Francis I., there were many particulars of the voyage, and it forms the best sixteenth century map of the coast now known to be extant in the original form. After Verrazano the delineation of the coast, as a whole, gradually, in the neglect of cartography, became more and more corrupt, culminating in the monstrous distortions of Mercator.[2]

On the Map of Verrazano the Cape of Florida is most unmistakable, though, by an error in following Ptolemy, the draftsman placed the cape nine degrees too high, thus vitiating the latitudes, also failing to eliminate the error before reaching Cape Breton. This, however, does not prevent us from recognizing the leading points of the coast. At Cape "Olimpo" we strike Cape Hatteras, and near "Santanna" is the mouth of Chesapeake Bay. "Palamsina," a corruption perhaps of *Pallavicino*, marks the entrance to the Delaware. "Lamuetto," possibly *Bonivet*, after the general of that name, distinguishes what apparently was intended for Sandy Hook; while "San Germano" and "La Victoria" stand on the lower Bay of New-York. Verrazano did not know enough about the river of "the steep hills" to enable him to give it a pronounced name, though in after times the Hudson, as we shall see, was called "the river of the mountains." It will be readily recognized

the voyage of Verrazano was a fabrication. A very little inquiry would have shown him his error, as Lescarbot says that he saw the sea in one case all covered over with boats of the Indians "being nothing else than trees hollowed out." ("Nouvelle France," Ed. 1612, pp. 561, 576.) This forms a sample of the idle objections that at one time were brought against the voyage of Verrazano. The entire subject has been treated by the writer in "Verrazano the Explorer," New-York, 1881.

1 The story of this map is curious. The American contents were first given to the public by the writer in the "Magazine of American History," and afterward reprinted in "Verrazano the Explorer," pp. 43–63. For the discussion and the Verrazano bibliography, see that work. The plane of the present chapter does not call for any critical treatment of the map, which has already been carefully studied, and the results given in an accessible form.

2 See "Verrazano the Explorer," pp. 49–56. Mercator leaves a great bay in the place where Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts should appear. We shall see, however, that Oviedo had a good map before him, namely, that of Chaves.

that San Germano is a name given out of compliment to his patron by Verrazano, as it recalls the splendid palace of Francis I., at *St. Germaine-en-Lay*. If circumstances had favored, the name of Francis might have been affixed to a great French metropolis at the mouth of the Hudson.

The influence of the Verrazano Map upon succeeding charts was most marked, down even to 1610, when all obscurity in regard to the position of the Harbor of New-York had passed away. The same is true of the exhibition of the relation of New-York Bay to Rhode Island and the Island of Luisa. The influence of Verrazano upon the Globe of Vlpius, 1542, was most emphatic, as will be noticed later; though it is to be remembered that Verrazano's voyage was pictured on the Map of Maijolla before the Verrazano Map was drawn, notes from Verrazano, probably out of the "little book" that he mentions, affording the requisite material. Verrazano evidently furnished an abundance of names for localities, and the various draftsmen seem to have exercised their judgment to some extent respecting their use. It would, however, prove wearisome to the reader to peruse any minute statement of the contents of the many maps that indicate the Bay of New-York; since neither the authenticity nor the influence of the voyage of Verrazano can now be questioned. In directions where it was never suspected, the Letter of Verrazano to Francis I. had a decided influence, as will be noted hereafter, though attention may again be called to the fact that Barlow, in his voyage to North Carolina, 1584, used the Letter without credit, according to the custom of the time; while, when Gosnold visited New England, in 1602, he sailed, as tacitly acknowledged, with the Letter of Verrazano, translated by Hakluyt, as his guide.[1]

The Maijolla Map, made by Viscount Maijolla, a well-known cartographer at Venice, in 1527, or two years earlier than the Verrazano Map, makes Sandy Hook "Cabo de S. Maria," omitting "San Germano" from the Bay of New-York, and fixing a "Cabo de San Germano" south of the Cape of Mary. In the bay is placed "Angoulême," recognizing the birthplace of Francis I., called by Louis XII. "*Le gros garçon d'Angoulême.*" This name might also be a recognition of the sister of Francis, Marguerite of Angoulême.

Next, however, the reader's attention must be directed to the voyage of Estevan Gomez, who followed Verrazano in 1525. This adventurer was a Portuguese in the service of Spain. While Verrazano was abroad on his voyage, Gomez attended the nautical congress at Badajos, in Spain, when, we are told, Sebastian Cabot was present. At this congress Portugal opposed the plan presented for an expedition to the Indies, being very jealous, as usual, of the power of Spain.

[1] See "Verrazano the Explorer" on the Letter, pp. 16–20.

The differences of the two powers were nevertheless reconciled, and the king of Spain, with the aid of several merchants, fitted out a caravel and put Gomez in command. Gomez, if he did not stand as high as some men of his time, was a navigator of experience. In 1519 he sailed as chief pilot with Magellan, but incurred much odium by leaving him in the Straits which now bear Magellan's name, and returning to Spain. Peter Martyr, who gives an account of the congress at Badajos, says: "It is decreed that one Stephanus Gomez, himself a skilful navigator, shall go another way, whereby, between Baccalaos and Florida, long since our countries, he says he will find out a way to Cataia. Only one ship, a caravel, is furnished for him," and, the chronicler continues, "he will have no other thing in charge than to search out whether any passage to the great Chan from among the various windings and vast compassing of this our ocean is to be found."[1] Of the voyage out from Spain few particulars are now available, though the account of the return was penned by Martyr subsequently to November 13, 1525, and probably before the close of the year. The voyage was, upon the whole, a short one. Martyr, however, says that he returned at the end of "ten months," while Navarrete states that he sailed in February. Galvano tells us that, having failed to obtain the command of an expedition to the Moluccas, he went on the coast of the new world in search of a passage to India, observing that "the Earl Don Fernando de Andrada, and the doctor Beltram, and the merchant Christopher de Serro, furnished a galleon for him, and he went from Groine, in Gallicia, to the Island of Cuba, and to the Cape of Florida, sailing by day because he knew not the land." Galvano tells us, likewise, that he passed the Bay of Angra and the river Enseada, and so "went over to the other side, reaching Cape Razo in 46° N." This means that he sailed up from Florida past the coast of Maine.[3] Martyr, writing after the return of Gomez, indulges in a strain of ridicule, and says: "He, neither finding the Straight, nor Cataia, which he promised, returned back

[2]

[1] Martyr's "Decades," 6, chap. 10.

[2] Sir Francis Drake, the chief of the English navigators of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and the first captain who circumnavigated the globe in a single voyage, was born in 1546, near Tavistock in Devonshire, and died on board his own ship off Puerto Bello, Venezuela, January 28, 1596, and was buried at sea. The admiral was the boldest among the band of heroes who baffled and beat the so-called invincible Spanish Armada. EDITOR.

[3] Galvano in Hakluyt's "Voyages," 3: 34. (Ed. 1812.)

in ten months after his departure"; and continues: "I always thought and supposed this worthy man's fancies to be vain and frivolous. Yet he wanted not for suffrages and voices in his favor and defense." Still, Martyr admits that "he found pleasant and profitable countries agreeable with our parallels and degrees of the pole."

The narrative of the voyage is wanting, and we are left to judge of some of the transactions on our coast by Martyr's account of what took place upon the return of Gomez to Spain. Martyr tells the Pope one story that he considered very laughable, saying: "In this adventure your Holiness shall hear a pleasant and conceited puff of wind arising, able to excite laughter. This Stephanus Gomez, having obtained none of those things which we thought he would find, lest he should return empty—contrary to laws set down by us, that no man should offer violence to any nation,—loaded his ship with people of both sexes, taken from certain innocent, half-naked people, who lived in huts instead of houses. And when he came into the harbor of Clunia, whence he set sail, a certain man hearing of the arrival of his caravel, and that he had brought *esclavos*, that is to say, slaves, inquiring no further, came posting to us, breathless and panting, saying that Stephanus Gomez brought his ship loaded with cloves and precious stones, and thought thereby to have received some rich present or reward. They who believed this story," continues Martyr, "attentive to this man's foolish and idle report, wearied the whole court with exceeding great applause, cutting the word by aphæresis, declaring that for *esclavos* he had brought *clavos* (for the Spanish tongue calls slaves *esclavos*, and cloves *clavos*), but after the court understood that the story was transformed from cloves to slaves, they broke out in great laughter, to the shame and blushing of favorers, who shouted for joy." Martyr could scarcely recover from the incident, so keen was his sense of the humor, and continues: "If they had learned that the influence of the heavens could nowhere be infused into terrestrial matters, prepared to receive that aromatic spirit, save from the equinoxial sun, or next unto it, they would have known that in the space of ten months, in which he performed the voyage, aromatic cloves could not be found."[1] Thus it appeared that when on the coast, after the example of Ayllon, he loaded his ship with Indians, though contrary to express commands of the authorities in Spain.

The results of the voyage along the coast from Florida to Newfoundland are indicated on the Map of Ribeiro, 1529, which represents a new exploration, as nothing seems to have been borrowed from either the voyage of Verrazano or from the voyages made by the

[1] Martyr's "Decades," 8: c. 10; and "Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson," p. 42. Hakluyt, 3: 686–7. Nevertheless, Popham wrote home to King James from the Kennebec, in 1607, that the country afforded "nutmegs." It is probable that the man had some ground for his report other than that which appeared to Martyr.

Portuguese, with the exception that Ribeiro used old Portuguese maps of Newfoundland, which was the case with Verrazano. We must, however, confine our observations to things that relate to this immediate region, and notice what the accompanying maps so fully exhibit, the difference of the delineation of Sandy Hook and Long Island. On the Ribeiro Map Sandy Hook appears as "Cabo de Areuas," the Sandy Cape, exaggerated in size, while Long Island is hardly distinguishable, as the coast line runs too close to the north. It is indicated by the section of the coast between two rivers, "Montana Vue," evidently one of the hills of Long Island that the navigator now views from the sea. On the Verrazano Map the region of Sandy Hook is "Lamuetto" and "Lungavilla," while Long Island is indicated as a part of the mainland, bearing the names of "Cabo de Olimpo" and "Angolesme," the bay of "San Germano" lying between. The delineations of Verrazano exhibit his short stay and hasty departure, while the survey of Gomez must have occupied more time, at least around Sandy Hook. That this map resulted from the voyage of Gomez is evident from the legend, which calls the land "*Tierra de Estevan Gomez*";[1] while eastward, where the coast of Maine is delineated, is the "Arcipelago" of Gomez. On this Map of Ribeiro the lower Bay of New-York is indicated by "*B. de S. Xpõal*," with several islands. A river appears between this bay, given in later documents as Bay of "St. Chripstabel," and Long Island, but the name of the river is not given. "*B. de S. Atonio*," however, is given, which indicates the upper bay or harbor, and subsequently we shall see the river itself indicated as the river "San Antonio," while the place of Sandy Hook in the old cartography will be fully established and identified with Cape de Arenas. Ribeiro evidently had pretty full notes of the calculations and observations of Gomez.[2]

As the reverential old navigators were often in the habit of marking their progress in connection with prominent days in the Calendar, it is reasonable to suppose that the Hudson was discovered by Gomez on the festival of St. Anthony, which falls on January 17. Navarrete indeed says that he left Spain in February, but the accounts are more or less confusing. If Martyr, who is more particular, is correct, and Gomez was absent "ten months," he must have sailed early in December, which would have brought him to our coast on the Festival of the celebrated Theban Father. At this time the navigator would have seen the country at its worst. Evidently he made no extended

1 "The country of Stephen Gomez, which he discovered at the command of his Majesty, in the year 1525. There are many trees and fruits similar to those in Spain, and many walruses and salmon and fish of all sorts." "Discovered" here means, according to the common use of the term, "explored."

2 A map less complete than Ribeiro's was drawn two years earlier, in 1527, by an anonymous hand, probably from material derived from the same source, but it was so unsatisfactory that the celebrated cosmographer himself was directed to prepare one.

exploration of the river, as in January it is often loaded with ice and snow.[1]

Gomez was laughed at by the courtiers, and had no disposition to return to the American coast. The legend on the Map of Ribeiro proclaiming his discovery, that is, exploration of the coast, declared that here were to be found "many trees and fruits similar to those in Spain," but Martyr contemptuously exclaims, "What need have we of these things that are common to all the people of Europe? To the South! to the South!" he ejaculates, "for the great and exceeding riches of the Equinoxial," adding, "They that seek riches must not go to the cold and frozen North." Gems, spices, and gold were the things coveted by Spain, and our temperate region, with its blustering winters, did not attract natures accustomed to soft Andalusian air.

After the voyage of Gomez, which, failing to find a route to the Indies, excited ridicule, there is nothing of special interest to emphasize in this connection until 1537. In the meanwhile, the English were active, and in 1527 two ships, commanded by Captain John Rut, were in American waters. It has been claimed that he sailed the entire coast, often sending men on land "to search the state of these unknown regions," and it has been affirmed that this is "the first occasion of which we are distinctly informed that Englishmen landed on the coast." Also that, "after Cabot, this was the second English expedition which sailed along the entire east coast of the United States, as far as South Carolina." Granting, however, that the expedition of Rut actually extended down the American coast, there is no proof that he gave any attention to the locality of the Hudson.[2]

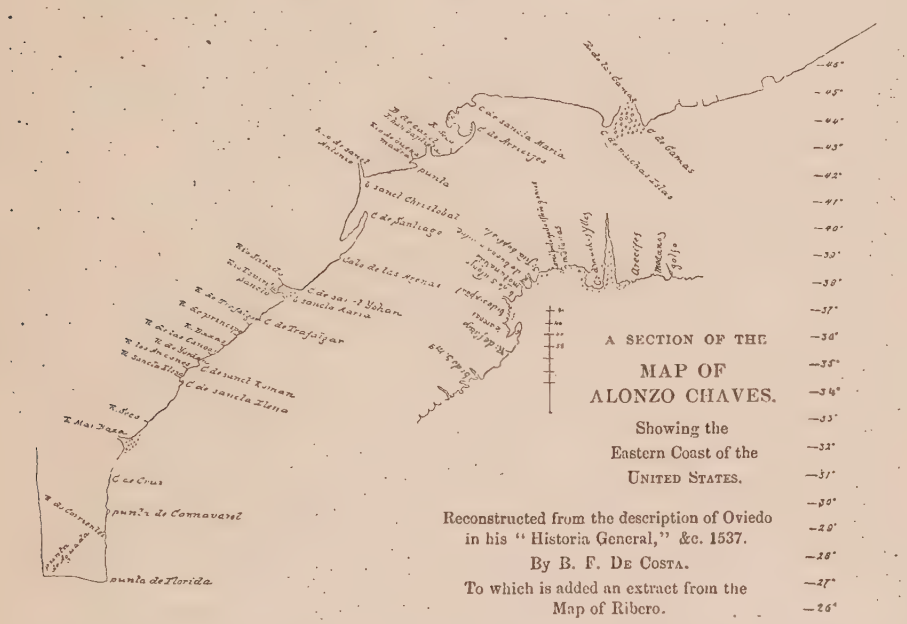
We turn now to the account of our particular locality, as given by Oviedo in 1537, who wrote an account of the coast based largely upon the Map of Alonzo Chaves. It appears that, in 1536, Charles V. ordered that the official charts should "be examined and corrected by experienced men, appointed for that purpose." Acting under their instructions, Alonzo Chaves drew up a chart, embodying the information that he had been able to collect from maps and narratives. It is evident that he had notes of the voyage of Gomez, and that he used the Ribeiro Map, but he had no information about the voyage of Verrazano or that of Cartier in 1534. His delineation of the coast began in the Bay of Mexico, and extended to Newfoundland. Oviedo, in his "History of the Indies,"[3] used this map, and describes the coast

[1] St. Anthony, the Father of Monasticism, was born in the Thebiad, at Coma, A. D. 251, and died in the mountain region on the Red Sea, 356. He was of an old Coptic family, and gave all his wealth to the poor. His life was written by Athanasius.

[2] Those who wish to study this question can consult Dr. Kohl's "Maine" (published by the Maine Historical Society), pp. 281–89; with the contrary view in the writer's "Northmen in Maine," pp. 43–62. The probability is that Rut did not go south of Cape Breton, and that his voyage has been exaggerated. At present it is impossible to say who was the first Englishman to land on these shores.

[3] "Historia General y Natural de las Indias," etc., Tomo I. (segundo parte), 146 (ed. 1852); and Historical Magazine, 1866, p. 372.

by its aid. The Map of Chaves does not appear to be accessible, but its American features have been reconstructed[1] from the descriptions of Oviedo, and this portion of the map is given herewith, the latitudes and distances being exactly preserved. From the Cape of Florida, Oviedo moves northward in his descriptions, which are distinctly recognizable. "Cabo de Sanct Johan" stands at the mouth of the Chesapeake, and from this place "Cabo de los Arenas" is thirty leagues to the north-northeast. The latter cape is in 38° 20′ N. From "Arenas" the coast runs thirty leagues to "Cabo de Santiago," which is 39° 20′ N.


A SECTION OF THE
MAP OF
ALONZO CHAVES.
Showing the
Eastern Coast of the
United States.
Reconstructed from the description of Oviedo
in his "Historia General," &c. 1537.
By B. F. De Costa.
To which is added an extract from the
Map of Ribero.

On this map Sandy Hook appears as Cape Santiago, but generally the name of "Arenas," the Sandy Cape, is affixed to the Hook.[2] Oviedo, on reaching the end of Sandy Hook, proceeds to give an unmistakable delineation of the Bay and Harbor of New-York, and of the river which is now known as the Hudson. "Thence," continues Oviedo, with his eye on the Map of Chaves, "the coast turns southwest twenty leagues to the Bay of Sanct Christobal, which is in 39°, passes said bay, and goes thirty leagues to Rio de Sanct Antonio, north and south with the bottom of this bay; and the 'Rio de Sanct Antonio' is in 41° N."[3] Dr. Kohl says that "it is impossible to give a more accurate description of Hudson River," but this is not quite true. It was an

[1] See the writer's method of reconstruction, in "Cabo de Arenas" (New-York, 1885).

[2] In "Cabo de Arenas," the coast names taken from a large collection of maps are arranged in parallel columns, illustrating three main divisions of the coast, showing that Cabo de Baxos was the name applied to Cape Cod, and Cabo de Arenas to Sandy Hook. Cape Cod in the early times was not a sandy cape, but a beautiful and well-wooded cape. Sandy Hook ever since it was known has borne its present character.

[3] "Historia," fol. xx.

excellent description for that period, considering the material at hand; yet it must be remembered that all the distances are given as general estimates on the decimal system. Besides, the Map of Chaves, like all the maps, was drawn on a small scale, and Sandy Hook and the Lower Bay are both exaggerated, as on the Map of Ribeiro, which will be seen by a comparison of the two maps, placed side by side to facilitate investigation. Both Ribeiro and Chaves had erroneous measurements of distances, and made the Lower Bay quite a large gulf, while the latitude of "Rio Sanct Antonio" is placed one degree too high.[1] Ribeiro, however, gave the Hook its right name, "Arenas." The size of the Hook is exaggerated on the Maijolla Map, 1527, though not on the Verrazano, 1529. These things show free-hand drawing on the part of map-makers, and defective rule-of-thumb measurements by the navigator, who probably viewed the waters behind the Hook when veiled in mist, failing to test his own estimates.[2]

Oviedo says that "from the Rio de Sanct Antonio the coast runs northeast one-fourth east forty leagues to a point (*punta*), that on the western side it has a river called the Buena Madre, and on the eastern part, in front of (*de lante*) the point, is the Bay of Sanct Johan Baptista, which point (*punta*) is in 41° 30′ N."; or, rather, correcting the error of one degree, in 40° 30′ N. This point is Montauk Point, Long Island being taken as a part of the main. The Thames River in Connecticut answers to the River of the Good Mother, and the Bay of John Baptist is evidently the Narragansett. Oviedo then goes on to the region of Cape Cod, varying from the general usage, and calling it "Arrecifes," or the Reef Cape, instead of "Cabo de Baxos," which signifies substantially the same thing.[3] Under the circumstances, the description of Long Island is remarkably exact, as its shore trends northward almost exactly half a degree in running to Montauk Point. What, therefore, lies on either side of the River San Antonio fixes beyond question the locality of the Hudson, and proves that it was clearly known from the time of Gomez to 1537.[4]

[1] Those who have fancied that Cape Arenas was Cape Cod, and that the bay behind it was Massachusetts Bay, have the same difficulty as regards dimensions. Students of American cartography understand perfectly well that latitudes in the old maps were often more than two degrees out of the way, the instruments of that period being so defective.

[2] See full explanations of the map and all related matters in "Cabo de Arenas," pp. 13, 14.

[3] "Arrecifes" is an Arabic word that, in the old charts, came to be replaced by the Castilian "Baxos," meaning shallows, with rocks and sand.

[4] To convince himself of this fact the reader may compare the reconstructed Map of Chaves with the coast surveys, when the main difference will be found to consist in the exaggeration of Sandy Hook. The "Narrative and Critical History of America," dealing with this point, suppresses all allusion to the fact that Kohl recognizes the cape on the Map of Chaves with the names "Santiago" and "Arenas" as Sandy Hook, which follows, as the river inside of the Hook he identifies with the Hudson. Dr. Kohl, though generally very acute, failed to see that Oviedo's description of the Map of Chaves was, substantially, the description of Ribeiro, and that in identifying, as he chanced to, the "Arenas" of Ribeiro with Cape Cod, he stultified his own reasoning. Nor did he consider this, that if the great Cape "Arenas" was intended for Cape Cod, there is no representation whatever of Sandy Hook and the Hudson in the old cartography, and that all the voyages to this region geographically went for nothing. *Credat Judæus Appellus!* This exaggeration of Sandy Hook is conceded, yet the

The next navigator whose work touched our part of the coast was Jehan or Jean Allefonsce, who, in 1542, came to Canada as pilot of Roberval, and gained considerable knowledge of the North Atlantic shores. This hardy sailor was a native of Saintonge, a village of Cognac, France. After following the sea for a period of more than forty years, and escaping many dangers, he finally received a mortal wound while engaged in a naval battle in the harbor of Rochelle. Melin Saint-Gelais wrote a sonnet in his honor during the year 1559.[1] It can hardly be doubted that Allefonsce himself ran down the coast in one of the ships of Roberval, probably when returning to France.

With the aid of Paulin Secalart he wrote a cosmographical description, which included Canada and the West Indies, with the American coast.[2] Very recognizable descriptions are given as far down as Cape Cod and the islands to the southward. The manuscript also possesses interest in connection with the region of the Hudson, though farther south the description becomes still more available.

Allefonsce, after disposing of the region of New England, turns southward, and says: "From the Norombega[3] River," that is, the Penobscot, "the coast runs west-southwest about two hundred and fifty leagues to a large bay (*anse*) running inland about twenty leagues, and about twenty-nine leagues wide. In this bay there are four islands close together. The entrance to the bay is by 38° N., and the said islands lie in 39° 30′ N. The source of this bay has not been ex-

inlets along the New Jersey shore may have been viewed as connected by Gomez; and indeed, so great have been the changes along the coast that no one can well deny that they were connected in 1525, and formed a long bay running down behind Sandy Hook. It will prove more historic to follow the writer, who says "that the coasts of New-York and the neighboring district were known to Europeans almost a century before Hudson ascended the 'Great River of the North,' and that this knowledge is proved by various maps made in the course of the sixteenth century. Nearly all of them place the mouth of a river between the fortieth and forty-first degrees of latitude, or what should be this latitude, but which imperfect instruments have placed farther north."—Nar. and Crit. His. of Amer., 4: 432.

[1] See Sonnet as frontispiece of the "Northmen in Maine," Albany, 1870, and the chapter in the same work on his discovery of Massachusetts Bay. Also the discussion of Allefonsce in the Narr. and Crit. His. of Amer., 4: 59-72. The material used in connection with Allefonsce, beginning with Murphy, in his work on Verrazano, 1875, was obtained by the writer from Paris at different visits, having originally been assisted by the late M. Davezac. Allefonsce entered the Bay of Massachusetts, where he was searching for a route to Cathay, but he came to the conclusion at his late period that "these lands reach to Tartary," adding, "and I think that it is the end of Asia, according to the roundness of the world." That is, going west, the earth being spherical, he had reached the eastern border of Asia. This was the belief held by Columbus when he was at the eastern end of Cuba.

[2] This work is in the manuscript department of the "Bibliothèque Nationale," Paris, No. 676, under Secalart, and has frequently been studied by the writer. The MS. is described in the Narr. and Crit. Hist., 4: 69. The writer has also examined in the same repository a MS. volume in verse, which gives a considerable portion of the cosmography relative to the New England coast. This MS., which was prepared for Francis I., is attributed to Jehan Maillard. The verses give points not made in the prose manuscript. He probably saw the manuscript volume afterwards printed and entitled, "Les voyages avantureux dv Captaine Iean Alfonce" (Rouen. 1578).

[3] A writer, who took up with the fanciful notion that the Norombega was the Hudson, imagines that the French in the time of Allefonsce built a fort on an island or tongue of land that extended into the old Collect Pond, which once covered the site of the Tombs, at Elm and Baxter Streets. His idea was that "Norombega" was derived from "L'Anormée Belge," the Grand Scarp, and referred to the Palisades. The subject of the fort on the island cannot command attention, while it is understood that Norombega River was in New England, having long been identified as the Penobscot. For many speculations on this subject, see Prof. Eben N. Horsford's monographs on Norombega.

plored, and I do not know whether it extends further on. . . . The whole coast is thickly populated, but I had no intercourse with them." Continuing, he says: "From this bay the coast runs west-northwest about forty-six leagues. Here you come upon a great fresh-water river, and at its entrance is a sand island." What is more, he adds: "Said island is in 39° 49′ N."[1]

Allefonsce also says that, "From this river the coast runs northeast by southwest, veering one-fourth east and west sixty leagues; here a cape arises stretching some fifty-six leagues into the sea. Said cape is in 36° N., very high and presenting a bold white cliff (*fallaise blanche*)." Here we reach Delaware Bay, where the white cliff is a noticeable object. From the description of Allefonsce, it is evident that the "great fresh-water river" is the Hudson, described five years before by Oviedo, out of the Map of Chaves, as the River of St. Anthony, while the "island of sand"[2] was Sandy Hook. It is to be regretted that the outline maps contained in the manuscript of Allefonsce are too rude to throw any light upon the geography of this particular region.

Turning from the manuscript of Allefonsce to the printed cosmography, we discover that the latter is only an abridgment, it being simply said that after leaving Norombega, the coast turns to the south-southeast to a cape which is high land[3] and has a great island and three or four small isles. New-York and the entire coast south have no mention. The manuscript, however, suffices for our purpose and proves that the coast was well known.

It would be instructive in this connection to enter upon an examination of the maps and globes of the period from Verrazano down to the "Figurative Map" of 1614, when Sandy Hook appears as "Sand Punt." It will not be possible, however, to do more now than to indicate the fact, that, out of a series of delineations numbering more than forty, no less than twenty-three describe the sandy character of the cape, while "Baxos," the Cape of the Shoals, is the term generally applied to Cape Cod; showing that the navigators were well acquainted with the position and character of these two very marked headlands. The Globe of Vlpius, however, deserves mention at this point, being of the date of 1542, and showing the exploration of Verrazano. The Bay of New-York, as the Gulf of St. Germaine, forms a recognition of Francis I.[4]

[1] Here we should observe the force of what is said in a previous note (p. 13), as we have reached the bight in the coast indicated by the Letter of Verrazano; the description of the coast by Allefonsce, north and south, indicating clearly that he is now speaking of the Bay of New-York.

[2] Allefonsce seems to have taken Sandy Hook for an "island" in the modern sense of the word, and it may have been an island at that time like large sections of the Jersey coast to-day. But, in an ancient sense, the word had a different signification, and the "Isle of France" in old maps was composed of the central portion of France. In the Old Testament distant regions were islands, and the dry bed of a river bore the same name: "I will make the rivers islands," Isaiah xlii. 15.

[3] The well-known "High-land" of Cape Cod. See "Cabo de Baxos."

[4] The Globe of Vlpius, made for Cardinal Cervinus, afterward Pope Marcellus, in 1542, is one of the most valuable of our historical treasures. It is of copper, and is the property of the New-York Historical Society. See "Verrazano the Explorer" for delineation and dissertation.

Reaching 1552, we have the testimony of the Spanish historian, Lopez de Gomara, who describes the coast, beginning at Newfoundland, and proceeding southward, making the distance eight hundred and seventy leagues to the Cape of Florida. He says, from "Rio Fondo" to "Rio de los Gamos," the Stag River, are seventy leagues, and thence to "Cabo Santa Maria," fifty leagues, with forty more to "Cabo Bajo" (Baxos) or Cape Cod; and "thence to Rio San Anton [Antonio] they reckon more than a hundred leagues," while "from the Rio San Anton are eighty leagues along the shore of a gulf to Cabo de Arenas [Sandy Hook], which is in nearly 39° N."[1]

It is also worthy of notice in this connection, that, prior to 1562, the French had visited this region; as Ribault writes in that year that they undertook to go northward from Florida "and view the coast vntil XL degrees of the eleuation," where "our pilots and some others" had been before.[2] There are no particulars, however, to be obtained in connection with these visits of the French.

It has been already stated (page 20) that it would be impossible to say when the first Englishman visited this region; yet in the year 1567–8, evidence goes to prove that one David Ingram, an Englishman set ashore with a number of companions in the Bay of Mexico, journeyed on foot across the country to the river St. John, New Brunswick, and sailed thence for France. Possibly he was half crazed by his sufferings, yet there can be little doubt that he crossed the continent and passed through the State of New-York, traveling on the Indian paths and crossing many broad rivers. If the story is true, Ingram is the first Englishman known to have visited these parts.[3]

1 This calculation is not so careful as that of Oviedo in 1537, nor that of Linschoten, which will follow, in 1596. Oviedo measures the distances differently, pursuing the coast line in its various windings, computing the distance on some map that exaggerated the size of Sandy Hook, making a great bay within, which he followed from Rio Antonio, footing up the distance as eighty leagues. On his map, too, as on the Map of Chaves, Arenas was probably placed a degree south of the point of the Hook, which, on the map of Chaves, contrary to custom as we have seen, was called "Santiago," while Arenas was the common name. His. Gen. de las Ind., Edition 1555, c. 12, and His. Mag., 1866, p. 368.

2 Hakluyt's "Divers Voyages," p. 114.

3 See article in Mag. Amer. His., 9: 174. This achievement takes rank with that of Cabeza de Vaca, who came to America in 1528, was six years in captivity, and occupied twenty months of tra-

In April, 1583, Captain Carlile wrote out propositions for a voyage "to the latitude of fortie degrees or thereabouts, of that hithermost part of America,"[1] and, in 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert had this region under consideration, Hakluyt observing on the margin of his "Divers Voyages" that this was "the Countrey of Sir H. G. Uoyage."[2] Hays says in his account of the region, that "God hath reserved the same to be reduced unto Christian civility by the English nation"; and, also, that "God will raise him up an instrument to effect the same."[3] All this is very interesting in connection with English claims and enterprise. In the same year the French were active on the coast, and one Stephen Bellinger, of Rouen, sailed to Cape Breton, and thence coasted southwesterly six hundred miles "and had trafique with the people in tenne or twelve places."[4] Thus the French were moving from both the north and the south towards this central region; but we cannot say how far south Bellinger actually came, as there is nothing to indicate his mode of computation. It is not improbable that he knew and profited by the rich fur-trade of the Hudson.

In Kunstman's "Atlas" there is a map bearing date of 1592, in which Sandy Hook is represented as "C. de las Arenas." It was the work of an Englishman, as the inscription reads, "Thomas Hood made this platte, 1592." This may be the result of some visit made to the Hudson at this period by the English colonists of Virginia.

In 1598 and there about, we find it asserted that the Dutch were upon the ground, for, in the year 1644, the Committee of the Dutch West India Company, known as the General Board of Accounts, to whom numerous documents and papers had been intrusted, made a lengthy report, which they begin as follows: "New Netherland, situated in America, between English Virginia and New England, extending from the South [Delaware] river, lying in 34½ degrees to Cape Malabar. in the latitude of 41½ degrees, was first frequented by the inhabitants of this country in the year 1598, and especially by those of the Greenland Company, but without making any fixed settlements, only as a shelter in winter. For which they built on the North [Hudson] and the South [Delaware] rivers there two little forts against the attacks of the Indians."[5] Mr. Brodhead says that the statement "needs confirmation."[6] Still it is somewhat easy to understand why a statement of this kind coming from such a body should require confirmation; but the Committee had no reason for misstating the facts, and ought

vel to make his escape. Sir Humphrey Gilbert conferred with Ingram, and Carlile knew of his case.

[1] Hakluyt's "Navigations," 3: 184.

[2] "Divers Voyages," Hakluyt Society, p. 64.

[3] "Navigations," 3: 144.

[4] See Hakluyt's "Westerne Planting," Maine Collections, Second Series, 2: 26, 84, and 101.

[5] "Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New-York," 1: 149. See on the Dutch at the North, Hakluyt, 3: 183; Purchas, "His Pilgrimage," 3: 466 and 5: 814; New-York Colonial Documents, 1: 59. The Dutch called Spitzbergen "Greenland."

[6] "History of New-York," 1: 35 *n.*

to have been accurately informed. Yet if confirmation is insisted upon, we are prepared to give it, such as it is, from an English and, in fact, an unexpected source. Our authority is no less a personage than Governor Bradford, of Plymouth Colony, whose office and inclinations led him to challenge all unfounded claims that might be put forth by the Dutch. Nevertheless, writing to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the father of New England colonization, who likewise was hostile to the pretensions of the Dutch, Bradford says, under date of June 15, 1627, that the Dutch on the Hudson "have used trading there this six- or seven-and-twenty years, but have begun to plant of later time, and now have reduced their trade to some order."[1] Bradford lived in Holland in 1608, and had abundant opportunities for knowing everything relating to Dutch enterprise. It is perfectly well known that the Plymouth Colonists of 1620 intended to settle at the Hudson, though circumstances directed them to the spot pointed out by Dermer in 1619, when in the service of Gorges. Thus, about seventeen years before the Committee of 1644 reported, Governor Bradford, an unwilling, but every way competent and candid, witness, carried back the Dutch occupancy, under the Greenland Company, to the year 1600. Besides, on the English map of the voyage of Linschoten, 1598,[2] there is a dotted trail from the latitude of the Hudson, 40° N. to the St. Lawrence, showing that the route was one known and traveled at that time. It is evident, from a variety of considerations, that both the Dutch and French resorted to the Hudson at this period to engage in the trade. Linschoten was one of the best informed of Dutch writers, and probably understood the significance of the representation upon his map. The probability is that this route was known a long time before, and that it may be indicated by Cartier, who, when in Canada, 1534, was told of a route, by the way of the river Richelieu, to a country a month's distance southward, supposed to produce cinnamon and cloves, which Cartier thought the route to Florida.[3] Champlain, writing in Canada, says that, in the year previous, certain French who lived on the Hudson were taken prisoners when out on an expedition against the northern Indians, and were liberated, on the ground that they were friends of the French in Canada. This agrees with the report of the Labadists, who taught that a French child, Jean Vigné,

1 "Massachusetts Historical Collections," 3: 57. (Ed. of 1810.)

2 The map is a large folding map, entitled "Typvs Orbis Terrarvm." The following is the title of the work: "Iohn Hvighen van Linschoten, his Discourse of Voyages into ye Easte and West Indies. Deuided into foure Bookes. Printed by Iohn Wolfe, Printer to ye Honorable Cittie of London." [1598.] The Dutch edition appeared in 1596, and the Latin in 1599.

3 "Bref Récit de la Navigation faite par J. Cartier." Paris, 1863, p. 34. See also De Laet's view, "Nieuwe Wereldt," B. I. C. 9. O'Callaghan, in his "New Netherland" (1: 26), curiously says that one Sieur Beveren in 1519 came to America with two armed ships, "the first Dutch ships that ever ventured on these seas." He refers to the French edition of Sir John Carr's work on Dutch Commerce (2: 233, 234), but the reference contains nothing to the point. Charles V. was only ten years of age at the time O'Callaghan exhibits him as granting to Beveren an island in America.

was born here in 1614. Evidently the French had been on the ground in force for some years, and were able to make expeditions against the savages.[1] Very likely the French were here quite as early as the Hollanders.

There seems to be, however, another curious piece of confirmation, which comes from the writings of the celebrated Father Isaac Jogues, who was in New Amsterdam during the year 1646. In a letter written on August 3d of that year, he says that the Dutch were here "about fifty years" before, while they began to settle permanently only about "twenty years" since. The latter statement is sufficiently correct, as 1623 was the year when a permanent colony was established by the Dutch. The former statement carries us back to the date of the "Greenland Company."[3]

It is also interesting to note that the "Remonstrance," describing the occupation of the country by the Dutch, says: "East of the North River, beginning at Cape Cod, named in 1600 by our own people New Holland (whereof also possession was taken, if we are correctly informed, by the erection of their High Mightinesses' arms), down to within six leagues of the North River." This again recognizes the Dutch as here in the year given by Bradford.[4]

So far as present evidence goes, it is perhaps unnecessary to say anything more in vindication of the statement of the Dutch Committee of 1644, claiming that representatives of the Greenland Company wintered here in 1598. Nevertheless, as a matter of interest, and to show how well the Hudson was known at this time by both Dutch and English, we may quote from the English translation of the Dutch narrative of Linschoten, which clearly describes the coast. He says: "There is a countrey under 44 degrees and a halfe, called Baccalaos, taking the name of some kind of fishes, which there-

[1] See Murphy's "Journal of the Labadists," 1867, pp. 114, 117.

[2] Sir Martin Frobisher, the famous English navigator, was born in Doncaster, Yorkshire, about 1536, and died in Plymouth, November 7, 1594. After exploring different parts of the American coast, and entering the strait that bears his name, he accompanied his friend Sir Francis Drake to the West Indies, taking part on board the Triumph in the destruction of the Spanish Armada in 1588, for which he was knighted by Queen Elizabeth. EDITOR.

[3] See fac-simile and translation by Dr. John Gilmary Shea, 4to edition, privately printed, New-York, 1862, pp. 29 and 49. But as the report of the Board of Accounts was published in 1644, Father Jogues may have obtained his information thence.

[4] Doc. rel. Col. His. N. Y., Holl. Doc. 1: 284; the note says that in the "printed *Vertoogh*" the phrase "correctly informed" is omitted.

abouts are so abundant that they let the shippes from sailing." This is an old story told in connection with the Cabots. Continuing, he says: "This country of Baccalaos reacheth nine hundred miles, that is, from the Cape de Baccalaos [Cape Race] to Florida, which is accounted in this sort"; that is, the nine hundred miles are divided as follows: "From the point of Baccalaos to the bay of the river are 70 miles; from the bay of the river to the Bay de las Islas, 70 miles; from thence to Rio Fundo, 70 miles; from thence to Cabo Baxo [Cape Cod], 160 miles; and again to the river of Saint Anthony, 100 miles; from thence to the farthest cape, 180 miles; and again to the Cape Saint Elena, 110 miles; and from Saint Elena to the poynt of Cananeall the Reedhoke, 100 miles; thence to Florida, 40 miles; which in all is 900 miles." [1]

These distances are given approximately, of course, being on the decimal system, but they distinctly mark the principal divisions of the coast, and fix the fact beyond question that the Hudson was perfectly well known. May, who followed Hudson in 1611-12, was under orders to find a passage to China by the northwest, and at last came to the Hudson because, like his predecessor, he failed on the northeast and had nothing else to do.[2]

On the general subject it may be said, that the record of the "Greenland Company" is not satisfactory, yet the word "Greenland" at that time had a very general use, and all that the Committee of Accounts may have meant by the phrase was, that a company or association engaged in the fur and fish trade, which for centuries, even, had been prosecuted at the north, had sent some ships to this region in 1598. There is certainly nothing unreasonable in this supposition, the coast being so well known. Various adventurers of whom we know nothing doubtless came and went unobserved, being in no haste to publish the source from which they derived such a profitable trade in peltries. The Committee of Accounts either falsified deliberately or followed some old tradition. Why may not a tradition be true?[3]

We turn next to examine a map recently brought to notice and which is of unique value. Formerly the map usually pointed out as the oldest seventeenth century map of this region was the Dutch "Figurative" Map, which was found by Mr. Brodhead in the Dutch archives.[4] We have now, however, an earlier map of 1610, which was

1 Linschoten, "Discours," B.II., p. 217. (Ed. 1598.) The first "Book" of this work has been reprinted in two volumes by the Hakluyt Society, 1885.

2 Murphy's Sale Catalogue, p. 232.

3 If Bradford and Jogues had their information exclusively from one source, it merely simplifies the inquiry respecting the truth of the Committee's statement. It may be said that this claim of 1598 was invented to overshadow any claim that the English might base upon the voyage of the Englishman, Henry Hudson. The writer prefers to believe that the Committee was both honest and well informed.

4 See New-York Historical Society, Proceedings, 1845, p. 185; also in Brodhead's "New-York," 1: 757. See map in Holland Documents, in Doc. Rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 1: 10; also Narr. and Crit. His., 4: 433.

prepared from English data for James I., a copy finding its way to Philip III., by Velasco, March 22, 1611.[1] Sandy Hook, though without name, is delineated about as it appears in later maps, while Long Island is shown as a part of the main, with no indication of the Sound, though Cape Cod and the neighboring islands are well delineated, and Verrazano's Island of "Luisa" appears as "Cla[u]dia," the mother of Francis I. Clearly at this time neither Block nor any other Dutch navigator had passed through Hell Gate into Long Island Sound.

There is nothing whatever in this map relating to explorations by any nation later than 1607. Jamestown appears on the Virginia portion, and Sagadehoc in Maine. It was simply a copy of a map made soon after the voyage to New England and Virginia in 1607. The compiler had not heard of Hudson's voyage, as that navigator did not reach England until November 7, 1609. If he had received any information from Hudson, he would have shown the river terminating in a shallow, innavigable brook, whereas the river is indicated, in accordance with Captain John Smith's idea, as a strait, leading to a large body of water. Further, the map contradicts Hudson, who represents the Hoboken side of the river as "Manhatta," while this map puts the name on both sides, "Manahata" on the west and "Manahatin" on the east.[2] It is not unlikely that Hudson had with him a copy of the map,[3] for his guidance on the voyage in the Half-Moon.

Though this map bears a date subsequent to Hudson's voyage, the contents prove that the original could not have been drawn later than 1608. It was evidently one of the various maps of which Smith spoke and which he underrated. Its substance indicates that it was drawn from a source independent of the Dutch and French, showing that the English knew of the Bay of New-York and its relation to Sandy Hook, and that they supposed the great river delineated was a broad

[1] See Alexander Brown's invaluable work, "The Genesis of the United States," 1: 456. Boston, 1890. The map covers the region of Canada from Newfoundland to Cape Fear, and shows Sandy Hook without a name. New-York Island is "Manahatin," and Jersey "Mannahata." The river, which has no name, is made to extend to the great lakes. Much that evidently was on the original map is omitted in the Velasco copy. A legend west of the Hudson region says: "All the blue is dune by the relations of the Indians." I am indebted to Mr. Brown for a full-size copy of a portion. He says: "The copy in the 'Genesis' is two-thirds of the original. The colors used in the original are black, blue, brown, and yellow. Their use, with the exception of the Indian legend, is not explained, but I am convinced that they indicate the different surveys from which the map was compiled." The map is in the "General Archives of Simancas," vol. 2588, fol. 22.

[2] Hudson's "Journal" would seem to be seeking to correct a false impression previously abroad with regard to the proper application of the name "Manahata." Moulton, "New-York," Part 1, 272, says that Hudson applied the name to the Jersey side of the river.

[3] Asher calls special attention to the fact that Van Meteren says with regard to Hudson's exploration in latitude 40° N.: "This idea had been suggested to Hudson by some letters and maps which his friend Captain Smith had sent him from Virginia, and by which he informed him that there was a sea leading to the western ocean by the north side of the southern English colony." Asher suggests that one of the maps sent by Smith to Hudson was Lok's Verrazano Map published in Hakluyt's "Divers Voyages," and Ribeiro's Map. He also reminds us of Smith's long residence among the Indians, and his opportunities for obtaining knowledge of them with respect to the geography of the country. It is probable that if Asher had known of this English map that was made for James I., in 1610, he would have said that, among the maps furnished Hudson, was a map similar to this, with its broad river leading to an inland sea, which is indi-

stream which, in some way, communicated with the Pacific. On the original map of which Velasco's example was a copy, the land west of the river was colored blue, and the legend says that it is described by information drawn from the Indians.[1] What we need now is the original map, which may still exist in some obscure collection in England or Holland, and quite as likely in the archives of Spain, sent thither by jealous Spanish spies, who lingered, like Velasco, at the court of James I., to learn what they could with respect to English enterprise in America.[2] At all events we have in this English map the first seventeenth century delineation of this region, and one showing that the English knew the form and general character of the country which the crown conveyed to the colonists of North and South Virginia in 1606. So far as now known, it was clearly the English who first became acquainted with the name that the Aborigines applied to the island upon which our great metropolitan city stands.[3] Whether or not this was an aboriginal word or a corruption of a Castilian term future investigators may decide. The unexpected finding of this old English

cated without a western end. Hudson hoped to find the representation true, but returned to Holland disappointed and chagrined. The Figurative Map of 1614-16 exhibits the Hudson, showing the termination of the river in a shallow, innavigable stream. This Figurative Map shows the result of Hudson's exploration.

1 This map was sent to Spain with a copy of a plan of Fort Popham, built on the Kennebec, the ancient Sagadehoc, by the English colonists of 1607. Evidently the map and the plan, which is simply invaluable, proceeded from the same source.

2 Everything goes to prove that the Spaniards were watching the English, and the English the Dutch; while in 1607 the Popham expedition was delayed at the Azores by a Dutch vessel. An unpublished letter, written off the Isle of Wight, May 4, 1623, shows that the English knew of the intention of the Dutch to settle on the Hudson in 1623, and were prepared to sink their ship. This map of 1610 could not, as has been suggested, have resulted from the observations of Argall in 1610. Argall sailed from Jamestown to Sagadehoc, but his journal shows that he did not approach this neighborhood, either in going or returning. See "Journal" in Purchas, 4: 1758–1762; and Brown's "Genesis," 1: 428. Strachey, indeed, referring to Argall's voyage of June–August, 1610, says that "he made good from 44 degrees, what Captayne Barthol. Gosnoll and Captayne Waymouth wanted in their discoveries, observing all along the coast and drawing platts thereof as he steered homewards, unto our Bay." "Genesis," 1: 457. The most superficial examination of the "Journal," however, shows that he did not anywhere come in sight of the coast, and that, in sailing, he went about fifty miles east of Cape Cod. This map gives a new and *controlling fact.*

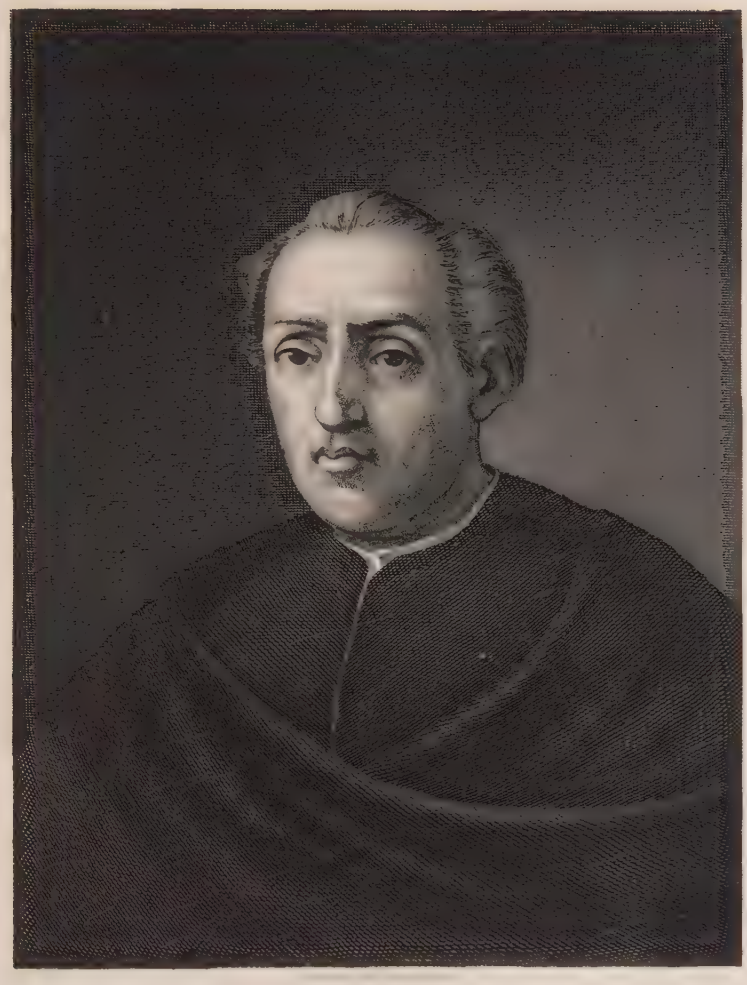
3 On the origin of the name "Manhattan," see Narr. and Crit. Hist., 4: 434, in connection with the "Figurative Map," bearing the word "Capitanasses," which may suggest the Spanish *capitanózo*, while Manhattan, which may come from the Spanish *moñas*, appears in some maps as "Monados" and "Manatoes," etc. The English map with its "Manahatin" furnishes the earliest form that most resembles the present.

map in the Spanish archives revives our hopes relating to the discovery of new sources of information concerning early voyages to this coast. English enterprise and adventure on the Virginia coast, extending from Raleigh's expedition, 1584, to Gosnold's fatal quest, 1603, must have brought Englishmen into the Bay of New-York, unless miracle was balanced against curiosity and chance. There are archives yet to be opened that may give the origin of the delineations of this region found in the remarkable map from Samancas, and we need to be cautious in making claims even for the priority of the Dutch in 1598.

The period under consideration was a period of reconnoissance, one that offered some romantic incident, but more of disappointment and mortification. Here was a site for one of the noblest cities in the world, but the voyager was blind. The river offered no route to the gorgeous Indies, and Verrazano had little inclination to test its swift tide. Gomez, in the short January days of 1525, had no desire to ascend, for when his ship met the drift ice tossing on the cold, swirling stream, he thought of Anthony in his desolate retreat on the Red Sea, put the river under his charge, and sailed away in search of happier shores. Sailors of other nationalities, doubtless, ascended the river; but, finding it simply a river, they took what peltries they could get, and, like Gomez, turned the whole region over to the care of the solitary Saint, who for nearly a century stood connected with its neglect. Much remained to be done before steps could be taken with regard to colonization. The initial work, however, was inaugurated by the sturdy Englishman, Henry Hudson, and in a succeeding chapter the proud Spanish caravel disappears, while the curtain rises upon the memorable voyage of the quaint Dutch fly-boat, the Half-Moon.

Translation of the fac-simile page of the Columbus letter (page 2):

"SIR: As I know you will be rejoiced at the glorious success that our Lord has given me in my voyage, I write this to tell you how in thirty-three days I sailed to the Indies with the fleet that the Illustrious King and Queen our Sovereigns gave me, where I discovered a great many islands inhabited by innumerable people, and of all I have taken possession for their Highnesses by proclamation and display of the Royal Standard, without opposition. To the first island I discovered I gave the name of San Salvador, in commemoration of His Divine Majesty, who has wonderfully granted all this. The Indians call it Guanaham. The second I named the Island of Santa Maria de Concepcion; the third, Fernandina; the fourth, Ysabella; the fifth, Juana; and thus to each one I gave a new name. When I came to Juana, I followed the coast of that isle towards the west, and found it so extensive that I thought it might be mainland, the province of Cathay; and as I found no towns nor villages on the seacoast, except a few small Settlements, where it was impossible to speak to the people, because they fled at once, I continued the said route thinking I could not fail to see some great cities or towns; and finding at the end of many leagues that nothing new appeared, and that the coast led northward contrary to my wish, because the winter had already set in, I decided to make for the south, and as the wind also was against my proceeding, I determined not to wait there longer, and turned back to a certain port, from whence I sent two men on shore to find out whether there was any king or large city. They explored for three days and found numerous small communities and innumerable people, but could hear of no kind of Government. so they returned. I heard from other Indians I had already taken that this land was an island, and thus followed the eastern coast for one hundred and seven leagues, until I came to the end of it. From that point I saw another isle to the east."



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CHAPTER II

THE NATIVE INHABITANTS OF MANHATTAN AND ITS INDIAN ANTIQUITIES

MANHATTAN ISLAND IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

DESCRIBING the voyage of the Half-Moon, while exploring the river which now bears the name of its first European navigator, Juet, Hudson's mate, writes in his journal that, on the return voyage from the head waters of the stream which had been discovered, the vessel was anchored on the night of October 2, 1609, in the bay now known as Hoboken, and fixes the locality specifically by noting that it was upon "that side of the river that is called Manna-hata," where "there was a cliff that looked of the color of a white green." This cliff,[1] which he supposed was composed of copper or silver ore, is near the "Elysian Fields," at Hoboken, and is a subject of study for mineralogists. The significance of the reference to it, however, is not that it more clearly defines the place of anchorage,

[1] Now known as Castle Point, the residence of Mrs. Edwin A. Stevens. EDITOR.

but the more important fact, in this connection, that it fixes beyond all question either the precise object, or the district of country to which the original inhabitants gave the name, which, after passing through many changes in orthography, is now written "Manhattan," and is applied specifically to the island which throbs with the activities of the metropolis of the nation.[1]

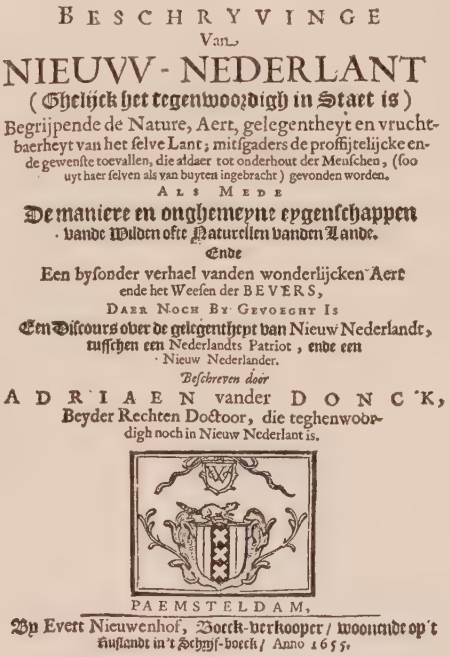
"On that side of the river called Manna-hata" was taken by Hudson to Holland, and embraced the only name which had been given to him by the native inhabitants as that of any of the points which he had visited, and it was at once adopted as defining the bay and the harbor in which the Half-Moon anchored, and also as the name of the native inhabitants who resided in that vicinity, who, although improperly classified by it, will continue to bear on the pages of history, to the latest recorded time, the title of Manhattans.

Who were the Manhattans as embraced in this general classification? "With the Manhattans we include," says Van der Donck, "those who live in the neighboring places along the North River, on Long Island, and at the Neversinks." De Rasières, writing in 1627 or 1628, says, referring to Long Island, "It is inhabited by the old Manhattans" (Manhatesen), and Block bears testimony in 1614 that he was fed and protected, after his vessel had been wrecked in the lower bay, "by the Manhattans" of Long Island. These statements show conclusively that the application of the name was made under the circumstances which have been stated, and was due to the absence of any other, being justifiable not only for that reason, but also on account of the similarity of dialect and the evidences which were apparent that the people were generically allied. The illusion, however, did not long continue. Under the inspiration of more intelligent examination, De Laet wrote: "On the east side, on the mainland, dwell the Manhattans"; and Wassenaer adds, in 1632, "On the east side, on the mainland, dwell the Manhattans; a bad race of savages, who have always been unfriendly to our people. On the west side are the Sanhikans, who are the deadly enemies of the Manhattans, and a much better people. They dwell along the bay, and in the interior." Later still it came to be known that there were no Manhattans—that the chieftaincy or clan to which Wassenaer and De Laet had given the title as a last resort, defining them as living "on the mainland on the east side," bore the name of the Reckgawawancs, and that they were a sub-tribe or chieftaincy of the Siwanoys, "one of the seven

[1] De Vries confirms Hudson's location of the name. Relating his return voyage from a visit to Hartford, in 1639, he writes: "Arrived about evening at the Manattes, opposite Fort Amsterdam."—"New York Historical Society Collections, Second Series, 1: 261.

tribes of the sea-coast," and one of the largest of the sub-divisions of the Wapanachki, or "'Men of the East," who were indeed a very different people from the Sanhikans, their neighbors on the west side of the Hudson River.

Notwithstanding the stern logic of facts, it is not an agreeable task to divest Manhattan Island of other claim to that title than that of adoption; to break the glamour which enshrines the Manhattans, or destroy the fine interpretations which have been given to their presumed name; yet it cannot longer be received as an historical fact that the name Manhattan is from or after the tribe of savages among whom the Dutch made their first settlement, nor can the interpretation be accepted that the name was from Menohhanet, in Mohican the equivalent of islands, or as defining "the people of the islands"; for both are incorrect. The Manna-hata of Hudson did not refer to the east side of the river, nor to a people, but was and is a compound Algonquin descriptive term, than which there is none more pure, none more comprehensive, and none more appropriate to the object described. Divested of its coalescents it presents *ma*, as in Manitto, the Great Spirit, or, in a more modified sense, any object that is noble or that may command reverence; *na*, excellence, abundance, something surpassing; *ata* or *ta*, a beautiful scene, valley, or landscape, or, omitting the final a, *at*, an object near by. The significance of these root terms cannot be escaped. How charmed Hudson was when he gazed upon the primeval beauties of the landscape which enveloped his little ship, as it rocked on the ocean swells of the great river of the mountains, Juet did not attempt to conceal. Standing upon the deck of the Half-Moon, and gazing out upon the territory to which the term


BESCHRYVINGE
Van
NIEUVV-NEDERLANT
(Ghelijck het tegenwoordigh in Staet is)
Begrijpende de Nature, Aert, gelegentheyt en vruchtbaerheyt van het selve Lant; mitsgaders de profijtelijcke ende gewenste toevallen, die aldaer tot onderhout der Menschen, (soo uyt haer selven als van buyten ingebracht) gevonden worden.
ALS MEDE
De maniere en onghemeyne eygenschappen vande Wilden ofte Naturellen vanden Lande.
Ende
Een bysonder verhael vanden wonderlijcken Aert ende het Weesen der BEVERS,
DAER NOCH BY GEVOEGHT IS
Een Discours over de gelegentheyt van Nieuw Nederlandt, tusschen een Nederlandts Patriot, ende een Nieuw Nederlander.
Beschreven door
ADRIAEN vander DONCK,
Beyder Rechten Doctoor, die teghenwoordigh noch in Nieuw Nederlant is.
PAEMSTELDAM,
By Evert Nieuwenhof, Boeck-verkooper / woonende op 't Rusland in 't Schrijf-boeck / Anno 1655.

TITLE-PAGE OF VAN DER DONCK'S WORK.[1]

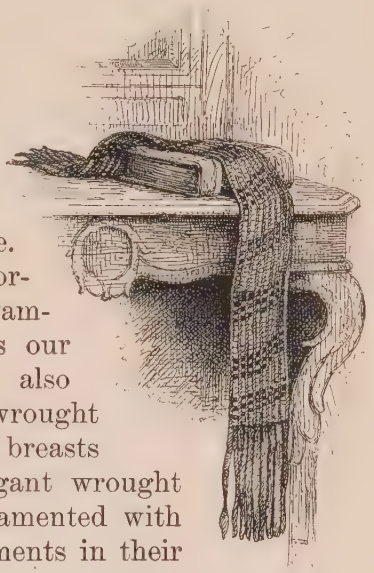
[1] "Description of New Netherland (as it is to-day) comprising the nature, character, situation, and fertility of the said country; together with the advantageous and desirable circumstances (both of their own production and as brought about by external causes) for the support of people which prevail there; as also the manners and peculiar qualities of the Wild Men or Natives of the Land. And a separate account of the wonderful character and habits of the Beavers; to which is added a Conversation on the condition of New Netherland between a Netherland patriot and a New Netherlander, described by Adriaen Van der Donck, Doctor in Both Laws, who is at present still in New Netherland. In Amsterdam, at Evert Nieuwenhof's, Bookseller, dwelling on the Rusland [street] in the Writing-book, Anno 1655." EDITOR.

applied, well may he have exclaimed, "Manna-hata, the handsomest and pleasantest country that man can behold"; and well may Verrazano have written of its people, "Manna-hata—kings more beautiful in form and stature than can possibly be described."

But we may not dispense with the history of the period, or that of the people, during which the term Manhattans was presumed to embrace the native inhabitants who lived "in the neighboring places along the North River, on Long Island, and at the Neversinks," because it is necessarily a part of the early history of the Indians with whom the Dutch first came in contact, and reveals them in a light that cannot be so comprehensively stated in any other connection, for it must be acknowledged that to pass intelligent judgment on the aborigines of America, and especially on those to whom the Dutch gave the title of Manhattans, they must be taken as they were found, and not as they may have generally appeared after years of association with Europeans, and when they had become the victims of their cupidity, their inhumanity, and their vices. Verrazano, who sailed along the coast of North America in 1524, speaks of the natives whom he met in this vicinity as being "dressed out with the feathers of birds of various colors"—"the finest-looking tribe and the handsomest in their costumes" of any that he had found on his voyage. In person, he says, they were of good proportions, of middle stature, broad across the breast, strong in the arms, and well-formed. Among those who came on board his vessel were "two kings more beautiful in form and stature than can possibly be described"; one was perhaps forty years old, and the other about twenty-four. "They were dressed," he continues, "in the following manner: the oldest had a deer-skin around his body, artificially wrought in damask figures, his head without covering; his hair was tied back in various knots; around his neck he wore a large chain ornamented with many stones of different colors. The young man was similar in his general appearance." In size, he says, "they exceed us, their complexion tawny, inclining to white, their faces sharp, their hair long and black, their eyes black and sharp, their expression mild and pleasant, greatly resembling the antique." The women, he says, were "of the same form and beauty, very graceful, of fine countenances and pleasing appearance in manners and modesty. They wore no clothing except a deer-skin ornamented like those of the men." Some had "very rich lynx-skins upon their arms, and various ornaments upon their heads, composed of braids of hair," which hung down upon their breasts upon each side. The older and the married people, both men and women, "wore many ornaments in their ears, hanging down in the oriental manner."

In disposition they were generous, giving away whatever they had; of their wives they were careful, always leaving them in their boats when they came on shipboard, and their general deportment was such that with them, he says, "we formed a great friendship."

Eighty-five years later, Hudson writes: "Many of the people came on board, some in mantles of feathers, and some in skins of divers sorts of good furs." The Dutch historians, Wassenaer, Van der Donck, and others, agree that the natives were generally well-limbed, slender around the waist, and broad-shouldered; that they had black hair and eyes, and snow-white teeth, and resembled the Brazilians in color. The dress of the Indian belle was more attractive than any which civilized life has produced. Van der Donck writes: "The women wear a cloth around their bodies, fastened by a girdle which extends below their knees, and is as much as a petticoat; but next to the body under this skirt they wear a dressed deer-skin coat, girt around the waist. The lower body of the skirt they ornament with great art, and nestle the same with stripes which are beautifully decorated with wampum. The wampum with which one of these skirts is decorated is frequently worth from one to three hundred guilders. They bind their hair behind in a club of about a hand long, in the form of a beaver's tail, over which they draw a square cap, which is frequently ornamented with wampum. When they desire to be fine they draw a headband around the forehead, which is also ornamented with wampum, etc. This band confines the hair smooth, and is fastened behind, over the club, for a beau's knot. Their head-dress forms a handsome and lively appearance. Around their necks they wear various ornaments, which are also decorated with wampum. Those they esteem as highly as our ladies do their pearl necklaces. They also wear handbands or bracelets, curiously wrought and interwoven with wampum. Their breasts appear about half covered with an elegant wrought dress. They wear beautiful girdles, ornamented with their favorite wampum, and costly ornaments in their ears. Here and there they lay upon their faces black spots of paint. Elk-hide moccasins they wore before the Dutch came, and they too were richly ornamented." Shoes and stockings they obtained from the Dutch, and also bonnets.



A BELT OF WAMPUM.

Not only were they a people of taste and industry, but in morals they were quite the peers of their Dutch neighbors; indeed, had the

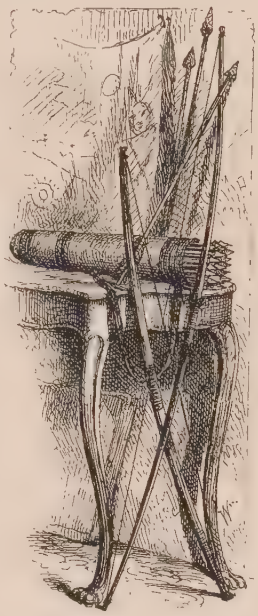
Dutch, with all their boasted civilization and Christian principles, been the superiors of the untutored savages they would not have been dragged down to their level and destroyed by their vices. Chastity was an established principle with them. To be unchaste during wedlock was held to be very disgraceful. Foul and improper language was despised by them. Most of the diseases incident to females of the present day were unknown to them. So highly were the women esteemed that the Dutch made wives of them, and refused to leave them for females of their own country. Instances could be named where the blood of the boasted ancient Knickerbockers was enriched by that of those who were called Manhattans.[1]

Their food, says one Dutch writer, was gross, "for they drank water, having no other beverage." They ate the flesh of all sorts of game and fish, and made bread of Indian meal and baked it in hot ashes; they also made "a pap or porridge, called by some *sapsis*, by others *dundare* (literally boiled bread), in which they mixed beans of different colors, which they raised." The maize, from which their bread and *sapsis* were made, was raised by themselves, and was broken up or ground in rude mortars. Beavers' tails, the brains of fish, and their *sapsis*, ornamented with beans, were their state dishes and highest luxuries. They knew how to preserve meat and fish by smoking, and when hunting or while on a journey carried with them corn roasted whole. The occupations of the men were hunting, fishing, and war. The women made clothing of skins, prepared food, cultivated the fields of corn, beans, and squashes, and made mats. They were workers and faithful helpmates, and shared in the government of the nation, having rights granted to them which are not conceded to females in civilized countries.

They were a wealthy people. The treasure-chest of the savage world was in their keeping, in the inside little pillars of the conch-shells, which the sea cast up twice a year, and from the inside of the shell of the *quahoug*. The former was called wampum, signifying white, and the latter sucki, signifying black. The black was the most valuable. The shell of the *quahoug* was broken and about half an inch of the purple color of the inside chipped out, ground down into beads, bored with sharp stones, and strung upon the sinews of animals. The black was the gold, the white the silver, and as such formed the circulating medium of the country, for both the Indians and their European neighbors, the latter regulating its price by law and receiving it for both goods and taxes. Three purple or black beads, or six of white, were equal to a stiver among the Dutch, or

1 "Several of our Netherlanders were connected with them before our women came over, and remain firm in their attachments."—Van der Donck, N. Y. Hist. Soc. Col., Second Series, 1: 191. "We have given them our daughters for wives, by whom they had children."—De Vries, Ib., p. 271.

a penny among the English. A single string of wampum of one fathom ruled as high as five shillings in New England, and is known in New Netherland to have reached as high as four guilders, or one dollar and sixty cents. Aside from its commercial value, it was used, as already stated, for the ornamentation of dresses, and when the strings were united they formed the broad wampum belts which figured in solemn public transactions. The Indians made it with their imperfect implements on the Matouwacka and Manacknong islands, where great banks of broken shells, the accumulation of ages, remain.[1] When the patient and painstaking labor that was required to produce it in the quantities that were required is considered, the admission will be forced that these so-called savages were not mere idle vagabonds, but that they occupied a much higher plane than has been generally assigned to them. True, their industry and development brought upon them raids by the barbarians of the interior country, and compelled them to purchase peace by the payment of tribute; but the many evidences of their primal genius and prosperity still remain.



INDIAN BOWS AND ARROWS.

The houses which they occupied were, for the most part, built after one plan, differing only in length, according to the number of families embraced in the clan. They were formed by long, slender hickory saplings set in the ground, in a straight line of two rows, as far asunder as they intended the width to be, and continued as far as they intended the length to be. The poles were then bent towards each other at the top in the form of an arch and secured together, giving the appearance of a garden arbor. Split poles were lathed up the sides and roof, and over this was bark, lapped on the ends and edges, which was kept in place by withes to the lathings. A hole was left in the roof for smoke to escape, and a single door of entrance was provided. Rarely exceeding twenty feet in width, these houses were sometimes a hundred and eighty yards long. From sixteen to eighteen families occupied one house, according to its size. A single fire in the center served them all, although each family occupied at night its particular division and mats. The modern "flat" houses that tower up fourteen stories are, of course, an improvement upon these rude structures (as seen in the illustration on another page), but are little more than the Indian plan of building elevated.

[1] The Dutch, in adopting the currency, applied to its manufacture the proper tools, and made it at Hackensack, N. J.

A number of these houses together formed a village, and these villages were usually situated on the side of a steep, high hill, near a stream of water, or on a level plain on the crown of a hill, and were inclosed with a strong stockade, which was constructed by laying on the ground large logs of wood for a foundation, on both sides of which oak palisades were set in the ground, the upper ends of which crossed each other and were joined together. The villages so stockaded were called castles and were the winter retreats of families of the same subtribe or chieftaincy, the nomadic members of which found the open forests or the seaside more congenial in the summer season, where they made huts for temporary occupancy, caught fish, and cultivated maize and beans and squashes for winter use.

Their weapons of war were the spear, the bow and arrows, the war-club, and the stone hatchet, and in combat they protected themselves with a square shield made of tough leather. A snake-skin tied around the head, from the center of which projected the tail of a bear or a wolf, or a feather, indicating the totem or tribe to which they belonged, and a face not recognizable from the variety of colors in which it was painted, was their uniform. Some of their arrows were of elegant construction and tipped with copper, and when shot with power would pass through the body of a deer as certainly as the bullet from the rifle. The more common arrows were tipped with flint, as well as their spears, and required no little patience and skill in their construction. Armed and painted and on the war-path they were formidable indeed, while their war-cry, "Woach, Woach, Ha, Ha, Hach Woach!" aroused a terror which the first settlers were not ashamed to confess.

Not only were they a skilful people, as shown in their manufacture of wampum and of their implements of war and pipes, surprising the Dutch that "in so great a want of iron implements" they were "able to carve the stone," but they had at least an elementary knowledge of the arts. "They know how to prepare a coloring," writes Van der Donck, "wherein they dye their hair a beautiful scarlet, which excites our astonishment and curiosity. The color is so well fixed that rain, sun, and wind will not change it. Although they do not appear to possess any particular art in this matter, still such beautiful red was never dyed in the Netherlands with any material known to us. The colored articles have been examined by many of our best dyers, who admire the color, and admit that they cannot imitate the same, and remark that a proper knowledge of the art would be of great importance in their profession." The colors which they made were red, blue, green, brown, white, black, yellow, etc., which, the same writer says, were "mostly made of stone, which they prepared by pounding, rubbing, and grinding. To describe perfectly and truly how they prepare all these paints and colors is out of my power."

They were not skilled in the practice of medicines, notwithstanding the general belief on that subject. They knew how to cure wounds and hurts, and treated simple diseases successfully. Their general health was due more to their habits than to a knowledge of remedies. Their principal medical treatment was the sweating-bath. These baths were literally earthen ovens into which the patient crept, and around which heated stones were placed to raise the temperature. When the patient had remained under perspiration for a certain time he was taken out and immersed suddenly in cold water, a process which served to cure, or certainly to cause death. The oil which they obtained from beavers was used in many forms and for many purposes. It was a specific for dizziness, for rheumatism, for lameness, for apoplexy, for toothache, for weak eyes, for gout, and for almost all ailments. It was the calomel of Indian allopathic practice, and the Dutch took to it, and attached great value to it. The use of certain herbs and plants, which the Indians employed as remedies, also became familiar to the Dutch, and was transmitted by them to the English, one of which was a cathartic from butternut-bark. Blood-letting was unknown to them. Living natural and well-ordered lives, there were none among them who were cross-eyed, blind, hunch-backed, or deformed; all were well-fashioned, strong in constitution and body, well-proportioned, and without blemish, and the scientific treatments of more advanced civilization would have found little or no employment among them.

Politically their form of government was an absolute democracy, and unanimity the only recognized expression of the popular will. Law and justice, as civilized nations understand them, were to them unknown, yet both they had in a degree suited to their necessities. Assaults, murders, and other acts regarded as criminal offenses by all nations, were so regarded by them, but the execution of punishment was vested in the injured family, who were constituted judges as well as executioners, and who could grant pardons and accept atonements. The rights of property they understood and respected; and half their wars were retaliatory, for the taking of their territory without making just and proper compensation. Their customs were their unwritten laws, more effective than those that fill the tomes of civilized nations, because taught to the people from infancy, and woven into every condition and necessity of their being.

The ruling chieftaincies, or sub-tribal organizations, had representation in the council chamber of the tribe to which they were totemically attached, and these totemic tribes were in turn represented in national councils. Each chieftaincy or sub-tribe had its chief, and each chief his counselors, the latter composed either of experienced warriors or aged fathers of families. In times of peace nothing could

be done without the consent of the council unanimously expressed. The councils were conducted with the gravest demeanor and the most impressive dignity. No stranger could visit them without a sensation of respect. The chiefs were required to keep good order, and to decide in all quarrels and disputes; but they had no power to command, compel, or punish; their only mode of government was persuasion and exhortation, and in departing from that mode they were deposed by the simple form of forsaking them. The constant restraint which they were under in these respects made them the most courteous, affable, and hospitable of men. Tribal rulership was similarly constituted, with the exception that the counselors were from among the chiefs of the sub-tribes, while national councils were

TOTEMS OF VARIOUS NEW-YORK TRIBES.

a duplication of the tribal, except that they were composed of representatives selected by the counselors and chiefs of tribes. In times of war the power of the civil government was suspended, but the chief could not declare war without the consent of his captains, and the captains could not begin hostilities except by unanimous consent. The king or sagamore of the nation was a king both with and without power; a sovereign whose rule was perpetuated only through the love of his people; a monarch the most polished, the most liberal, the poorest of his race, one who ruled by permission, who received no salary, who was not permitted to own the cabin in which he lived or the land he cultivated, who could receive no presents that did not become the property of the nation, yet whose larder and treasure-chest were never empty.

Tribes and chieftaincies among them were especially marked by totemic emblems. Totems were rude but distinct armorial bearings or family symbols, denoting original consanguinity, and were universally respected. They were painted upon the person of the Indian, and again on the gable end of his cabin, "some in black, others in red." The wandering savage appealed to his totem, and was entitled to the hospitality of the wigwam which bore the corresponding emblem. The Lenni Lenapes had three totemic tribes: the Turtle, or Unami; the Turkey, or Unalachto: and the Wolf, or Minsi. The Mahicans had three: the Bear, the Wolf, and the Turtle. The Turtle

and the Turkey tribes occupied the sea-coast and the southwestern shore of the Hudson. The Wappingers bore the totem of the Wolf, and the Mahicans proper that of the Bear, by virtue of which they were entitled to the office of chief sachem, or king of the nation. The paintings of these totemic emblems were not only rude, but, in the form in which they have been preserved, those of the signatures which they made to deeds for lands were exceedingly so; yet they would compare favorably with the characters which were employed to verify the signatures of very many of their more civilized neighbors.

Their religion fully recognized the existence of God, who dwelt beyond the stars, and a life immortal in which they expected to renew the associations of earth. But with them, as with many Christians of the present day practically, God had less to do with the world than the devil, who was the chief object of their fears and the source of their earthly hopes. No expeditions of hunting, fishing, or war were undertaken unless the devil was first consulted, and to him they offered the first-fruits of the chase or of victory. To him their appeals were made through monstrous fires, around which they danced and subjected themselves to strange contortions, and into which they cast their costly robes of wampum and their prized ornaments, and received their answer in good or bad omens. The blaze of the fires at these conjurations early excited the attention of the Dutch and won for their devotees the title of Sanhikans, fire-workers, or worshipers of Satan. They were startling in their effect—so startling, indeed, that the Hollanders, and other Europeans who attended them, became so greatly influenced by them that their observance was ultimately forbidden within the limit of one hundred miles of Christian occupation.

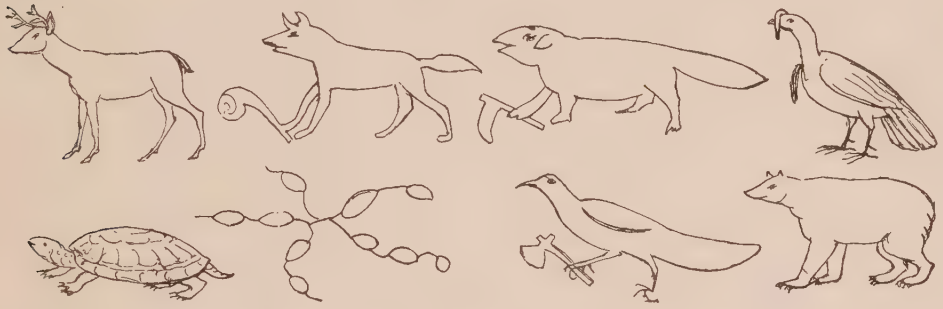
There were remarkable conjurers among them, who could cause "ice to appear in a bowl of fair water in the heat of summer," which, adds the narrator, "was doubtless done by the agility of Satan." For the spiritual they cared nothing, but directed their study principally to the physical, "closely observing the seasons." Their women were the most experienced star-gazers; scarce one of them who could not name them all, give the time of their rising and setting, and their position, in language of their own. Taurus they described as the horned head of a big wild animal inhabiting the distant country, but not theirs; that when it rose in a certain part of the heavens then it was the season for planting. The first moon following that at the end of February was greatly honored by them. They watched it with devotion, and greeted its appearance with a festival; it was their new year, and they collected together at their chief village or castle, and reveled in their way with wild game or fish, and drank clear river water to their fill, "without," the narrator says, "being intoxicated." The new August moon was the occasion of a festival in honor of the

harvest. The firmament was to them an open book, wherein they read the laws for their physical well-being, the dial-plate by which they marked their years.

Such were the people who were grouped, without tribal classification, under Hudson's compound geographical term Manna-hata, as the Manhattans. But, as already stated, it was an erroneous classification, founded on similarity in dialect, discovered first by the Dutch themselves, as noted by De Laet, that "on the east side, on the mainland, dwell the Manhattans," and as shown by subsequent tribal analyzation. "The finest-looking tribe, and the handsomest in their costumes," that were met by Verrazano in 1524 were the Matouwacks of Long Island, or the Montauks, as more modernly known; those who were met by Hudson in Newark Bay in 1609, "clothed in mantles of feathers and robes of fur," were Raritans, who spread through the valley of the Raritan. Both of these enlarged chieftaincies were sub-tribes of the Unami, or Turtle Tribe, of the Lenni Lenapes, or "Original People," whose national council-fire was lighted at Philadelphia, and both were divided into numerous family groups or clans — the Carnarsees, the Rockaways, the Merikokes, the Marsapeagues, the Matinecocks, the Nessaquakes, the Setaukets, the Corchaugs, the Manhassets, the Secatogues, the Patchogues, and the Shinecocks being embraced in the jurisdiction of the Montauks, while the Raritans are said to have been divided in two sachemdoms and twenty chieftaincies. They were the Sanhikans, or fire-workers, of Dutch history, but removed from the valley at an early period in consequence of floods which destroyed their corn. Wyandance was sachem of the Montauks when Block built his ship among them in 1614, and may have been the young king described by Verrazano in 1524. The Hackinsacks, when Hudson anchored in their jurisdiction at Hoboken, were ruled by their grand old sachem Oritany, who had a following of three hundred warriors, and held his council-fire at Gamoenapa. They were all a peaceful people from Montauk to the Highlands of the Hudson, as their totem sufficiently indicates, though suffering much from the wars of others, and in the wars that were forced upon them, until they became extinct, under the conditions involved in the contact of themselves and their kindred with an opposing civilization.

"On the east side upon the mainland," De Laet locates the "Manatthanes." He subsequently writes more specifically: "On the right or eastern bank of the river from its mouth dwell the Manhattæ or Manatthanes, a fierce nation and hostile to our people, from whom nevertheless they purchased the island or point of land which is separated from the main by Helle-gat, and where they laid the foundations of a city called New Amsterdam." There is, however, no more trace here of a people bearing the name of "Manhattæ or Manatthanes,"

except as a title which was conferred by others, than there is of such a people on the west side of the river, or on Long Island. In the record of the wars and treaties with them, and in their deeds transferring title to lands, their tribal and sub-tribal names appear distinctly and conclusively. Daniel Nimham, "a native Indian and acknowledged sachem or king" of the Wappingers, or Wapanachki, is on record by affidavit made October 13, 1730, that "the tribe of the Wappinoes," of which he was king, "were the ancient inhabitants of the eastern shore of Hudson's river from the city of New-York to about the middle of Beekman's patent" (Dutchess County), and that, with the Mahicondas or Mahicans, "they constituted one nation." Confirmed as this affidavit is by all anterior facts of record, it must be accepted as definitely determining the question to which it relates. True, the possibility exists that at some period unrecorded—perhaps before the glacial era of North America—there was a people known as the Manhattæ; that they were overrun and absorbed by the Wapanachki,



TOTEMIC SIGNATURES OF INDIAN TRIBES AND FAMILIES.

and left behind them a traditionary name; but it is with the facts of history, and not with theories based on shadowy foundations, that we have to do in this chapter.

The Mahican nation which were seated upon the eastern side of the Hudson, and to which river they gave their name, the "Mahicanituck," were recognized among Indian tribes as a family of the Wapanachki, or "Men of the East," and as "the oldest sons of their grandfather," the Lenni Lenapes, or the "Original People." Generically, they were classed as Algonquins, as were also the tribes on the western side of the river, and spoke the same language, but in a radically different dialect. The clans with whom they were in more immediate contact—the Unamis of Long Island and the New Jersey coasts—crossed this dialect with that of their neighbors and formed that by which they were classified as Manhattans, but the fact that they were a different people the Dutch were not slow to recognize. Bearing the totem of the bear and the wolf; equal in courage, equal in numbers, equal in the advantages of obtaining firearms from the Dutch at

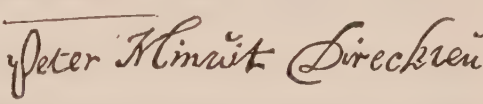
Albany, and in their treaty alliances with both the Dutch and the English governments, they marched unsubdued by their rivals of the Iroquois confederacy, even while recoiling from and crumbling under the touch of European civilization, and crowned their decay by efficient service in behalf of the liberties of a people from whose ancestors they had suffered all their woes.

Hudson met the sub-tribal representatives of the Wapanachki in the bay of New-York, as he did those of other nations who gathered around his ship, and received their presents and evidences of good-will. While suspicious of them all and withholding himself from too immediate contact with them, he nevertheless detained two of their young men on board, intending to take them to Europe with him. It was unfortunate that he did so, for when the Half-Moon reached the highlands at West Point, they escaped from a port, swam ashore, and "laughed him to scorn." On his return voyage, and near the place where they made their escape, he detected an Indian in a canoe pilfering from his cabin windows. He was shot, and the goods recovered, while the hand of one of his companions, who seized Hudson's boat and sought to overturn it, was cut off and he was drowned. These occurrences were a breach of Indian laws; the kidnapping of the young men being especially so regarded. When the Half-Moon reached the Spuyten Duyvel, one of the savages who had escaped came out to meet the betrayer of his confidence, accompanied by several companions. They were driven off, only to be succeeded by two canoes full of men armed with bows and arrows, of whom two or three were killed. Then "above a hundred of them came to a point of land" to continue the attack, and two of them were killed. "Yet they manned off another canoe with nine or ten men in it," of whom one was killed and the canoe shot through, and while the savages were struggling in the water three or four more of them were killed. Finally escaping from those whom he had enraged, Hudson anchored in Hoboken Bay, where we met him at the opening of this chapter, "on that side of the river that is called Manna-hata."

The Wappingers, or Wapanachki, whose conflict with Hudson has been thus briefly narrated, were of the sub-tribe or chieftaincy subsequently known as the Reckgawawancs. The point of land from which their attacks were precipitated was on the north shore of the Papirinimen,[1] or Spuyten Duyvel Creek, where their castle or palisaded village, called by them Nipinichan, was located. This castle commanded the approach of their inland territory from the Mahicanituck on the south, while a similarly fortified village at Yonkers, at the mouth of

[1] So given in the deed to Van der Donck in 1646, in which his tract is described as extending from the Neparah "as far as Papirinimen, called by our people Spyt den Duyvel, 'in spite of the Devil.'" The same name is applied to a tract of land "on the north end of Manhattan Island."

the Neparah, or Sawmill Creek, and known as Nappeckamak, commanded the approaches on the north. Their territorial jurisdiction extended on the east to the Broncks and East Rivers, and on the south included Manhattan Island, which, however, was only temporarily occupied during the seasons of planting and fishing, their huts there constituting their summer seaside resorts, and remaining unoccupied during the winter. Their tract on the mainland was called Kekesick —literally "stony country"— and is described as "lying over against the flats of the island of Manhates." In "Breeden Raedt" their name is given as Reckewackes; in the treaty of peace of 1643, as Reckgawawancs.[1] Tackarew was their sachem in 1639, and was the first one holding that office whose name appears in Dutch records. The most material point in connection with the chieftaincy, however, is the very great certainty that it was the Reckgawawancs who sold Manhattan Island to Director Minuit in 1626, and that they were the "Manhattæ or Manatthanes," so called by De Laet in 1633–40.



From the district occupied by the Reckgawawancs the chieftaincies of the Wappingers extended north and east. On the north came in succession the Weckquaesgecks, who were especially conspicuous in the wars with the Dutch; the Sint-Sinks; the Tankitekes, and the Kitchawongs, as far as Anthony's Nose; and on the east the chieftaincies of the Siwanoys, north of whom were the Sequins. The Siwanoys, who are described as "one of the seven tribes of the seacoast," extended from Hell-gate twenty-four miles east along the Sound to Norwalk, Connecticut, and thirty miles into the interior.[2] In their territory on Pelham Neck two large mounds are pointed out. One of these is the sepulcher of Sachem Wampage, also called Ann-Hoeck, the presumed murderer of Anne Hutchinson, but quite as likely to have taken that alias from some other circumstance. The other is that of Nimham, who became the king of the Wappingers about the year 1730, and who sealed his devotion to the cause of the colonists with his life in battle with Colonel Simcoe's cavalry, near King's Bridge, in August, 1779.

More extended reference may properly be made to the Weckquaesgecks, who have been incidentally spoken of. The district which that chieftaincy occupied is described by De Vries, in 1640, as "a place called Wickquaesgeck and the people as Wickquaesgecks." The place to which he refers was the principal village of the chieftaincy, which

1 N. Y. Hist. Soc. Col., Second Series, 1 : 275; "Documentary History of New-York," 4 : 102. In the making of this treaty they were represented by Aepjen, the king of the Mahicans, to whose jurisdiction they belonged.

2 "The natives are here called Siwanoos and dwell along the coast for twenty-four miles to the neighborhood of Helle-gat, similar in dress and manners to the other savages." — De Laet.

then occupied the site of Dobb's Ferry, where, it is said, its outlines are marked by numerous shell-beds. The capital or chief seat of the clan, however, was near Stamford, Connecticut, where its sub-tribal assemblages were held, and where, on the occasion of their gathering, in February, 1643, to celebrate the advent of their new year, which was the most important festival in the aboriginal calendar, they were attacked by Dutch forces under the leadership of Captain John Underhill, and all massacred indiscriminately. Wickers Creek, upon which they were located on the Hudson, was called by them Wysquaqua.[1] Their second village and castle on the Hudson was called Alipconck. Its site is now occupied by the village of Tarrytown. The Dutch forces are said to have burned two of their stockaded villages in 1644, and to have retained the third as a place to which they might retreat. Conquest of the castles destroyed was easily made, the occupants having gone to the new year festival near Stamford, where they were subsequently slaughtered as already noted. The castles which were destroyed are spoken of as having been constructed of "plank five inches thick and nine feet high, and braced around with thick walls full of port-holes," in which "thirty Indians could have stood against two hundred." These castles, however, were not those on the Hudson, but were approached from Greenwich on the Sound, from which it is inferred that they were tribally a chieftaincy of the Siwanoys, who were also known in the eastern part of Westchester County and in southwestern Connecticut as the Tankitekes. Local designations, however, are of little moment. They were especially connected with the early wars with the Dutch, and were members of the tribal family of Wappingers, in confederacy with the Mahicans of the Mahicani-

CONFLICT WITH THE INDIANS. (FROM DE BRY.)

1 "Wicquaskeck, five [ten English] miles above New Amsterdam, is very good and suitable land for agriculture, very extensive maize land, on which the Indians have planted. Proceeding from the shore and inland, 't is flat and mostly level. well watered by small streams. This land lies between the Sintinck and Armonck streams, situate between the East and North Rivers."—Tienhoven, Doc. Hist., 4: 29. "Opposite Tappaen lies a place called Wickquaesgeck. This land is also fit for corn, but too stony and sandy. We got there good masts. The land is mountainous."—De Vries. As in all other cases, the name of the chieftaincy was not their own, but that of the place which they occupied or the stream upon which they were located. In this respect they are useful for geographical analysis, but have on value as defining tribes or nations.

tuck, whose triumphs and whose woes, whose primal vigor and whose decay would fill many chapters of thrilling and romantic interest, and of whom it cannot with truth be said that they left

"No trace
To save their own, or serve another race."

"Four distinct languages—namely, Manhattan, Minqua, Savanos, and Wappanoos"—are noted by the Dutch historians as having been spoken by the Indians. With the Manhattan they included, as already stated, the dialect spoken in the neighborhood of Fort Amsterdam, "along the North River, on Long Island, and at the Neversinks." It was, no doubt, this classification by dialect that led the Dutch to the adoption of the generic title of Manhattans as the name of the people among whom they made settlements. The study which a discussion of Indian dialects invites would be by far too extended for this work. Primarily, there were but two Indian languages, the Algonquin and the Iroquois—all others were dialects. The dialect of the Manhattans, as well as that of the tribes classed with them, cannot be described in any other way than as being peculiar to themselves, and even among themselves the greatest diversity existed. "They vary frequently," writes Wassenaer, in 1621, "not over five or six miles; forthwith comes another language; they meet and can hardly understand one another." Illustrative of this diversity, it may be remarked that man, in Long Island, is *run; wonnun*, in Wappinoo; *nemanoo*, in Mahican; *lemo*, in Algonquin. Mother is *cwca*, in Long Island; *okaooh*, in Wappinoo; *okegan*, in Mahican; *gahowes*, in Algonquin. Stone is *sun*, in Long Island; *hussun*, in Wappinoo; *thaunumpka*, in Mahican; *akhsin*, in Algonquin. Earth is *keagh* in Long Island; *ahke*, in Wappinoo; *akek*, in Mahican; *aki, akhki*, in Algonquin. But, aside from this diversity, the fundamental characteristic of the dialects was the universal tendency to express in the same word, not only all that modified or related to the same object or action, but both the action and the object; thus concentrating in a single expression a complex idea, or several ideas among which there was natural connection. "All other features of the language," remarks Gallatin, "seem to be subordinate to that general principle. The object in view has been attained by various terms of the same tendency and often blended together: a multitude of inflections, so called; a still greater number of compound words, sometimes formed by the coalescence of primitive words not materially altered, more generally by the union of many such words in a remarkably abbreviated form, and numerous particles, either significative, or the original meaning of which has been lost, prefixed, added as terminations, or inserted in the body of the word."

As a rule, Indian geographical terms are of two classes — general or generic, and specific or local. In specific names the combination may be simple, as Coxackie — *co*, object, and *acke*, land; in others intricate, as Maghaghkemeck, in which *acke*, land, is buried in consonants and qualifying terms. The terminal of a word materially aids but does not govern its translation. *Uk* or *unk* indicates "place of" in a specific sense, as in Mohunk,— *ong*, "place of," in a more general sense as in Manacknong, modified in Aquehonga, as illustrated in the name of Staten Island; *ik*, *ick*, *eck*, or *uk* denotes rocks or stones. Quasuck, applied to a small stream of water, would simply mean "stony brook," while Quaspeck, as applied to a hill, would signify "stony hill," as in the case of Verdrietig Hoeck, or Tedious Point, as the Dutch called the well-known Hudson headland; *ack* or *acke*, land,— *ing* or *ink*, something in which numbers are presented, as in Neversink, a "place of birds"; *ais*, *ees*, *os*, *aus*, denote a single small object or place, as Minnisais, a small island — a number of islands, Minnising or Minnisink; *ish*, *eesh*, *oosh*, or *sh* indicates a bad or faulty quality; *co* is object; *at*, at or near; *pogh* is a generic term for pond, swamp, etc., and hence we find it in Ramepogh and Poghkeepke (Poughkeepsie)[1]; while Apoquague embodies the same roots buried in qualifications that present some simple idea. Wa-wa-na-quas-sick is a somewhat lengthy combination,— *wa-wa* is plural, or many; *na* signifies good; *quas* is stone or stones, and *ick*, place of stones. It all means a pile of memorial stones thrown together to mark a place or event. Wa-wa-yaun-da,— *wa-wa*, plural, more than one or we; *yaun*, home, or by the prefixed plural, homes; *da*, town or village: complete, "our homes or places of dwelling." These illustrations are sufficient to show that while terms were in the main composed of the simplest descriptive equivalents — a black hill or a red one, a large hill or a small one, a small stream of water or a larger one, or one which was muddy or stony, a field of maize or of leeks, overhanging rocks or dashing waterfalls (patternack) — the Algonquin language was yet capable of poetic combinations which were not only beautiful, but which must ever remain attractive from their peculiarity and their history.

Manhattan Island is without other recorded Indian name than that which was given to it by the Dutch. "It was the Dutch and not the Indians who first called it Manhattan" is the unquestioned testimony of history. The signification of the term, which has been given

[1] The name of this city as seen in ancient documents and maps exhibits a surprising number of methods of spelling, being found in no less than forty-four varieties as follows: Pacapsy, Pakeepsie, Pakepsy, Paughkepsie, Pecapesy, Pecapsy, Pacapshe, Pochkeepsinck, Poeghkeepsing, Poeghkeepsingk, Poeghkeepsink, Pochkeepsey, Pochkeepsen, Pochkeepsy, Pochkepsen, Pochkyphsingh, Pockeepsy, Pockepseick, Pockepsing, Pokepsing, Poghkeepke, Poghkeepsie, Poghkeepsinck, Poghkeepsing, Poghkepse, Poghkepsen, Poghkeepsink, Poghkeepson, Pogkkeepse, Pokeepsigh, Pokeepsingh, Pokeepsink, Pokeepsy, Pokepsinck, Pokkepsen, Picipsi, Pikipsi, Pokepsie, Pokeepsie, Pokipse, Poukeepsie, Poukepsy, Poughkeepsey, and Poughkeepsie. EDITOR.

already, need not be repeated, nor the precise locality to which it was applied again quoted. Rescued and perpetuated, it stands where it does, and there it will stand forever. The Indians never gave a local term to themselves—others did that for them. Several places on the island, however, are marked by Indian names. Kapsee has been given as that of the extreme point of land between the Hudson and East Rivers, and is still known as Copsie Point. It is said to signify "safe place of landing," as it may have been, but *ee* should have been written *ick*. The Dutch called it Capsey Hoeck; they erected a "hand," or guide-board, to indicate that all vessels under fifty tons were to anchor between that point and the "hand," or guide-board, which stood opposite the "Stadtherberg," built in 1642. This indicates that the point had the peculiarity which is held to be expressed in the Indian name. Sappokanikan, a point of land on the Hudson below Greenwich Street, has been explained as indicating "the carrying place," the presumption being that the Indians, at that place, carried their canoes over and across the Island to East River to save the trouble of paddling down to Kapsee Point and from thence up the East River. This explanation is, however, too limited. It was from this point that the Indians crossed the river to Hobokan-Hacking, subsequently known as Pavonia,[1] now Jersey City, and maintained between the two points a commercial route of which that existing there at the present time is the successor.[2] Lapinikan, an Indian village or collection of huts which was located here, had no doubt some special connection with the convenience of the Indian travelers. Corlear's Hoeck was called Naig-ia-nac, literally "sand lands."[3] It may, however, have been the name of the Indian village which stood there, and was in temporary occupation. It was to this village that a considerable number of Indians retreated from savage foes in February, 1643, and were there massacred by the Dutch.[4] Near

How they tooke him prisoner in the Daze 1607.
C. Smith bindeth a salvage to his arme, fighteth with the King of Pamaunkee and all his company, and slew 3 of them.

FROM CAPT. JOHN SMITH'S "GENERAL HISTORY."

1 From Michael Pauw, the first purchaser, who Latinized his name. The Latin of *pauw* (peacock) is *pavo*—hence the name Pavonia. It is described by De Vries as "the place where the Indians cross the river."—N. Y. Hist. Soc. Col., Second Series, 1: 264, and note.

2 "Where the Indians cross to bring their peltries."—De Vries. "Through this valley pass large numbers of all sorts of tribes on their way east or north."—Tienhoven.

3 "Naghtognk," Benson; "Nahtonk," Schoolcraft—*na*, excellent, and *onk*, place—an "excellent landing place." It was an indentation or "hook" with a sandy beach.

4 "And a party of freemen behind Corlear's plantation on the Manhatans, who slew a large number of these refugees, and afterwards burned all their huts."—"Documents relating to Colonial History of New-York," 1: 200. "A short mile [Dutch] from the fort," or about one and half miles.

Chatham Square was an eminence called Warpoes—*wa*, singular, *oes*, small—literally a "small hill." Another hill, at the corner of Charlton and Varick Streets, was called Ishpatinau—literally a "bad hill" or one having some faulty peculiarity, *ish* being the qualifying term. Ishibic probably correctly described the narrow ridge or ancient cliff north of Beekman Street to which it was applied. Acitoc is given as the name for the height of land in Broadway; Abic, as that of a rock rising up in the Battery, and Penabic, "the comb mountain," as that of Mount Washington. A tract of meadow land, on the north end of the island near Kingsbridge, was called Muscoota, which is said to signify "grass land," but as the same name is given to Harlem River, other signification is implied, unless, in the latter case, the word should be rendered "the river of the grass lands." A similar dual application of name appears in Papirinimen, which is given as that of a tract of land "on the north end of the island," about One Hundred and Twenty-eighth Street, between the Spuyten Duyvel and the Harlem, and also as that of the Spuyten Duyvel.[1] Shorackappock is said to have described the junction of the Spuyten Duyvel and the Hudson, but the equivalents of the term—*sho* and *acka*—indicate that the interpretation should be, as in Shotag (now Schodac) "the fire-place," or place at which the council chamber of the chieftaincy was held—an interpretation which clothes the locality with an interest of more significance than the occurrence there of the attack upon the Half-Moon. The Island was intersected by Indian paths, the principal one of which ran north from the Battery or Kapsee Point to City Hall Park, where it was crossed by one which ran west to the village of Lapinikan, and east to Naig-ia-nac, or Corlear's Hoeck. The name assigned to the village, Lapinikan, may have been that of this crossing path, which was continued from Pavonia south to the Lenapewihitrik, or Delaware River. Many of the ancient roads followed the primary Indian foot-paths.

The aboriginal names of the islands in the harbor have been preserved more or less perfectly. Staten Island is called in the deed to De Vries, in 1636, Monacknong; in the deed to Capellen, in 1655, Ehquaous, and in that to Governor Lovelace, in 1670, Aquehonga-Manacknong, titles which are presumed to have covered the portions owned by the Raritans and the Hackinsacks respectively. The names in the deeds to De Vries and Capellen, however, are but another orthography of those in the deed to Lovelace. Manacknong, signifying "good land" in a general sense, may be accepted as the aboriginal name. Governor's Island was called by the Dutch Nooten Island, "because excellent nut-trees grew there," and possibly also from Pecanuc, the Algonquin term for nut-trees.[2] Bedloe's Island was called Min-

[1] O'Callaghan's "History of New Netherland," 1: chap. 3; above, p. 46.

[2] Denton's "A Brief Description of New York," p. 29; "Pagganck," Brodhead's "History of New York," 1: 267.

nisais, a pure Algonquin term for "small island." It does not appear to have possessed a qualifying character of any kind. Ellis Island was Kioshk, or Gull Island, and that of Blackwell's was Minnahonnonck, a phrase that is not without poetic elements, but has none in this connection, *minna* being simply "good." In its vicinity is Hellgate, to which Monatun has been applied—"a word," says an eminent authority, "carrying in its multiplied forms the various meanings of violent, dangerous, etc," in which sense it may be accepted without requiring the authority by which it was conferred. Objection is proper, however, when philological argument is made to extend the term to "the people of the island among whom the Dutch first settled," in which connection it can have no significance whatever. The name of Long Island is sometimes written Sewan-hacky from *sewan*, its shell money, and *acky*, land; but its aboriginal title appears to have been Matouwacky—*ma*, large, excellent, *acky* or *acke*, land.

A vocabulary of the many geographical terms pertaining to the islands, or one embracing those on the west side of the Hudson, would not reveal any striking feature or furnish additional substantial illustration of the peculiarities of the language of the native inhabitants. The few names that have been adopted and woven into the language of their successors appropriately preserve the memory of the Manna-hata.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

Mr. Alexander C. Chenoweth, one of the engineers on the New Aqueduct, while engaged upon excavations for that work, in July, 1891, observed near his house at Inwood, on the Kingsbridge Road, what seemed to him a peculiar arrangement of the stones of the field. Boulders of several hundred pounds' weight appeared imbedded in the earth with a regularity such as no geological action could have given.

STONE WITH INSCRIPTION.

THE FUNERAL URN.

Led on by these to make still closer investigations, he unearthed several skeletons, shells, and pieces of pottery. More recently his diligence was rewarded by finding the two interesting specimens illustrated above.

One of these is a stone with an inscription upon it. It is about three feet long and two feet thick, and its sides are pitted. It appears as if it had been dressed by beating with hammer-stones. The inscription can be readily traced, and it bears the marks of having been chiseled with arrow-heads. The other object is a conical urn or pot, or

rather the pieces of one. Mr. Chenoweth thinks it was made by the Indians, who left that locality in 1640. In order to be perfectly assured as to the authenticity of his relics, the young engineer wrote to Professor F. W. Putnam, instructor in archæology and ethnology in Harvard University, who corroborates his opinion as to their origin. The author of this chapter, writing on this same matter, observes: "I cannot positively pass judgment upon the relics without seeing them, and the place where they were found, and knowing the position of the skeletons." But he adds: "Earthen pots were made by the Indians and buried with them." And in regard to the inscriptions on the stone, Mr. Ruttenber remarks: "The Indians had a written language but it was hieroglyphic. It is possible, however, that some of the later local Indians — Christian Indians—learned to make characters as they now do."

THE HARBOR AND CITY OF AMSTERDAM.

CHAPTER III

THE ANTECEDENTS OF NEW NETHERLAND AND THE DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY

FIVE days after the Half-Moon departed from the port of Amsterdam, on the way, as it proved, to the site of its namesake and prototype in the New World, a truce was signed at Antwerp by the representatives of the United Provinces of the Dutch Republic and those of the powerful kingdom of Spain. This truce meant much to the United Provinces beyond the mere suspension of hostilities; and taking place in the very year of the discovery of the site of New-York, what it meant to them becomes of especial significance to us in a study of the history of our city. Whatever it involved of political importance, of national development, of the success of republican ideas, gives it a high rank among the events that preceded and influenced the settlement of this locality. So that, indeed, a somewhat careful though brief review of the circumstances that led up to and attended its accomplishment will constitute at the same time a review of the antecedents of New Netherland.

The truce of 1609 gave a temporary pause to the famous "Eighty Years' War," which was sustained by the United Provinces of the Netherlands in their struggle for political independence. In 1568 that war began, so far as regards the resort to arms; for on May 23d of that year was fought the Lexington of the Dutch Revolution at Heiligerlee, in Groningen. But the real beginning of troubles dates many

years further back. In fact, the origin of the Revolution is almost contemporaneous with that of the Reformation. In 1521 Luther had appeared before the Diet of Worms, and there, in the hearing of the Emperor and princes and prelates of the Holy Roman Empire, had taken his irrevocable stand. He and his doctrines were branded with the fatal stamp of heresy, and he and his adherents devoted to the fiery destruction which, in that age, heresy was thought to deserve. In 1522 the Emperor of Germany, Charles V., put the Inquisition in operation in order to root out and banish the Lutheran teachings from the Netherland Provinces. These provinces were all his, as a matter of personal property. The Counts of Holland had become Counts of Zeeland also; by marriage this duplex county had passed into the family of the Counts of Hainault, in Belgium, and again into that of Bavaria; until before the middle of the fifteenth century Jacqueline of Bavaria, the sole heiress of these fair counties, had been compelled to despoil herself in favor of her uncle, the unscrupulous Philip, Duke of Burgundy, who had previously managed to aggrandize himself by the Duchy of Brabant and the County of Flanders. Thus, finally, as the result of honest purchase in some cases or of shameless chicanery in others, and of judicious marriage in still other instances, Philip the Fair, the father of Charles V., had found himself possessed of the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands, comprising all that territory embraced at present in the kingdoms of the Netherlands and Belgium. Then Philip married the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, who was sole heiress of their united crowns of Castile and Arragon. Her son, Charles, with all the rich Netherlands and the Duchy of Burgundy or the half of France at his back, became King of Spain, and at the imperial election of 1519 was made Emperor of Germany.[1]

In his patrimonial territories Charles was able to pursue more arbitrary courses than in Germany. Here he could not even secure the destruction of Luther. But over the Netherlands he appointed an inquisitor-general, whose function it was, quite apart from the slowly moving ecclesiastical machinery, to ferret out heretics and bring down swift punishment upon their devoted heads. The " Placard," or Decree, announcing this appointment was followed in rapid succession by some twelve others, each more cruel and sanguinary and more genuinely inquisitorial than its predecessors, till the one of 1550 ended the list and capped the climax of iniquity and ferocity. It was never

[1] Charles, as an enlightened statesman, " ayant uny toutes ces belles Provinces," says de Wicquefort, " comme en une corps, voulut qu'à l'avenir elles demeurassent dans une mesme masse, sous un seul Prince, et quelles ne fussent point demembrées ny separées, pour quelque cause que ce fust." (" Histoire des Provinces Unies," 1: 3, Londres, 1749.) This impress of national unity or homogeneity must have had an immense effect upon the people of these provinces, and have contributed greatly to their union in the struggle for independence against the son of Charles.

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[1] This portrait is taken from Emanuel Van Meteren's "Historien der Nederlanden" (folio, Amsterdam, 1652), and is an exact reproduction from the original picture painted by Antonis Mor, or Moro (born in Utrecht, 1549), the favorite Dutch portrait painter of Philip the Second. EDITOR.

improved upon; it was perfect in its wicked ingenuity of persecution. In 1555 Charles V. renounced all his crowns and dignities; the imperial crown went to his brother Ferdinand; in favor of his son, Philip II., he abdicated the throne of Spain, which belonged to him by right of inheritance; and Philip necessarily inherited also the Dukedom of Burgundy with its appanage of the several Netherland Provinces. The new King of Spain and Sovereign Lord of the Netherlands at once reiterated with great emphasis the Placard of 1550, as expressing most fitly and fully the intended policy of the new reign, under the plausible cover of a measure of the previous reign; for which thus the on the whole rather popular Charles was made responsible, instead of his untried yet already quite unpopular son.

But fortunately, or unfortunately, the Placards, in their zeal to save the souls of the inhabitants of the Netherlands at the expense of their bodies, had traversed and trampled upon their civil rights and privileges, stipulated in more than one charter for almost every Province, and solemnly sworn to by both Charles and Philip. Thus all classes of citizens, without respect to creed, made common cause against the common oppressor, culminating finally in a "Petition of Rights" presented formally to the government at Brussels in April, 1566, by four hundred nobles in person. Philip himself had long ago left the uncongenial Netherlands. He was better pleased to seat himself upon the throne of Spain at Madrid, than to remain among the free-spoken and turbulent Dutch and Flemings. He had therefore committed the government of the Netherlands to his sister, a natural daughter of the Emperor Charles — Margaret of Parma, born at Ghent, and thus entitled to hold office in the Provinces. She sent the "Petition of Rights" in great alarm to the King. The answer of Philip was an army of 13,000 foreign troops, under the command of the Duke of Alva, a Spanish grandee of great military fame. He was also noted for his inflexible harshness, and perhaps for this reason was selected by Philip not only to command this army, but also to supersede Margaret in the governorship on his arrival in the country (August, 1567). But both the Governor and the soldiery, being foreign, were upon Netherland soil in direct and deliberate violation of the liberties of the country, a more flagrant violation if possible than any of which the "Petition of Rights" had complained. Remonstrance, petition, every diplomatic device, in fact, having utterly failed to secure redress, under the leadership of William of Orange, who had directed all previous and pacific negotiations, arms were finally taken up early in the year 1568. Four expeditions at once were directed against the territory now ruled by Alva. But success attended only that which attacked the strongholds of the enemy in the North. The city of Groningen was almost secured. Then at Heiligerlee, about twenty

miles east of this capital, the patriots under Count Louis of Nassau, William the Silent's brother, gained a signal victory over the Spaniards, on May 23, 1568. But another brother of the illustrious statesman, Count Adolphus, a youth of but little over twenty summers, perished on the field of glory, where stands to-day a handsome monument, unveiled May 23, 1868, representing the young soldier expiring at the feet of the victorious Maid of Holland.

The hostilities thus begun continued uninterruptedly with varying success for forty years. Towards the end of that period, however, and especially at the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, success declared itself more and more frequently on the side of the Dutch Republic. That Republic had long before this been narrowed down from seventeen to seven of the provinces of the Netherlands. As late as the year 1576 William of Orange, by the skill of his diplomacy and the power of his name and reputation, could still, though with considerable difficulty, unite all of the seventeen into a compact or union called the "Pacification of Ghent." But the southern provinces soon began to fall away. The mercurial Celtic element was largely prevalent there; the people were not made of the stern stuff of their northern countrymen, where the Anglo-Saxon characteristics were dominant. Hence the struggle proved too much for the endurance of the Belgians: indeed their defection from the "Pacification" had become so general and so serious in less than two years, that vigorous measures became necessary to counteract the decline of patriotic efforts.[1] Fortunately the seven northern provinces were not dismayed by the defection of the majority. Seeing the "Pacification of Ghent" slipping away from under their feet, delegates from these small bits of territory met in the city of Utrecht towards the end of the year 1578, and on January 29, 1579, published to the world the "Union of Utrecht." It combined into one Federal Union, or

[1] In view of this indisputable fact it is almost amusing to read what is claimed for the "Belgians" in a most valuable book. G. M. Asher, in his "Bibliographical and Historical Essay on New Netherland" (especially on pp. 76 and 82), claims that they led the troops of the Dutch Republic to battle; instructed the Dutch artisans; directed their commerce and navigation! We shall have occasion to notice (and to answer) these startling assertions more particularly further on, in text or notes.

Confederation, the seven different states or provinces which subscribed to the agreement or compact, and it furnished at the same time a constitution for the government of the Republic of the United Netherlands in peace and war. The first Article read thus: "The aforesaid Provinces unite, confederate, and bind themselves one with another, as by these presents they do unite, confederate, and bind themselves, in perpetuity, each to remain with the others in all form and manner as if they were but one province, without that they shall at any time separate themselves from one another, or allow themselves to be separated or parted, by testament, codicil, donation, cession, exchange, sale, treaty of peace or of marriage, nor for any other cause, however that might arise."[1] This truly was only an amplification of the sentiment so familiar to us: "Divided we fall, united we stand." Not satisfied with this, however, a further and in that age a much bolder step was undertaken two years later. If the Federal Union of States had been the principle advanced and practically demonstrated to the world by means of the "Union of Utrecht," now it was the sovereignty of the people which was courageously asserted by an apparently simple but really a portentous proceeding on the part of these Dutch republicans. For eleven years they had carried on a revolt against their sovereign lord, who as Count of Holland, or Duke of Gelderland, or Lord of Drenthe, claimed their allegiance while he ruled as King in Spain. But the struggle was conducted under the legal fiction that Philip was misguided in the choice of vicegerents. The provinces were supposed to be loyal to the King while at war against his governors, who as foreigners had no right to occupy such office in the Netherlands. This fiction, however, was flimsy and cumbersome, and by repeated acts of oppression and the breach of his sworn promises Philip had forfeited all right to their allegiance. It seems easy for us in these days, and on this side of the Atlantic, to take this obvious view of the case. It was quite a different matter in the sixteenth century and in feudal Europe. But the Dutch provinces boldly grappled with the question, and declared outright that Philip had forfeited his sovereignty. On July 26, 1581, at the Hague, the States-General passed the "Act of Abjuration," declaring themselves free from allegiance to Philip. In it there was submitted a long arraignment, setting forth his crimes against the liberties of the people, culminating in the closing of the ports of Spain and Portugal, and the ban against the life of the people's benefactor, William of Orange (1580). The preamble undertakes to instruct Philip as to the duties of princes: "Whereas every one is aware that a Prince of the land is appointed of God to be at the head of his subjects in order to

[1] De Wicquefort, Hist. des Prov. Unies, 1: 26, preuves. The "Union" is here given in Dutch and French in parallel columns.

preserve and protect the same, like a shepherd is placed over his sheep; and that subjects are not created of God for the benefit of the Prince, but the Prince for the benefit of his subjects, without whom he would be no Prince; therefore whenever he does not consider this, but seeks to oppress and distress them, taking away their ancient liberty and privileges, and commanding and using them as if they were slaves, he must be held to be not a Prince but a tyrant; and for this reason he may be abandoned by his subjects, and another sought for and chosen to take his place as chief for their protection, especially if this be done by the estates of the country."[1] Thereupon followed the solemn declaration: "Be it known, that we, having duly considered what is hereinbefore said, and pressed by extreme necessity as before—after mutual agreement, deliberation, and consultation—have declared, and by these presents do declare, the King of Spain *ipso jure* to have forfeited his sovereignty, right, and inheritance over the aforesaid provinces: we having henceforth no intention to recognize the same in any affairs touching these aforesaid lands; nor to use his name nor to allow any one to use it, as sovereign; further declaring all officers, judges, vassals, and other inhabitants of whatsoever condition or quality to be henceforward liberated from their oaths sworn to the King of Spain, as sovereign of these provinces."[2]

Here was thus the sovereignty of the people set over against the sovereignty of the hereditary or feudal lord in the clearest possible manner. The real lese-majesty had been committed by the ruler against his subjects; the penalty for the crime was forfeiture of all his rights and claims and possessions. It was a mighty thing to do and to maintain in that century. But the ideas that were the foundation of such an act, the warrant, the justification for it, had a potency and life in them which caused the patriots to dare and achieve everything. They sustained the inhabitants of these small territories in their battle for independence, until success smiled upon them in the end, after they had passed through many a valley of the shadow of death. For the moral force which these ideas imparted seemed somehow to furnish also the material strength needed to carry on the struggle. The wealth of the country increased, and commerce grew to great proportions, in the very face of war. The patriot arms gained ever-repeated victories, till Spain, with the half of Europe and nearly all of America to supply its resources, actually became exhausted in the effort to reduce her rebellious provinces to obedience. She at last became an earnest and persistent solicitor for peace, or the cessation of hostilities in any form and on any terms. These negotia-

[1] De Wicquefort, Hist. des Prov. Unies, 1: 51, 52. preuves. We have given a free translation of the Dutch original, in reality amounting rather to an abstract or résumé of that portion of the document, for the reason that it would require too much space to quote the entire passage.

[2] De Wicquefort, Hist. des Prov. Unies, 1: 64. 65, preuves.

tions began as early as the summer of 1607. An imposing embassage was sent, consisting of several persons of distinction, one of whom was the famous Spanish Commander-in-Chief, the Marquis Spinola, a worthy opponent of Maurice of Orange. He was received with generous and spontaneous enthusiasm at the Hague, and it was a notable event to behold these two great captains taking each other by the hand and riding into the capital seated side by side in the same state-carriage. The representatives of Spain and of the Republic met in a splendid room or saloon, which to this day bears the name of the "Chamber of the Truce." Entering the present government buildings on the Binnenhof at the Hague, to the right of the inner east gate, one ascends a broad flight of stairs up to the corridor upon which the doors of this apartment open. Seven lofty windows afford a view of the "Vyver," the celebrated ornamental pond in the center of the city. Here to-day hang portraits, by master-hands, of the seven Stadholders of the House of Orange. In the days of the Republic the conferences of the States-General, or congress of the nation, with the Council of State, or the cabinet, were held in this great room, while somewhat later in this same seventeenth century the States-General were wont to assemble here in regular session during the summer months, reserving their more limited quarters in the hall across the corridor, facing on the Binnenhof, for winter use. In spite of its suggestive name, however, the truce was not finally signed in this chamber. The negotiations for peace were entirely broken off, the Republic rejecting with indignation the terms offered, and Spain not being willing to grant acceptable ones as a permanent agreement. Then negotiations for a truce for a limited number of years were taken up; these were ultimately resumed at Antwerp, and resulted in the signing there of the "Twelve Years' Truce," in 1609. The terms which formed its basis were now such as the Dutch Republic could accept with honor and even with pride, for they amounted to nothing less than the acknowledgment of the independence of the United Netherlands. And this was not virtual, but actual. "First of all," read the opening article, "the said Lords Archdukes declare, both in their own name and in that of the said Lord King, that they are willing to treat with the said Lords the States-General of the United Provinces, in the quality of, and as holding them for, free Countries, Provinces, and States, to which they make no claim, and to effect with them a truce in the name and quality above said, as they do by these presents."[1]

[1] The instrument having been composed in French, the very words are given in De Wicquefort: "Premièrement, les dits Sieurs Archiducs déclarent, tant en leurs noms que dudit Sieur Roy, qu' ils sont contents de traitter avec les dits Sieurs Estats-Generaux des Provinces Unies en qualité et comme les tenans pour Paiis, Provinces, et Estats libres, sur lequels ils ne pretendent rien, et de faire avec eux, és noms et qualités susdits, comme ils font par ces presentes, une trève." Hist. des Prov. Unies, 1: 189, preuves.

Thus the battle was won. Republican ideas had proved their power. Republican principles put into practical operation at that early day, and however imperfectly as compared with our own system of government, had nevertheless conquered a national existence, the liberty of conscience and of government for a handful of people, with resources so apparently inadequate as to make their revolt seem like madness. This is what the truce of 1609 meant to the United Netherlands. It was a lesson never forgotten by mankind; a lesson finally placed before the world in more magnificent illustration upon the shores of that New World which the national vigor and enterprise of these same Republicans of the seventeenth century aided in part to populate and develop.

Besides the acknowledgment of the independence of the United Netherlands, one and only one other article of the truce of 1609 was prominent and pivotal. This had reference to Dutch trade with the East Indies, and was occasioned by the immense strides which the Republic's commerce had made while the war was in progress. The gains of the Dutch had been at the expense of their enemies. Spain saw with alarm that the resources upon which it chiefly depended for subduing the rebels were being crippled by these very rebels and turned into sources of revenue to provide the sinews of war for themselves. Hence Spain was eager for peace or truce, although equally eager to keep the Dutch out of the Indies. Naturally, then, the article referring to this subject would be a difficult one to handle. As this matter, too, bears directly upon that event in the history of Dutch commercial enterprise of supreme interest to us, it behooves us to pause for a brief but succinct review of the rise and progress of Dutch commerce, and its status at the time of the Twelve Years' Truce and the discovery of the Hudson River.

From the earliest times the nations inhabiting the Low Countries had been bold mariners. The water was a familiar element to them. Their existence even on land was an amphibious one. The sea had its terrors for them, indeed, when inundations swept away hamlets and towns, changing repeatedly the very face of the land. But they readily trusted themselves to its caprices in barks of rude construction. At the time hostilities against Spain began and the "Eighty Years' War" was inaugurated, three centuries of the herring fisheries had developed not only daring, but skill, in navigation. And navigation had, even up to this period, greatly served the ends of Dutch commerce, in building up a lucrative trade with the ports of Spain and Portugal. The Low Countries, particularly the provinces of the North, had nothing of consequence to export in the way of natural products. But they sent their vessels to Spain and Portugal freighted

with their abundant manufactures,[1] loaded them there in return with the treasures of the East and West Indies, and carried these precious cargoes to the havens at home, or to those of the kingdoms around the Baltic Sea. From the latter, again, these busy and alert carriers brought lumber and grain to their own land, which did not produce timber enough to build its many ships, nor sufficient breadstuffs to feed its teeming population. Vitally important to Spain and Portugal was this carrying-trade of the Dutch, for thus alone were these countries supplied with those products of industry and manual skill which in so many cases rise to the dignity of necessaries of life. The more abundantly the mines of America yielded their silver and gold, or the fields of the East Indian islands brought forth their fragrant spices, the less inclined became the Spaniards and Portuguese to exert themselves in the way of manual labor or industrial pursuits. Hence the supply of these things was awaited from the Dutch and Belgian provinces. So indispensable, indeed, had this supply become that for many years, while he was conducting a war of extermination against the Dutch cities, Philip II. did not interfere in the least with their lucrative trade with his Spanish dominions. From Portugal he could not exclude them till that country came under his sway in 1580. But he perceived too clearly that on the sea and by means of the commerce they were enjoying, they furnished themselves with the very sinews of the war of revolt against him. So at last, in 1584,[2] the decree went forth prohibiting the Dutch from trading in the ports of Spain and Portugal. It was a heavy blow to Dutch commerce; but it was a blow which, in the sequel, proved to have been directed with more fatal effect against Philip's own dominions.

The vigorous young Republic experienced a momentary check, but it was only momentary. The patriots were not to be repressed in their struggle for existence, and their bold spirit of enterprise soon sought other channels for remunerative commerce. Naturally enough, not being permitted to load their ships with the products of the East and West Indies in the ports of Spain and Portugal, the thought suggested itself that they themselves might go to the fountain-heads of these supplies directly, yet not till ten years after Philip's decree was this idea put into actual execution. The interval was filled up with a more extensive commerce than ever with the Muscovy States, or Russia, and the Scandinavian Kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.[3] The Dutch all but discovered the site of the Russian city of

1 The author of "La Richesse de la Hollande" remarks of these: "Elle avoit déjà un grand fonds d' industrie indépendemment de l' art de construction et de tous les arts qui doivent accompagner la construction et la navigation; elle avoit des manufactures de draps et d' autres étoffes, des moulins à scier, à papier, à huile, etc." (1 : 72).

2 Wagenaar, "Vaderlandsche Historie," 9 : 136; Van Kampen, "Nederlanders buiten Europa," 1 : 25.

3 "In April 1587, zeilden uit het Vlie by de 600 en uit de Maas en Zeeland wel 200 schepen, meest alle groote, allen naar de Oostzee." (Van Kampen, Nederl. b. Eur., 1 : 24.) This statement seems almost incredible.

Archangel, on the White Sea.[1] At least they so clearly pointed out its advantageous position, that the Russians were convinced that they ought to develop it as a commercial center; and it became and continued to be, indeed, the queen of their commerce until Peter the Great forced it away from that vicinity in favor of his own creation of St. Petersburg. But the ten years after 1584 were occupied diligently and profitably by the Dutch in other directions also. In the first place, in spite of Philip's embargo, the trade with the forbidden ports was actually continued in a clandestine but quite effective way until 1593. By that time, too, many Dutch navigators had visited the East Indies in Portuguese bottoms, for the Portuguese did not like the Spanish sway more than did the Dutch, and a common antipathy drew the two peoples together. In the year 1593 two brothers, Cornelius and Frederick Houtman, found themselves in prison at Lisbon, Portugal, possibly on account of their trespass of the King's prohibitory decree. In writing to Holland, to certain merchants of Amsterdam, they took occasion to inform their countrymen that they were in possession of all the necessary information — in the way of charts and maps, besides the actual experience of more than one journey — to enable them to conduct an expedition to the islands of the East Indies. Their release was promptly effected; yet not until 1595 were the brothers sent upon their mission to the lands of spices and gems. Another maritime enterprise was under way, the issue of which was watched with great interest; and which, indeed, if it should meet the expectations founded on it, would make the undertaking of the Houtmans unnecessary, and their route superfluous. This was the voyage to the arctic regions in 1594, in search of a short passage to China and the East Indies, across the North Pole, or past the ice-bound coast of Siberia, whose great extent was vastly underestimated; followed subsequently by the similar attempts of 1595 and 1596–97; the "overwintering" of the ship's company on Nova Zembla during that season, and last of all by the voyage of Henry Hudson in the Half-Moon which resulted so differently. Other Dutch mariners, in the mean time, had learned the way to the far South. Those who had not ventured upon the perilous running of the blockaded ports of Portugal or Spain had made a practice of sailing to the Cape Verde islands, off the westernmost point of Africa, and within twenty degrees north latitude of the Equator. It needed but very little additional resolution to continue the voyage below the Equator, and along the southeastern trend of the Dark Continent, to double the Cape of Good Hope and enter upon that great ocean which washed the shores of the future Colonial Empire of the Dutch.

[1] "Les Hollandois ne découvrirent le port d'Archange que sur la fin du seizième siècle [about 1584 or 1585]. Ils en firent bientôt le siège d' un grand commerce." (La Rich. d. l. Holl., 1: 116.)

In the year 1595 one expedition to the arctic regions had been made, and a second one was in contemplation. But the prospect of successfully opening that route to the wealth of China and the Indies seemed even then so doubtful, that a company of Amsterdam merchants felt justified in sending out four vessels under the command of the Houtman brothers. After an absence of two years they returned. They had landed on Java, but there and everywhere had encountered the jealous hostility of the Portuguese, who, however friendly to the Dutch on other grounds, felt that their intrusion into the Indies meant a rivalry fatal to themselves during their present subjection to Spain. The Houtmans had lost one vessel, and the remaining three failed to show any very profitable cargoes. On the whole, therefore, this first voyage to the far East had not proved to be a success financially. But the isles of the Indian Ocean had been reached; the way thither was now open ground to the Dutch; and the indomitable Republicans were only aroused to greater exertions. The original company of Amsterdam merchants added several others to their number, and the enlarged association was incorporated under the name of the "Company of Distant Lands" (*Compagnie van Verre*).

The beginning of the next year (1598) saw a fleet of eight vessels, equipped and armed for commerce and war, on its way to the Indian Ocean, under the command of Admiral Van Nek. After fifteen months half of the fleet returned, richly laden with pepper and cloves, and what was of more significance perhaps, in its bearings upon the future, conveying a friendly message from the King of Bantam, in Java, to Prince Maurice of Orange. The remainder of the fleet returned early in the year 1600, and before the end of the year Admiral Van Nek was despatched again to the East Indies with a fleet of six vessels. This time he penetrated to the Spice Islands, defeated the Portuguese there in a naval battle in the sight of the natives, concluded an amicable and advantageous treaty with the Queen of Patani on the Malay Peninsula, and brought home a valuable cargo. Voyage after voyage now followed in rapid succession. Two expeditions ventured upon the westward route, through the Straits of Magellan and across the Pacific, one of which ended in complete failure and shipwreck on the Moluccas,[1] while the other, under Oliver Van Noord, accomplished the circumnavigation of the globe (1598–1601). But most of the expeditions sought the more common route around the Cape of Good Hope, and these multiplied

[1] Yet six of these shipwrecked mariners found their way to Japan in 1600. After a residence of six years the Emperor, who had gained a very favorable impression of their nation from their conduct and skill, sent two of them to find the fleet of the Hollanders which rumor reported to be somewhere in the East Indies, and to invite the Admiral to visit Japan. This was accomplished three years later (1609), and was the beginning of the friendly relations so long subsisting between Holland and Japan, when all other European nationalities were excluded from the latter country.

so fast and made such marked inroads upon the revenue of Spain, that the Spanish admiral commanding in the Indian seas was charged to make a supreme effort to extirpate these pernicious competitors. The order was more easily given than executed: repeated defeats in minor encounters were now followed by the entire discomfiture of a great Spanish armada, resulting in increased respect of the islanders for the Dutch. As early as 1602 the trade with the East Indies, favored by these naval victories, had reached remarkable proportions. Within seven years sixty-four ships had been despatched to Java and the Spice Islands, and some of them had made the long voyage more than once.[1] Cargoes of pepper were brought from Bantam in Java, and from the southern extremity of Sumatra opposite, which was under the sway of Bantam's king, and was known as "the pepper land proper." But the same article was regularly shipped at Acheen, in northern Sumatra, also; at Patani, on the Malay Peninsula; at Johor, in Siam, or Farther India. Cloves were obtained from Amboyna and the other Moluccas; nutmegs from Banda Island; cotton from the east coast of Hindoostan, called then "Koromandel." But as, in the eager pursuit of this trade, various companies of merchants were organized in different parts of the United Provinces, it soon appeared that they seriously interfered with one another. The competition between them, both abroad and at home, was simply ruinous. Abroad, where the representatives of the several companies sought to make the largest purchases of precious stuffs from the natives, the prices were pushed up to figures far in advance of those that prevailed at first; at home, where they all sought a market for their goods at the same time, the prices fell correspondingly lower. Thus not enough profit was secured to meet the great cost of the distant and perilous expeditions; or the returns were so meager as to discourage enterprise. There was then no fair field for the successful operation of free trade: for the deadly enemies of the Republic had to be everywhere encountered, and the fitting out of ships for defense alone consumed a very great portion of the profits; while concerted action and large fleets were indispensable in overcoming the foe. Hence monopoly was resorted to, and seemed to be the only practicable method under those circumstances, whatever abuses it may have led to afterwards. All the mercantile associations which were engaged in the East India trade were consolidated into a single national organization, which was chartered under the name of the "General East India Company," in 1602.

By this means, in the first place, there was secured a working capital much larger than that which had been at the command of any one of these companies separately. It is put by some authorities at

[1] Van Kampen, Nederl. b. Eur., 1: 127.

6,500,000 florins ($2,600,000). This capital was to be furnished by shareholders, who as residents of various sections of the land were to contribute certain fixed proportions, according to the relative wealth of these different parts. These shareholders were then to elect a certain number of directors, also determined by the relative amounts to be managed, who should constitute four chambers — that of Amsterdam, of the Province of Zeeland, of the cities on the Meuse, and of the cities of the Northern Quarter. A General Board, or Executive Committee, of seventeen members were to administer the affairs of the whole body. The charter gave the Company the privilege of making treaties with the barbarous powers of the East Indies. It could carry on war, make conquests of territory and erect fortifications for the purpose of holding and defending them.[1] Upon an exactly similar basis, with internal arrangements only slightly differing in minor details, as we shall see later, the West India Company was afterwards organized. It was to the enterprise and the funds of the Amsterdam Chamber of the East India Company that we owe the discovery of the site of our city.

On March 20, 1602, the charter of the East India Company was signed and sealed by order of the States-General of the Republic. That same year a fleet of fourteen vessels was sent out, and almost every year thereafter saw one or more despatched upon the same errand. In the year 1606, or four years after its organization, the Company declared a dividend of 75%.[2] In 1609, while the negotiations for truce were going on, the Company laid before the Commissioners of the States-General a showing of the magnitude to which their trade had even then grown. From this it appears that 40 vessels, employing 5000 men, were sent annually into the Eastern Seas, and that the gross receipts were expected to reach the sum of 30,000,000 florins ($12,000,000) per year.[3]

It was altogether out of the question that the Dutch Republic should abandon this immensely profitable commerce, and consent to

1 Wagenaar, Vad. Hist., 9: 148–150; Van Kampen, Nederl. b. Eur., 1: 128–130.

2 Van Kampen, Nederl. b. Eur., 1: 324. On p. 277 this author gives a list of dividends declared from year to year from 1605 to 1620:

In 1605	15 %
" 1606	75 %
" 1607	40 %
" 1608	20 %
" 1609	25 %
" 1610	50 %
" 1612	57½%
" 1615	42½%
" 1616	62½%
" 1620	37½%

If we add these percentages together we find that they amount to 425% — *i. e.*, the Company had paid out in dividends 4¼ times its original capital; this being 6,500,000 florins ($2,600,000), the amount this had realized to shareholders by the year 1620 was no less than 27,625,000 florins, or $11,050,000.

On p. 276 Van Kampen gives some idea of the profits realized on various articles: *Pepper* was bought of the natives for 5⅝ stivers (11¼ cents) per pound, and sold in Europe for 16 stivers per pound (32 cents) — a profit of nearly 300%. *Cloves* were bought for 6¼ stivers (12½ cents), and sold for 3 florins per pound ($1.20) — a profit of nearly 1000%. *Mace* was bought for 8 stivers (16 cents), and sold for 6 florins ($2.40) per pound — a profit of 1500%.

3 Van Meteren, "Historie van de Oorlogen der Nederlanderen," 9: 368, Bk. 29 (8vo, 1763). Van Kampen, Nederl. b. Eur., 1: 166, 167.

return to the simple trade with the ports of Spain and Portugal in consideration of the acknowledgment of their independence by Spain, which at this juncture would have been a mere matter of form, since practically they were entirely independent already, and by virtue of that independence had entered upon this very career of financial prosperity. But as Spain would not grant a formal permission for Dutch trade in the Indian Seas, though she did yield in the matter of formally agreeing to treat with the United Netherlands as free and sovereign states, the astute diplomats engaged in drawing up the truce managed by a skilful use of phraseology to leave out the actual name of the Indies, without affecting the hard fact of the trade thereto. The article upon this subject read: "The subjects and inhabitants of the respective countries shall exercise reciprocal friendship and commerce, the which nevertheless the King of Spain considers to be limited to his kingdoms and lands in Europe, and not to be carried on outside of these specified limits, except in case of the countries of such powers as shall agree to permit them [the Dutch] to do so."[1] As the Dutch had been diligently making excellent treaties with almost all the East Indian potentates that were worth obtaining the privileges of trade from, the exception left the Provinces a large latitude for just the commerce they most desired, and the omission of the mere word Indies, however satisfactory that may have been to King Philip III., was of very little consequence to them. As Motley remarks: "India was as plainly expressed by the omission of the word as if it had been engrossed in large capitals."[2]

PHILIP III., OF SPAIN.

It is coincidental—yet, in view of the subsequent development of New-York City as one of the money-centers of the world, it is almost more than a coincidence, partaking in fact somewhat of the nature of a prophecy—that in the very year, already seen to have been so memorable, when the site of our city was discovered was established the Bank of Amsterdam. It was created in January, 1609, by a decree of the city fathers, as Henry Hudson sailed forth in April. Perhaps this connection, which, though remote, is still very interesting, will justify a brief account of the origin of the institution. It may contribute additional light upon the state of affairs in Holland out of which her citizens came to colonize New Netherland, and which helped to give point and character to that colonial enterprise.

1 Wagenaar, Vad. Hist., 9: 437. 2 "United Netherlands," 4: 523.

The first ideas regarding the possibilities of money per se as an article of commerce, as a means of earning money, came from Italy. The merchants from Lombardy who settled in France, England, and other parts of Europe, under that innocent title, were really capitalists who had learned the art of finance. They arrived in the Netherland Provinces as early as the thirteenth century. When the real nature of their business was apprehended, it at once encountered the opposition of the Church; for interest, for which there was then no term but usury, was supposed to be in direct violation of the precepts of the Gospel. Accordingly we find that these "Lombards" were banished from Brabant in 1260. They were, however, tolerated by the shrewd and utilitarian Hollanders, who instinctively penetrated to the far-reaching usefulness of some such transactions as loans of money for present employment in trade or manufacture, to be afterwards returned with a payment of interest out of the prospective profits of this employment. The Dutch, therefore, paid very little attention to the remonstrances of the priests. We find that the Lombards occupied a brick house (a great rarity then) in the town of Schiedam as early as 1327. In Delft a trace of them is first found in 1342; but no mention occurs in the town records of Amsterdam until the year 1477.[1] At first the dealers themselves were called "Lombards," whether they had come from Italy or not; later, the places where they carried on their business were thus designated.[2]

The first suggestion in Holland of an institution that bore some resemblance to a bank, such as we now understand it, was made in 1593, and thus at the very beginning of that mighty commercial movement which resulted finally in the vastly remunerative East India trade. It was then a time of financial stress; the interdict of Philip was still working its woes among the merchants who had been dealing with southern ports, and the usually ample compensation in the way of an increased trade in northern seas and with the Muscovy States had been sadly checked by a storm which had proved specially destructive to shipping engaged in this trade.[3]

In the aforesaid year, then, one Henry Antoniszoon Wissel, a name

1 Wagenaar, "Amsterdamsche Geschiedenis," 7:111.

2 To this day pawnshops in Holland go by the name of *Lombards*, *Lomberds*, or *Lommerts*. If the business of these men was not at first of this low character, it nevertheless degenerated later; but when some of them, in Amsterdam, went to the extreme of charging the outrageous interest of 33⅓ %, the city interfered, and curiously enough established what was called a "Bank of Loans" (in contradistinction from the "Exchange Bank," as they called the institution which forms our subject at present), which was really a pawnshop under the control of the city. (See Wagenaar, as cited above.) In a directory of New-York City of 1826–27, we find this advertisement: "United States Lombard Association, office, 28 Wall Street." No further explanation of its business occurs, which may thus be left to our conjectures or suspicions. But it shows the persistence of that designation of the early Italian financiers into the present century and across the Atlantic.

3 Davies ("Holland and the Dutch," 2:561) says that a storm had destroyed forty vessels engaged in the northern trade, causing many bankruptcies, yet Bor, to whom he makes reference, mentions no such storm, nor gives that and its consequences as the occasion for the petition for a bank.

evidently derived from the occupation he meant to establish,[1] addressed a petition to the States-General of the United Provinces assembled at the Hague, in his own name, but representing an association or syndicate of capitalists, which Bor supposes to have been largely composed of Italian nobles, or even princes. The scheme suggested by the petitioners embraced five main particulars: (1) the erection of offices, counting-houses, or *comptoirs*, in various cities of the Republic, upon which bills of exchange, or drafts, or checks could be drawn; (2) these to serve also for the deposit of money, as in Spain, Italy, and other lands; (3) to be, again, a sort of pawnshops for the accommodation of the poor, loaning sums not larger than 15 gulden ($6) on clothing, furniture, etc.; (4) to furnish loans, on good security, of large sums at 10 per cent. per an., for the encouragement of business; and (5) these *comptoirs* to serve also as public auction rooms.[2] This interesting address was earnestly discussed in the States-General, and referred by them to the various Provincial Legislatures in November, 1593. In the undoubting anticipation that his petition would be granted, Wissel purchased, or rented, and established himself and family in the handsomest house in the Hague, which indeed at the present day is nothing less than the modest royal palace, occupied by the King when he is in residence at the capital.[3] Here were to be the headquarters of the

MONUMENT AT HEILIGERLEE.

[1] "*Wissel*" is the Dutch both for "Exchange" and "Check."

[2] Bor, "Oorspronck, Begin, en Vervolgh der Nederlandsche Oorlogen," Deel 4, Stuk 2, Bk. 30, p. 771 (fol. 1679).

[3] This curious fact is beyond dispute. Bor says that this fine house, which he describes with evident relish, was situated on the street called *Noordeinde*, and that it was erected in 1533 by William Gout, Receiver-general of Holland at that time. (Bor, Bk 30, p. 771.) And in a description of the Hague published in 1857 ("La Haye par un Habitant," 2 vols., 1: 271), under *Noordeinde*, we read: "En avançant dans la rue,

various banking institutions scattered throughout the land, the central office or chief bank of the United Provinces. But the scheme came to nothing, and the house is now merely a palace.

It was not till thirteen years later that a project for a bank, on the model of the one at Venice, was first considered by the Municipality of Amsterdam. The necessity for such an institution had now become very pressing. The commerce with the East Indies was rapidly attaining vast proportions, making the cities of Holland the mart of Europe for procuring the spices of the fruitful and fragrant Orient. The East India Company had just (1606) declared a dividend of 75 per cent. Amsterdam was the head and center of all its traffic, besides having by far the most of the trade with the Muscovy States and the kingdoms of the Baltic. Merchants from every country of Europe congregated within her walls, and crowded her "Bourse," an ample court open to the sky, and surrounded by a covered colonnade on all sides, situated not then upon the great square of the Dam, but in the narrow Warmoestraat, not far from the present "Bible Hotel," well known to American tourists. Here was daily heard a very Babel of confused tongues. But what was even more confusing, here were brought in payment for mercantile transactions all varieties of coins, in gold or silver, and of every nationality. And these coins, besides possessing the inconvenience of being foreign, were in various states of depreciation, worn, clipped, or even deliberately adulterated, and diminished from their face value by the iniquity of insolvent princes. Whenever a bill was to be paid at home or abroad, these various circumstances had to be considered, and the exact value of the money employed in such transaction was ascertained in each instance with great laboriousness. Accordingly the magistrates of Amsterdam, "to facilitate commerce," decreed that a bank be established. Here every merchant might place the coins in his possession, have them once for all weighed, assayed, and properly valued, and the true value of the whole deposit placed to his credit. The city made itself responsible for the safe-keeping of the funds, and guaranteed the return of whatever moneys any person placed there. One of the Burgomasters of the city was annually appointed to inspect the amount of funds on deposit, and make a declaration to that effect under oath. The decree erecting the bank was published on January 29, 1609, thirty years to a day after the signing of the "Union of Utrecht."[1]

The management of the bank was intrusted at first to three Commissioners, who were placed under oath in assuming the office. In

on voit à droite [coming from the west, or the "Old Scheveningen Road"] le palais de la vieille cour. Il fut originairement batî en 1553, par Willem Goudt, receveur-général de Hollande." The author makes no reference to Bor, or the bank incident, and evidently obtained his information from an independent source.

[1] Wagenaar, Amsterd. Geschied., 4 : 155; La Rich. d. l. Holl., 1 : 254; Davies, Holland and the Dutch, 2 : 561.

1686 the number was increased to four; later still to six, and even eight. But after 1716 the number remained fixed at six. These functionaries were usually chosen from among the ex-schepens and ex-councilmen of the city; but sometimes a merchant of prominence was selected who had held no official position. The clerical force for carrying on the business of the bank consisted of four "Chief-bookkeepers," with two "adjunct" or assistant bookkeepers. A "Contra-bookkeeper" kept the "Contra-ledger"—these terms being doubtless equivalent to those of general-bookkeeper and general-ledger of our banks to-day. This "Contra-bookkeeper" was provided with no less than six assistants, and his ledger was required to balance every day with those of the four "Chief-bookkeepers." There were, also, two "Receivers," analogous doubtless to our receiving and paying tellers; for one of these "Receivers" paid out moneys, while the other properly received. These men had assistants, but it is not stated how many. There was, moreover, the important position of "Assayer," very necessary in such a bank, where coins had to be so cautiously taken and so thoroughly tested as to their value. Lastly, there were two messengers and an errand boy.[1]

It must be observed that while this bank was a great step in advance in the world of finance, and of immense advantage to Dutch commerce, it was quite different in its operation from that of the banking system in this country to-day. It was strictly a bank for deposits and exchange. It did no business in the way of discounts; it did not use its funds for investments; nor even did it make loans to the Government, which constituted the very life of the Bank of England, established near the close of this same century. It derived an income, however, from various sources: (1) "It was enacted that all bills of exchange above a certain amount[2] should be paid in the credits [*i. e.*, certificates of deposit] which any one placing coins there received, and which were called bank-money; for the convenience and trustworthiness of this proceeding the bills on the bank were always at a premium."[3] This premium varied from 5% to 9%. So much more desirable was it considered to possess and handle these bills than the troublesome and treacherous coins, that thus much less in even good gold needed to be paid out by the bank to meet their face. (2) Those who kept an account in the bank paid a small fee to maintain the establishment. (3) The convenience of being paid on demand in good coin of any country was worth to any one the required "smallest possible" (so the decree read) rebate on the same. (4) The bank, on receiving coin or bullion for temporary safe-keeping, gave bank-money

[1] Wagenaar Amsterd. Geschied., 12: 463–485.

[2] La Rich. d. l. Holl. (1: 257) says 600 florins, or $240.

[3] H. D. McLeod, "Theory and Practice of Banking," 1: 268 (London, 1875).

or credit equal to its exact value to the depositor, together with a receipt for the same. If this were called for within six months the equivalent bank-money was to be returned, whereupon the owner would receive what he had deposited after there was deducted a commission of ¼% for coin or silver bullion, and one of ½% for gold bullion. If this particular deposit was not called for in less than six months, it passed among the general funds of the bank, the depositor possessing of course its equivalent in bank-money.

It is readily seen that on the vast funds under its care even these small percentages, commissions, and fees would yield a considerable income. At one time the bank's vaults contained no less than one hundred and eighty millions of dollars ($180,000,000), a sum which was hardly conceivable in those days. It therefore is worth noticing that when Henry Hudson revealed to the world the existence of the site of our great city, those who sent him here, and those who followed up his discovery, were already perfectly and practically familiar with operations in finance that could control sums of such enormous proportions. The Genius which presided over our city's birth, and which was destined to carry it on to its splendid position in the realm of finance to-day, had already sprung into being among the very nation that was coming to colonize the Island of Manhattan.

Such then was the year 1609; but a proper appreciation of the antecedents of New Netherland will require us to pause and reach forth into the immediate future which grew out of such a combination of events. The seventeenth century was the Golden Age of Holland: while it shone New Netherland was colonized; ere it had departed the colony had already become New-York. Its existence therefore in the home country must have had a direct influence upon men and matters in this portion of the western hemisphere.

Forty years of successful warfare had preceded the signing of the Twelve Years' Truce in 1609. Then, the pressure of foreign hostilities being removed, there burst forth at once hot controversies in politics and theology, which had been smoldering for many years before. In politics the controversy raged about the question of States' Rights *vs.* Federal Government, to which we in this century and on this side of the Atlantic are no strangers, and which we have only recently

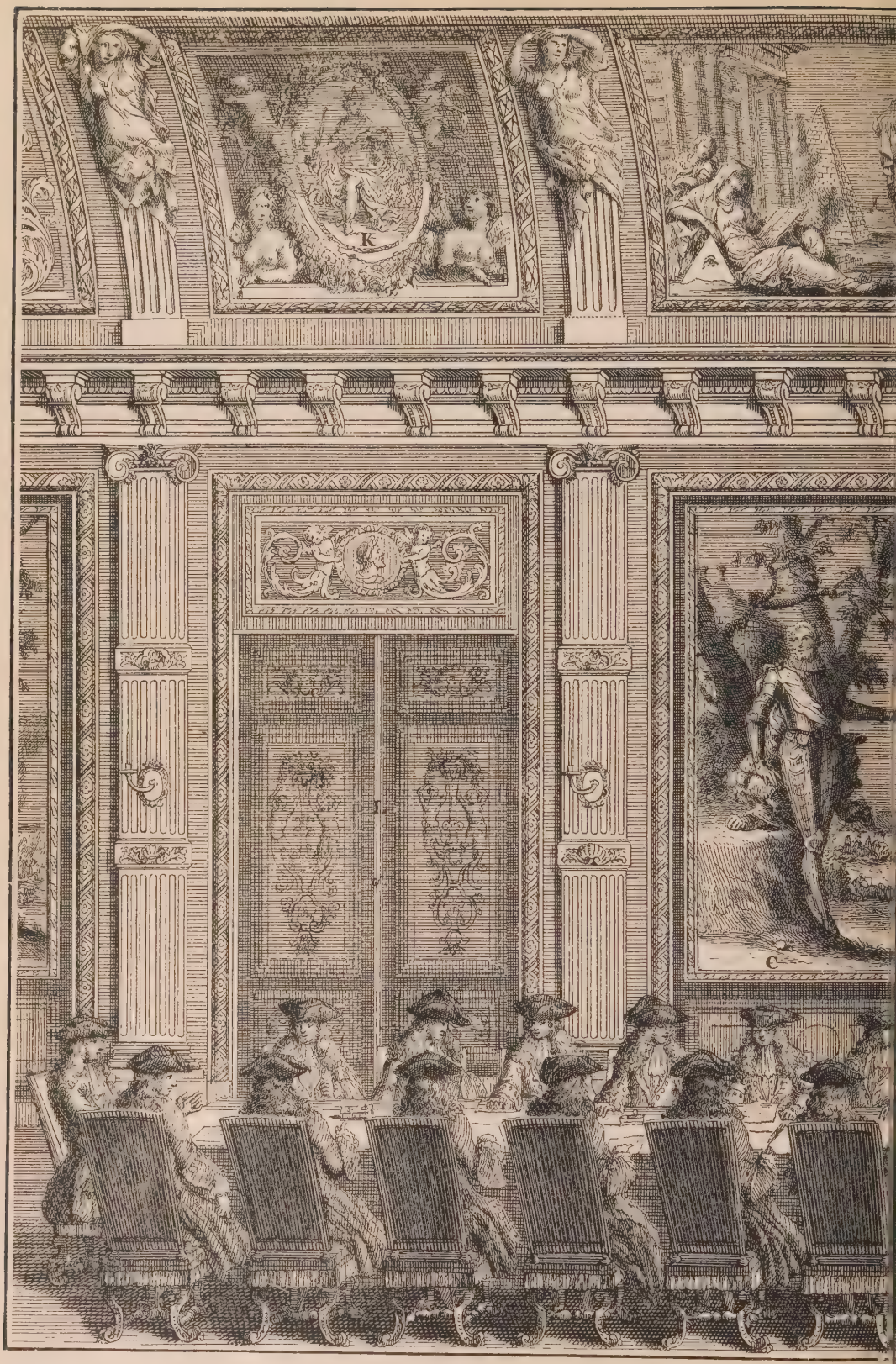
settled in favor of the latter. Barneveld, Advocate of Holland (attorney-general, or prime-minister, would convey his position better to our minds to-day), the leader of the Peace or Truce party, standing on the constitution strictly interpreted, *i. e.*, the "Union of Utrecht," maintained the States' Rights theory.[1] Maurice of Orange, who had striven for a continuance of the war, with a rather high hand proceeded to exercise powers that could belong only to a centralized government, although it is quite wide of the mark to assert that he aspired to a throne.[2] Barneveld overcame the Prince in securing the truce; Maurice employed the enforced leisure from his duties in the field in taking measures to crush the Advocate. Calvinists being at the same time arrayed against Arminians upon the abstrusest theological points, these fierce discussions were taken from the university halls and cast abroad upon the very streets, setting members of the same household in bitter enmity against each other — for the reason that the Arminians artfully enlisted the magistrates on their side, by contending that to them was to be committed the decision of the call of ministers to churches.[3] The magistrates of the cities were of the Barneveld party; hence the Prince and his adherents became violent Calvinists. Internal peace returned only after the Synod of Dort had condemned the Arminians, on May 6th, and after John of Barneveld had been judicially murdered on May 13, 1619. Then (1621) the war with Spain was resumed; Maurice again led the armies of the Republic, although not with such brilliant success as before, until in 1625 he died and bequeathed his leadership of the patriot forces to his brother Frederick Henry, the son of William the Silent and Louisa de Coligny, born but a few months before the assassination, in 1584.

Thus the first quarter of the seventeenth century had been completed. With the second began (in some directions had already begun) the Golden Age of the Republic. As such ages usually do in all countries, it followed here immediately upon great and stirring events, after fierce conflicts of opinion,—that is, after heroic action and hard thinking. It was for Holland, in the first place, the Golden Age of her political importance. She stood before the world a strong, compact Confederation of States, sovereign each, and each stoutly

1 Led away by his zeal against the Calvinists, as well as by his horror at the murder of Barneveld, which all must share, Motley has not clearly if at all brought out the error of Barneveld (however constitutionally right) and the essential correctness of Maurice's standpoint (however judicially or personally guilty), if we judge the question in the light of republican principles as we understand them. Motley had a grand opportunity to enforce the lessons of political wisdom taught us so painfully, a quarter of a century ago, by the story of the Republic whose rise he had so eloquently set forth. Certainly his own political convictions placed him at variance with Barneveld, whose character he justly admired.

2 Even Motley gives such an impression; but the "sovereignty" he aspired to was no more than that of Count of Holland, which had been declared forfeited by the King of Spain, and had been offered to William the Silent in the year of his death. Motley's reference on this point to Wagenaar, if examined, will be found to bear out our statement. (United Netherlands, 4 : 544; cf. with Vaderl. Hist., 9 : 454.)

3 It is hardly possible that Motley could have sincerely approved of this position.



THE "CHAMBER OF THE TRU

C, PORTRAIT OF PRINCE MAURICE. D, PORTRAIT OF PRINCE FREDERICK HENRY. I, ALLEGORICAL PAINTING, T
K, THE FOUR QUARTERS OF THE

-THE PEACE CONGRESS IN SESSION.

VEN PROVINCES, AS SEVEN CLASSIC HEROES, CONSECRATING THEIR UNION UPON THE ALTAR OF RELIGION AND LIBERTY.
L, DOORS OPENING UPON THE CORRIDOR.

maintaining its sovereignty, but united into one body. The Government of the United Netherlands was divided into four great departments: (1) The Legislative, or the States-General, the parliament or congress of the Republic, composed of representatives from the Provincial "States," or Legislature, of each province; (2) the Executive, in the form of a Cabinet, or Council, called the "Council of State," but which, sitting as a high court at times, also embraced judiciary business among its functions: it was appointed by the States-General, being its "executive committee," so to speak; (3) the Treasury Department was called the "Chamber of Accounts"; and (4) the War Department was designated "The Admiralty," which would seem to include only the navy; while the army came more immediately under the direction of the Council of State. The Stadholder was the commander-in-chief of the army and navy; he was the principal servant of the State, but he had no part in legislation, not having a vote in the States-General, although his presence at its deliberations was permitted, and a seat of honor at the side of the President reserved for him. The departments were all united under one roof in a building situated on the "Binnenhof" at the Hague, and facing the beautiful "Vyver" in the rear. The hall where the High and Mighty Lords the States-General met in regular session was limited in size and rather somber of outlook. Its three windows opened upon that corner of the Binnenhof where stands the interior of the two east gates. The President's chair was placed on a raised dais, with its back to the central window, while on his left stood the chair reserved for the Stadholder. Two fine paintings by Parmentier, representing Prudence and Constancy, hung over the chimneys on either side of the room, allegorical paintings of Liberty, Peace, and Abundance, by other masters, likewise adorning the walls. The large saloon on the opposite side of the corridor, as already mentioned, was the "Chamber of the Truce." To the west of this, with windows opening upon the Vyver, were the apartments of the Admiralty; to the east, the room devoted to the sessions of the Council of State; and with either of those departments of state the States-General held formal conferences in the great Truce-chamber. The "Chamber of Accounts" was assigned apartments west of the room of the States-General.

The independence actually acquired and provisionally acknowledged by the truce in 1609 was finally wrung from the impotent but still unwilling hands of Spain at the Peace of Münster in Westphalia, in 1648. Frederick Henry had died the year before, when the battles of the Republic, however, had all been won. He had shown himself the worthy successor of Maurice in the field, but of a far more enlightened and liberal spirit in politics. Glorious as was the fame of his family adorned by such a name as that of its founder, William the Silent,

Frederick Henry achieved a signal family triumph by an alliance with the royal house of Stuart, in the marriage of his son, William II., with the daughter of Charles I. and sister of Charles II. and James II. William the Silent had been content to dwell in the rather dingy quarters of the Prinsenhof, at Delft, made immortal by his assassination there. Maurice occupied the buildings on the Binnenhof at The Hague, which had been the residence of the counts of Holland. They adjoined the hall of the States of Holland, and faced the Buitenhof on the west, and the Vyver on the north, a most delightful situation. This became the residence of all his successors in the Stadholderate down to the time of the French Revolution. But Frederick Henry, living in the midst of the rapidly growing wealth and luxury incident upon the immense extension and gains of Dutch commerce, affected a more splendid style than his predecessors. The accession to his household of a royal princess, too, threw a halo of majesty about the Stadholder's residence, so that these spacious rooms, with their wide outlook to the north and west, became invested to a certain degree with the characteristics and ceremonial of a court and palace.

Pursuing the course of events beyond the death of Frederick Henry, until the year 1674, when Holland finally yielded New Netherland, the rulers of the Dutch Republic directly, and of her American Province indirectly, included William II., the Pensionary John De Witt, and William III., later King of England, under the same designation. William II., a vain and not very able young man, indulged a vaulting ambition to be something more than a Republican Stadholder, made one or two very serious blunders, and died opportunely only three years after his father in 1650, leaving William III. an infant of a few months. Then Holland became a Republic without the faintest shadow of a reigning house. Such the House of Orange never properly was, although the Stadholderate had been made hereditary in 1631. Now, in the interval before William III. became of age, and as a reaction against his father's escapades, a "Perpetual Edict" was passed excluding the House of Orange forever from that position, but this was going too far to the other extreme, as was sadly learned a score of years later. At the head of affairs was John De Witt, a plain citizen raised by merit and talent to that exalted place. His office was one similar to that of Barneveld, he being the

JOHN DE WITT.

"Grand-Pensionary," or the Attorney-General, or Prime Minister of the Republic. From 1650 to 1672 he guided the destinies of the Commonwealth, the contemporary of Cromwell, and — but for the alliance of the Orange element with the Stuart interests, and the complications arising therefrom — the natural ally of the great Protector and the temporary Republic across the North Sea. By a popular reactionary convulsion in favor of the House of Orange, De Witt was torn to pieces by a mob in 1672, and William III. of Orange assumed the office of Stadholder. Thus, both during the few months when New Netherland was held by the Dutch, after the recapture of New-York by Evertsen in 1673, and later as King of England from 1689 to 1702, William III. proved to be the last Dutch ruler of this American province. And it was especially under him — indeed, to some extent also under John De Witt — that Holland attained her greatest prominence in the political affairs of Europe. She was often the leading member of alliances, triple and quadruple, to which the other parties were kingdoms or an empire.

But this was not only the Golden Age of her political greatness. The Republic was great in a score of splendid or useful departments of human achievement. Before the end of the seventeenth century, Rembrandt, Potter, Douw, Van der Helst, Frans Hals, Steen, Ruysdael, the Van de Veldes, and others whose brushes have made the Dutch school of painting the admiration of the world, had accomplished their triumphs and passed away. In this same century Leeuwenhoek, at Delft, invented and experimented with the microscope. Two mechanics of Middelburg, in 1610, invented an instrument which Galileo developed into the telescope, but which Huyghens, another Dutchman, before the century closed, again improved in an essential particular. He managed to obviate the confused colors produced by the lenses, and was thus enabled to reveal the rings of Saturn to the world of science for the first time. This, too, was the Golden Age of Dutch literature, when Vondel wrote; of her learning, for Grotius then produced his undying works on classical criticism and biblical commentary, on history, political economy, and international jurisprudence. Then did Holland do her finest printing, for the Elzevirs were publishing their exquisite editions. In Holland were then made the best mathematical, the best astronomical, the best nautical instruments. Diamond-cutting was already a secret known to Dutch mechanics only. The Dutch farmers instructed all Europe in agriculture, vegetable gardening, the cultivation of winter-roots and of grasses, while horticulture was a veritable passion, as is proved by the famous speculation in tulip-bulbs of 1637. "The English writers on husbandry," says Prof. Thorold Rogers, "are constantly calling the attention of English farmers to the marvelous progress the Dutch

were making. The population of England was more than doubled in the seventeenth century by adopting the agricultural inventions of the Dutch."[1]

In short, the Dutch Republic was then the "United States" of Europe in more senses than one. She was this, not only politically, but by reason of the inventiveness and energy of her citizens. The Dutchmen of the seventeenth century were actually the "Yankees" of their day.[2] We can only regret the utterance of that immortal joke which has peopled Manhattan Island in the seventeenth century with a race of dull-minded gluttons and stupid beer-drinkers. We may advance over and over again all that has just been stated, accompanied by quotations from the highest authorities of various nationalities to show what the Hollanders of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries really were. But nevertheless, the ludicrous delineations of Washington Irving have more power than a hundred books written with all soberness in the interest of the actual facts. What shall be done about it? It is a useless task to argue against a laugh. Even Motley's elaborate eulogy on the Dutch in Holland, carried through nine octavo volumes, does not prevent the generality of people from looking at the Dutch on Manhattan Island through the laughter-moving spectacles of sly old Diedrich Knickerbocker; yet they were men of exactly the same stuff. In 1610 when the Dutch Ambassador in London proposed a scheme for the joint colonization of Virginia by the Dutch and English, the English promptly declined, being afraid, as Bancroft informs us, "of the superior art and industry of the Dutch." Their political ideas and institutions; their indomitable energy and commercial enterprise; their all-embracing inventiveness and mechanical skill made them, as we have said, the Yankees of their age; and the English knew this, and declined to enter upon any undertaking with them, lest they should

[1] "Story of Holland," pp. 215, 220.

[2] As we have already intimated in a former note, Mr. Asher, in his "Bibliographical Essay," misled by his enthusiastic admiration for Usselinx, himself a Belgian, claims that all these triumphs of the Dutch were due to the influx of some 100,000 Belgian families. Asher reasons that it is unlikely that a dull, slow, unoriginal nation like the Dutch should have suddenly awakened to such achievements in art, commerce, literature, everything. However unlikely it may seem, the fact remains, and we can discover no particular influence of the Belgians in producing the marvel, except so far as a Belgian himself asserts it. [Motley, the New Englander, calls the Dutch, "the most energetic and quick-witted people of the world," and Guicciardina, an Italian who lived among the Dutch for two-score years in the sixteenth century, remarks: "They have a special and happy talent for the ready invention of all sorts of mediums, ingenious and suitable for facilitating, shortening, and despatching everything they do, even in the matter of cooking." Taine, a Frenchman, says: "At this moment, 1609, Holland on the sea and in the world is what England was in the time of Napoleon." Among British authorities Hallam asserts that Holland "at the end of the sixteenth century and for many years afterwards was pre-eminently the literary country of Europe;" and Macaulay, writing of a later period, says that the aspect of Holland "produced on English travellers of that age an effect similar to the effect which the first sight of England now produces on a Norwegian or a Canadian." "For a long time," writes Thorold Rogers, "that little storm-vexed nook of Northwestern Europe was the university of the civilized world, the center of European trade, the admiration, the envy, the example of the nations." EDITOR.]

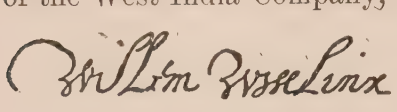
be hopelessly distanced. These were the men who came to Manhattan Island. It is not to be supposed that they divested themselves of these useful qualities and aptitudes in crossing the ocean to these shores. The Golden Age of Holland must have placed its impress upon them also; the men of New Netherland came out of those very influences which were making Holland great. Such antecedents must have had somewhat similar consequences, therefore, even upon American soil and under American conditions. That seems only an ordinary application of the law of cause and effect, a veritable law of nature. Over against the well-nigh ineradicable impression produced by Irving, we simply advance this infallible law of nature; and we are content to leave every reflecting mind to its own conclusions.[1]

Still keeping in view the voyage of the Half-Moon, which was placed in the foreground at the opening of this chapter, and around which have been grouped the events and circumstances considered thus far, we must now pause to note the rise and progress of the Dutch West India Company. It may be true that Hudson's expedition had little to do with originating the idea of that organization. It may also be conceded that its final establishment years after may have been but slightly influenced by this event, in spite of the agitation and discussion in regard to its erection which will be noticed as taking place in 1614, a result of the many trading voyages to New Netherland undertaken by individuals or private firms in pursuance of Hudson's accounts of this vicinity. But having been established, the development of affairs and events on our island owed everything to the management and care of this Company. Hence its origin, its history during its control of New Netherland, and even its subsequent fortunes are matters of moment to us, and are well entitled to a somewhat exhaustive treatment.

In the year 1604, William Usselinx, a native of Antwerp but for many years resident in Holland, was directed to draw up a subscription

[1] James Grahame, "the author of a valuable History of the United States, although a stranger to our country, has spoken in proper terms on this subject. He remarks as follows: 'Founders of ancient colonies have sometimes been deified by their successors. New-York is perhaps the only commonwealth whose founders have been covered with ridicule from the same quarter. It is impossible to read the ingenious and diverting romance entitled 'Knickerbocker's History of New-York' without wishing that the author had put a little more or a little less truth in it; and that his talent for humor and sarcasm had found another subject than the dangers, hardships, and virtues of the ancestors of his national family. It must be unfavorable to patriotism to connect historical recollections with ludicrous associations.' To remove the reproach thus thoughtlessly attached to the annals of our State, it is only necessary to bring to light the true character of its early colonists, whose fatherland ranked at that period among the foremost nations of Europe in point of commercial wealth and enterprise, and before all others in the freedom of its government — a freedom purchased by forty years' struggle against the bloodthirsty myrmidons of Spanish despotism. The traits ascribed by the mock historian to the first settlers of New-York can scarcely be supposed to have characterized such a people; on the other hand, the manly virtues they displayed amidst the toils and hardships of colonial life, removed at so great a distance from the scenes of their early associations, deserve a very different commemoration at the hands of their descendants and successors."—"Documents relating to Colonial History of the State of New-York," General Introduction, 1: p. xxxvii.

paper to be circulated among the merchants of Holland and Zeeland. The preparation of this document was the beginning of the history of the West India Company, and the reason Usselinx was selected to write it was that ever since his arrival within the United Netherlands he had been advocating this great project. He



was possessed of great capacity, not only in mercantile affairs, but, as Van Meteren, a contemporary and a native of the same city, observes, he was "a man acquainted with many things, experienced above many others, associating with some of the most learned and keen-sighted lovers of the fatherland." While still a very young man he had gone abroad in the interest of an extensive business, spent many years in travel, frequenting various ports of Spain and Portugal, and there is some reason to believe that he also visited Brazil and the West Indies. But for some years before 1590, he had resided as agent for European houses, and as a merchant on his own account, at Fayal, in the Azores Islands. About 1591, when he was but twenty-three or -four years of age, and with a large fortune even then amassed, he left the Azores, and made his home in one of the cities of the United Provinces, Antwerp having been taken by the Spaniards in the year 1585. In the course of this varied business experience, young as he was, it was eminently true, as Van Meteren elsewhere says, that Usselinx had become "well instructed in the commerce and the situation of the West Indies."[1]

And the question was looming up in ever larger proportions, whether it might not be advisable to attempt to advance the fortunes of the Republic and to cripple the resources of Spain in that quarter of the globe. In America, Spain had hitherto been left in comparative repose, while she constantly replenished her exhausted treasury by means of the rich products of her silver and gold mines there. The earliest suggestion to disturb this repose, and to attack her in American waters, had been made to the Provincial States of Holland in 1581, by Captain Bates, an Englishman. Having made four voyages to the West Indies, he offered to conduct thither an expedition at the cost of the province, for purposes of trade, conquest, or exploration. But nothing came of this. There were serious difficulties in the way of such an enterprise at that time. In the very month the proposal was made and considered (July, 1581), the States-General of the United Netherlands issued their "abjuration" of Philip of Spain. The patriots needed therefore to husband their resources, limited as these then still were, in the apprehension that the deeply offended despot would redouble his efforts to regain his supremacy over the rebellious provinces. Yet the provincial legislature took occasion to express its cordial approval and commendation of any enterprise in that direction

[1] Van Meteren, Oorl. d. Nederl., 9:185, 402.

that should be undertaken on the part of individuals.[1] Not till several years later, however, is there any evidence of such private enterprise. Then, in 1597, two Dutch merchants, Gerard Bikker, of Amsterdam, and John Leyen, of Enkhuysen, were each separately granted the privilege of forming a company for purposes of traffic with the West Indies. Subsequently these two men combined their companies into

one. A plot of ground was granted them by the city of Amsterdam, upon which they built a substantial warehouse, which at the formation of the West India Company became the first house in its possession.[2] Under the auspices of this private association some voyages

1 Wagenaar, Vaderl. Hist., 9:152. The Englishman's name is here spelled "Butz"; other Dutch writers spell it "Beets," which is the exact equivalent phonetically of the English Bates. Hence this was doubtless his name.

2 It was located on the Ryzenhoofd, the eastern extremity of the Rapenburg Quay, facing the harbor, and, together with the company's house built later at the western end of this quay, appears in the illustration on p. 55, but the two buildings are too minutely represented for recognition. This first house was also last in its possession, being exchanged in 1736 for the Voetboogs Doelen, or Armory, in another part of the city. It then passed into the hands of the Municipality, who converted it into a Workhouse, and under the designation of the "New Workhouse" it appears on old prints of Amsterdam.

to the West Indies and the South American Continent were undertaken during the years 1597 and 1598,[1] but apparently with very meager results. Why might not larger results, however, be expected, if these expeditions were seriously undertaken, with as elaborate preparations and powerful armaments as those despatched to the East Indies? The War of Independence was still at its height, and the patriots were flushed with the recent brilliant achievements of their Stadholder, Maurice of Nassau, among the greatest captains of his age. The West Indies then were the very field for warlike as well as commercial exploits; for all these regions were the enemy's territory, claimed by Spain by right divine, under title-deed given by the Pope himself as Vicegerent of the Deity.

Some such arguments and others of a more practical or business-like character had been advanced, we are told, in pamphlets written and published by Usselinx; but how early he commenced such publications, it would seem, can only be ascertained from the writer's own statements. And whatever credit may be due to him individually for having been the first to urge the founding of the West India Company, there is no question that the argument received its most potent stimulus from the actual erection and incipient prosperity of the East India Company. Such careful annalists and historians as Van Meteren, Aitzema, Wagenaar, if they do more than merely record the fact of the establishment of the former, and permit themselves any remarks as to what led to it, assert invariably that the success of the East India Company was the chief reason. It was two years after the granting of the East India charter, that Usselinx was requested to draft the circular of which we made mention, "in order to ascertain whether sufficient voluntary subscriptions could be obtained from merchants to start a company with a good capital,"[2] for trade with the West Indies, or America.

A complete knowledge of the contents of this highly interesting document is obtained from the full summary given by the Dutch historian from whom alone, besides the author of it, is derived the fact that it was prepared at all. But as it was composed with the writer's eyes upon the West Indies and Brazil mainly, and the conditions prevalent there, a detailed account of it here would needlessly burden these pages. It closed with an invitation to those who desired to unite in forming a great national company designed to draw profits

[1] Wagenaar, Vaderl. Hist., 9: 152, 153, cited by Bancroft; also his Amsterd. Gesch, 4: 98, 99.

[2] Van Meteren, Oorl. d. Nederl., 9: 186. Asher, Bibl. and Hist. Essay, seems to have overlooked this statement of Van Meteren in regard to the circular of 1604, giving 1606 as the year when Usselinx's efforts first begin to be of any public nature at all. Neither Asher's book, nor Prof. Jameson's exhaustive monograph on "Willem Usselinx" in "Papers of the American Historical Association," 2: 151–382, furnish evidence that the erection of a West India Company attained an initiatory stage in 1591, *i. e.*, thirty years before its charter was finally granted, except so far as Usselinx himself then first arrived in the country, and may have begun to speak of the subject to his friends or associates in business.

from American trade or from depredations on the Spanish colonies, to subscribe what they were willing to risk. From among their number directors would then be chosen, no one to have a vote in such choice, however, unless a subscriber to the amount of at least two hundred pounds Flemish ($480). After a board of directors had been elected, it would be necessary to apply to the States-General for a charter.[1]

This paper met with the entire approval of those who had asked Usselinx to prepare it. It was thereupon immediately submitted to the Burgomasters of Amsterdam, who were thus the first public body before whom the project of the West India Company was laid.[2] As an initiatory step towards its erection, it was a very important and a very necessary one. There seem to have been in all matters of this character three distinct gradations in the public bodies who were to be consulted, and whose consent needed to be obtained. First in order came the municipal government of the commercial metropolis, Amsterdam. If her Burgomasters and Council of Forty referred the measure proposed, with their approval, to their delegates in the provincial legislature, or the States of Holland, it was almost certain to win the approbation of the representatives of the other cities there, and was thus secure of adoption. If then, thirdly, the States of Holland directed their deputies in the Congress, or States-General of the Republic, to vote for it (and the deputies from the several provinces only voted as directed), it received an indorsement which was irresistible. It will be seen that these various steps, to be noted in their proper sequence, were successively taken in the establishment of the West India Company.

The promoters of this scheme doubtless awaited with some anxiety the first public decision. The Burgomasters and the Council of Amsterdam were accustomed to deal with affairs of a wide range. They had in times past made direct treaties of commerce with foreign potentates, by which special privileges of trade were conceded to her citizens, and which were still in force. And what is of particular interest to us, later in the course of this same century (1656), they became direct possessors or rulers of a portion of New Netherland, situated on the South or Delaware River. In the present instance they determined to proceed with caution. They advised delay until

1 Van Meteren, Oorl. d. Nederl., 9: 186, 187; almost a translation of Van Meteren's summary is to be seen in O'Callahan's "History of New Netherland," 1: 30, 31.

2 This statement is made advisedly, although Bancroft, in his "History of the United States," 1: 479 (Ed. 1883), observes that a plan for a West India Company was communicated to the States-General in 1600. Berg van Dussen-Muilkerk, whose articles on "Onze Kolonisatie in Noord Amerika" Asher highly commends, in that published in "De Gids" of November, 1848, p. 531, remarks that Usselinx prepared such a paper in 1600, and submitted copies of it to members of the States-General. But this writer is careful to indicate in a note that the sole authority for this statement is, again, Usselinx himself, in two pamphlets of his published in 1627. Without wishing to question Usselinx's veracity, it seems more in accord with a careful historical criticism to accept as facts only such as have more than one witness; hence we deem it safe to adhere to our assertion in the text.

an expedition under Admiral Van Caerden, who had distinguished himself in the East India service, but who had recently been sent to the east coasts of South America, should have been heard from.[1]

AMSTERDAM CITY HALL BEFORE 1615.

Another circumstance, too, made public men in Holland hesitate to entertain schemes of conquest in American waters. In the year 1599 Admiral Peter Van der Does, son of the illustrious defender of Leyden and first curator of her University, was despatched with a powerful fleet of over seventy ships of war to make a descent upon the Spanish possessions in South America and the West Indies. The Admiral resolved to pause on his way and harass or conquer whatever other of Spain's islands or colonies he might meet with. Thus the Canaries were attacked and various towns taken or burned. On reaching the island of St. Thomas, off the coast of Guinea, and exactly on the equator, he made an attack on it, which was entirely successful. But in an evil hour he decided that it would be to the advantage

[1] Professor Otto van Rees, in "Geschiedenis der Staathuishoudkunde in Nederland" (2 vols., Utrecht, 1865–68), 2 : 77, mentions that great quantities of brick and lime were shipped with this expedition for the purpose of building a fort in Brazil! Towards the end of 1605 it returned without accomplishing this, or anything else.

of his enterprise to tarry here for a while, in order to refit, thus to be in a better condition to undertake a descent on Brazil. The excessive heat brought on the yellow fever, to which the Admiral himself succumbed. A hasty departure did not meet with the expected result, for the pestilence continued to rage on board the ships, and more than a thousand men perished while they were in mid-ocean. Under these circumstances the design against Brazil was abandoned, and but a feeble demonstration was made against one or two islands in the Caribbean Sea. In February, 1600, the disheartened remnant of the fleet returned to the fatherland, and the incident is only of importance to us because for many years it served the opponents of the West India Company as a potent argument, and contributed largely to delay its erection.[1]

Notwithstanding this powerful weapon wielded against him, and the fact that the Van Caerden expedition proved equally unsuccessful, Usselinx went on urging his project, now fairly launched, upon the magistrates and merchants of the Dutch metropolis. He was enthusiastically seconded in these endeavors by those "learned and keen-sighted patriots" of whom Van Meteren wrote, and whom he now mentions by name. Among these was none other than the Rev. Petrus Plancius, who was largely instrumental in furthering the voyages to the North Pole, and who later became the counselor of Henry Hudson. Another efficient co-laborer was François Francken, a member of the High Council of State. Through the influence at the command of these personages, such a pressure was brought to bear upon the Amsterdam Municipality as to secure their favorable attention to the scheme of Usselinx. Their deputies were accordingly directed to introduce the matter before the States of Holland, and in the summer of 1606 it was first discussed there.

But Usselinx had not confined his efforts to Amsterdam alone; Zeeland, the "Sea-Beggar" Province, was a fair and promising field for his purposes, and while he left Plancius and Francken to carry on the work in the commercial capital of Holland, he himself succeeded in interesting influential men in Middelburg. As a consequence, the States of Zeeland appointed a committee of three, of whom Usselinx himself was one, to meet a number of gentlemen from various cities of Holland, who had evidently been appointed a committee on the subject by the States of Holland, after their discussion of it. There were eight representatives from Amsterdam; Dordrecht, Delft, and Rotterdam were each represented by three; Haarlem and Leyden, each by two; and seven other cities, each by one; these with the three from Zeeland constituted, therefore, the rather large committee of thirty-one members. They were charged with the duty of

[1] Van Kampen, Nederl. b. Eur., 1: 170, 171.

drafting a patent, or "license,"—*vergunning*, Van Meteren calls it, which is the Dutch for license,—or charter, for a West India Company, and they assembled and addressed themselves to this task in October, 1606. The committee proved to be prompt, for, as we are told by Usselinx himself, he furnished as a basis for its labors a draft previously prepared, which only needed to be modified, and on November 1st its report was recorded on the minutes of the States of Holland.[1] The members of the legislature were thereupon directed to communicate for instructions with the magistrates of their respective cities. This having been done, from the 5th to the 21st of December the subject was again under debate in the assembly; the discussion was resumed in March, 1607, and was then continued into July.

A comparison of this original draft with the charter as actually granted in 1621 reveals the interesting circumstance that the latter document was almost identical with it. The two varied only in these particulars: the draft proposed that the privileges of exclusive trade to America and Africa be extended for a period of thirty-six years; the charter made the term twenty-four years;—the draft arranged for four chambers of direction, with a division in the amount of capital to be managed by each, proportioned to such number; the charter provided for five chambers, one being given to the Province of Friesland, the people of that section of the Republic having bitterly resented not having a share in the government of the East India Company;—the draft proposed a central or executive board of seventeen members; the charter, as is well known, called for a board of nineteen, who became historic under the title of the "Assembly of the XIX." These variations, it will be seen, are really trivial in view of the fact that all the more important and essential provisions in the two documents[2] are practically identical.

The members of the provincial legislature of Holland had thus before them in 1606 and 1607 substantially the same points for discussion—that is, the same questions regarding the privileges to be conceded to the proposed West India Company—that were finally laid before the States-General. It was highly important that the measure should pass this lower body; for, as has been intimated above, such a project would not to much purpose come before the general legislature unless it had the indorsement of the States of Holland. The wealth and population of this province were so preponderating as compared with the other six of the United Netherlands, that she

[1] Asher's Bib. and Hist. Essay, etc., p. 46. "1606—Nov. 1. The draft-patent (concept octroy) is presented to the assembly of the States."

[2] Even this draft must have been the result of a serious modification of the one which Usselinx laid before the committee in October, 1606, for he claims that his own propositions were materially different, not only from those contained in the Charter of 1621, but even from those of the draft of 1606. (Prof. Jameson, Amer. Hist. Ass. Papers, 2:209; also Van Rees, Staathuishoudkunde, 2:79.)

practically determined the course of legislation in affairs of great import, and especially where they affected the commerce of the country. Before her "States," all the proposed charters for mercantile associations naturally came, or certainly as a matter of fact did come first, because very nearly all the capital for these proceeded from the merchants living within her bounds. And now, assembled in their spacious hall, they had before them a measure that rivaled in importance the formation of the great East India Company. The place where a discussion occurred that was to affect so vitally our portion of the globe cannot be without interest to us. The Hall of the "States

THE "VYVER" AT THE HAGUE.

of Holland and West Friesland"[1] was situated upon the famous Binnenhof at the Hague, constituting a part of the continuous line of buildings on its northern side. Those which contained the Departments of the General Government, already described, were east of it; the Stadholder's residence adjoined it immediately to the west. While the States-General ordinarily met in a small room, with only three windows obtaining an imperfect light in a somewhat narrow

[1] This was the full title, but it designated only the then province of Holland, now divided into two, South Holland and North Holland. The latter before the fourteenth century formed part of the country of the Frisians; but when the inundation of 1347 created the great gulf of the Zuyder Zee, the western part of Friesland became the northern of Holland. While the whole of Holland was one homogeneous province at the time of the Republic, the political title retained a reference to the original condition of the northern portion.

angle of the historic square, the lofty, vaulted Hall of the States of Holland opened with five high and broad windows upon the "Vyver,"[1] and there hung around its four walls a gorgeous tapestry, representing persons in the costumes of different nations apparently listening to the debates and leaning over a balustrade.

The project of the West India Company halted at its second stage as it had at its first before the municipality of Amsterdam. The approval or indorsement of the States of Holland could not be secured for it. In the first place the monopoly of the salt-trade, which it was proposed to reserve to the chartered Company, proved a subject for sharp contention. The cities of Hoorn and Enkhuysen, the principal headquarters of the great Dutch herring-fishery, objected to interference with the freedom of this trade, as immense quantities of salt were used here for preserving the herring. Then, again, the commercial rivalry between the various cities of the province, "who each wished to secure for itself the fitting out of the fleets, was so great," Wagenaar plainly but quaintly asserts, "that all too readily a spoke was put in the wheel."[2] Thus the progress of the work was interfered with; in fact, for the present the scheme was practically defeated and the charter left in abeyance. It had passed, however, by a majority of the legislature; but in the legislative assemblies of the United Netherlands, where no action could be taken except with unanimous consent, minorities were more powerful, if they were obstinate, than majorities. The next year renewed endeavors were made to bring the recalcitrant cities into harmony with the majority. But now a greater affair than even the charter for a colossal trading association was in the birth. The peace negotiations, resulting in the Twelve Years' Truce of 1609, were fairly under way, putting an entirely different aspect upon the expediency of the aims and purposes which had commended the erection of the West India Company. All discussion of the "concept-octroy" in the legislature of Holland Province ceased, and the matter failed to be referred to the States-General.

There now intervenes that period of twelve years of outward peace, when the contentions of hostile armies had come to a pause, but when instead an internecine political conflict arose, equally sharp and bitter, and stained finally with the blood of the Republic's best and ablest statesman, the friend of William the Silent, the only man who could rise to the height and compass the breadth of that patriot's conceptions. This disheartening episode has been treated more in detail above; it is alluded to here only to say that no small part in the agitations of this period was borne by the advocates of the West India Company.

[1] See illustration, page 87. To-day this Hall is occupied by the "First Chamber," or Upper House, of the States-General of the Kingdom.

[2] Vaderl. Hist., 9: 230; Asher, Bibl. and Hist. Essay, p. 46.

They had steadily opposed the truce, and it was but too evident that the establishment of such a company, as originally contemplated, was altogether incompatible with it. Yet, in one of the many pamphlets that were published while the negotiations were pending, Usselinx had urged that only in the case of a peace or truce could a scheme of colonization proposed by him as a part of the object to be attained by the West India Company be put into execution. The ideas on this topic, contained in the publication referred to, have deservedly drawn expressions of admiration from a modern Dutch historian, who points out that they were over two hundred years in advance of the boasted colónial policy of the English of to-day.[1] It would seem, therefore, as if the politic Usselinx had prepared himself for either emergency. Had the charter been granted in 1607 or 1608, he may have been of the mind to make the Company's prominent work the colonizing of such territories on the Atlantic borders, east or west, as could not be claimed by Spain, and whose exact location for that purpose he carefully defines. Thus he would have been in a condition to commend his project to adherents of the war-party or of the peace-party, as equally useful or desirable whichever side should gain its ends. Nevertheless the real purport of the measure, as it was proposed to the legislature of Holland, was unequivocally and preëminently warlike. It may be safely concluded that the contemplated truce would have been impossible if the West India Company had been established and had begun its operations; while the truce effected was the death-blow to its establishment. Hence the greater part of the publications that may be traced to its advocates scouted all idea of peace or truce. Later pamphlets written by Usselinx take decided ground for the continuance of war, with arguments both legitimate and otherwise. He had doubtless perceived by this time that truce or peace was inevitable, and on further reflection concluded that it was either worse for the country or worse for his company, to have that than war.[2]

In 1614 there was a brief revival of the agitation of the question of the establishment of the Company. It was the result of the awakening of Holland to the importance of the regions discovered for the Republic by Hudson. Several exploring and trading voyages had been made in the interval, and it was feared that the erection of various weak and rival associations would be as detrimental to western trade as it had been in the case of the East Indies. This had necessitated the erection of the "General East India Company," whose

1 Van Kampen, Nederl. b. Eur., 1: 172, 173.

2 So entirely different are the argument and purpose of these later pamphlets that Van Kampen, whose knowledge of them is evidently derived from Van Meteren's summaries, in beginning the consideration of the latter says: "Een ander," *i. e.*, "Another" person or "another" writer. A more careful reading would have shown him that Van Meteren correctly attributes all to Usselinx (Nederl. b. Eur., 1: 173).

incredible prosperity had proved the wisdom of the measure. A number of merchants, therefore, appealed to the Provincial States of Holland, in July, 1614, to charter "a general company," that is, a national association of capitalists, on the plan of the East India Company; and this for the purpose of trading "on some coasts of Africa and America." The appeal was successful in so far that the scheme received the indorsement of the legislature, in the form of a reference of it to the States-General, which coming from such a source amounted to a recommendation in the estimation of the national parliament. But even before this reference the subject had already been introduced, and there must have been a general and intense interest awakened by it throughout the United Netherlands. In every direction men were presenting measures for establishing commercial relations with the New World. On June 21, a body of "divers traders," from more than one province of the Union, had laid before the States-General a petition "for the formation and erection in this country of a general company for the West Indies." The memorial from the States of Holland, the dominant Province, where men, money, and merchants especially abounded, in a proportion that far outstripped that of the six other members of the Confederacy, could not fail to give immense weight to the discussion.

Accordingly, on August 25, 1614, the States-General passed a resolution bearing evidence to the fact that the subject on hand was deemed to be of the very gravest moment. It was, namely, "Resolved, That the business of forming a General West India Company shall be undertaken to-morrow morning; moreover, that to this meeting may come those deputed from the Provinces, those who will request to promote this work, those who act on orders, as well as those who appear and have seats in the Assembly and at extraordinary meetings of other chambers, and at the meeting of their High Mightinesses." On the committee to arrange for this special order of business were placed two men, one by the name of Nicasius Kien; the other, William Usselinx.[1] It is a source of regret that some eye-witness of this gathering of Tuesday, August 26, 1614, has not left an account of what he saw and heard. It must have been held either in the great "Truce Chamber," or in the solemn Gothic Hall of the Knights, hung with the trophies of Republican victories. All that is known of the proceedings is that they led to no action, for exactly one week later, on Tuesday, September 2d, a resolution was passed at a morning session of the States-General to make the question of the West India Com-

[1] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 1 : 7. The name is here spelled Eusselincx. Prof. J. Franklin Jameson, in his monograph on "Willem Usselinx," in Papers of the Amer. Hist. Ass. (2 : 149–382), mentions on p. 162, note, thirty-five different ways in which this name is spelled in contemporary documents or later histories. We may add one more to the list, as a spelling furnished by a reputable writer. This is "Ysselius," found in Van Kampen's Nederl. b. Eur., 1 : 171.

pany a special order again that same afternoon. But no action was arrived at then. There for the present the matter was allowed to rest. The country was not yet ripe for the enterprise involved in the erection of an association by the side of the East India Company and to invest the same large capital. And the Truce was a serious obstacle in the way. The artful "exception" inserted in the article on Indian Trade could not be made to apply to the coasts of America and Africa, where there were no semi-civilized states with whom to make independent treaties, and where Spain was already in possession and must be left in peace. The States of Holland, on September 27th, were again in deliberation in the endeavor to remove the difficulties, or palliate the obstacles, on the ground of the Truce, suggested by the States-General. But it was of no avail, and some years were suffered to elapse ere it was deemed expedient to resume the subject.[1]

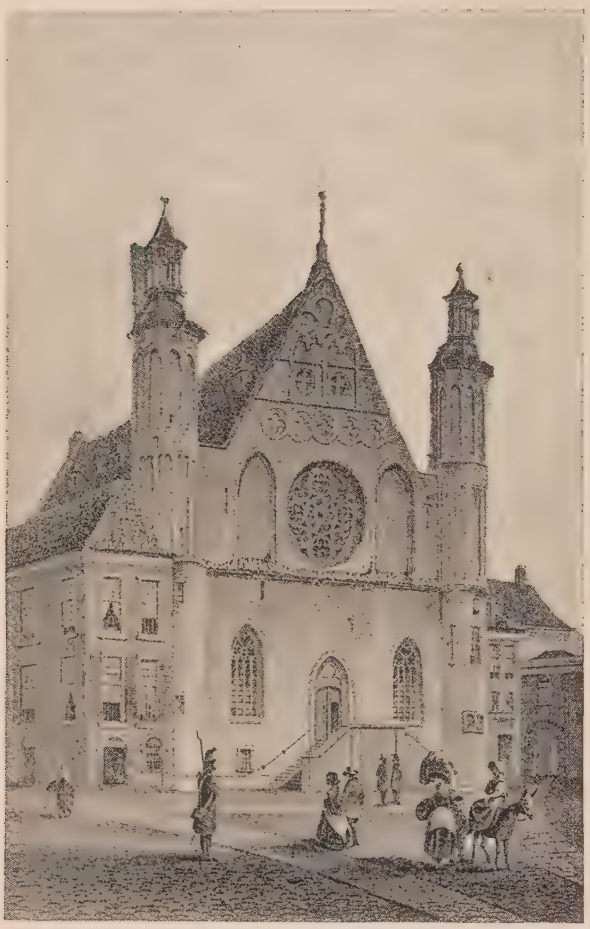
While the discussions bearing on the West India Company were an element in the strife that was tearing the Republic asunder during the Twelve Years' Truce, they were not the main issue. Nor must it be thought for a moment that his opposition to the formation of that Company alone brought Barneveld to the block. It is using language altogether too strong and unadvised to say in respect to the promoters of the enterprise that, "after many years of ardent antagonism, they had to pass over his body to execute their plans."[2] Such a statement needlessly exaggerates the situation. Barneveld had stood in the way of the West India Company only in the interest of peace or a truce, which he deemed essential, and that in 1608, before the truce was effected. This great patriot might have been as anxious to establish it as Usselinx himself when the twelve years were over, and war should appear as expedient then as truce had seemed at the beginning. Still some countenance is given to this extravagant theory by the fact that immediately after the arrest of Barneveld on August 29, 1618, the States of Holland resumed the discussion of the West India Charter (September 18th), and in November we find it before the States-General.[3] It was resolved then to allow it to be referred to the various provincial legislatures. As has been intimated before, but which it is now necessary to understand clearly, the members of

1 We have gathered these facts from a simple perusal of the copies of the acts and resolutions on this subject in the Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 1 : 6–9. The circumstance noted in the text — namely, the final effort of the States of Holland on September 27, 1614, to save the scheme of a West India Company — is somewhat at variance with Asher's assertions in his Bibl. and Hist. Essay, made on the strength of Usselinx's pamphlets, that of all the opponents of the West India Company, the States of Holland, where Barneveld was all powerful, were the most determined.

2 Asher, Bibl. and Hist. Essay, Introd., p. xv.

3 Van Rees, Staathuishoudkunde, 2 : 108; Wagenaar, Vaderl. Hist., 10 : 306. Prof. Van Rees, on p. 107 of the work cited, in a foot-note, gives Usselinx's account of an interview with Prince Maurice, at which he advised the latter to cut the Gordian knot of his difficulties with the Advocate and his party by violent measures. This then would look like "passing over his body" to the accomplishment of Usselinx's designs. But in the first place, this had reference more particularly to changing the complexion of the municipalities; and further, we have this story simply on Usselinx's own authority. Prof. Van Rees prudently introduces it by saying, "If we may believe Usselinx."

the States-General of the United Netherlands were not really legislators. They were rather plenipotentiaries or ambassadors from the several provinces met in conclave to act out the definitely ascertained wishes of their superiors on every distinct question that came before them. They could deliberate upon it in advance, and exercise their judgment as to whether it was worth referring; but when this had been decided they must place themselves in special communication upon the particular subject with their provincial States, whose unsurrendered individual sovereignty was in this way continually asserted. The charter for a West India Company had now reached this third and last stage of public action; it was thought of sufficient importance or expediency to consult in regard to it with the several States. But ere these seven legislative bodies could be ready to instruct their deputies in the States-General they must in their turn each severally return to their municipal governments, whose ambassadors they were. And in every direction unanimity was imperative before action or adoption. Necessarily, therefore, the matter moved slowly, and it is not surprising to find that not till two years and a half after November, 1618, did the charter come again before the States-General. Barneveld had then been dead more than two years, the truce was over, and everything was ready for the most warlike undertakings that were contemplated by the West India Company. Accordingly its great charter was granted, and the document duly signed and sealed on June 3, 1621.



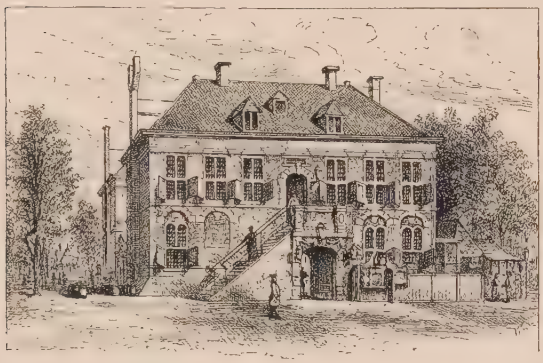
HALL OF THE KNIGHTS, BINNENHOF.

By the provisions of this paper their High Mightinesses the States-

General of the United Netherlands authorized the formation of a national society of merchants. To enable them to carry out the purposes of their association it was stipulated that a sum of not less than seven millions of florins ($2,800,000) be subscribed as capital. Four-ninths of this capital were to be held in shares by persons residing in or about Amsterdam, who should have the privilege of electing twenty managers or directors to constitute the Chamber of Amsterdam. But this chamber and its shareholders included also persons residing in some of the other cities of Holland, and even in those of the provinces of Utrecht, Overyssel, and Gelderland, not having separate chambers of their own. On this same principle, but more strictly defined as to locality, two-ninths of the capital with twelve directors constituted the Chamber of Zeeland; one-ninth of the capital and fourteen directors, the Chamber of the Meuse, embracing the cities of Dordrecht, Rotterdam, and Delft; one-ninth of the capital and fourteen directors, the Chamber of the North Quarter, embracing Hoorn, Enkhuysen, and other cities of North Holland; and one-ninth of the capital with fourteen directors, finally, the Chamber of Friesland Province. The latter was known also as the Chamber of "Stad en Landen," *i. e.*, of Town and Country, because in this province prevailed the peculiarity that country districts as well as towns were represented in their legislature, and not municipalities exclusively as in the other provinces, and this same privilege was to be extended to representation in the chamber. In order to be entitled to election as director in the chambers of the Company, a certain amount of shares must be held; for the Amsterdam Chamber this amount was fixed at six thousand florins ($2400); in the other chambers, at four thousand florins ($1600). While each of these five bodies met independently within the city or province or section by which it was designated, the management of the whole company was intrusted to a general executive board of nineteen members, consisting of eight from the Chamber of Amsterdam, four from that of Zeeland, and two each from the three remaining chambers; while the nineteenth was to be appointed by the States-General and to represent this body at its sessions. The official title of this executive board came to be the "Assembly of the XIX"; it was to meet for the first six years consecutively in the City of Amsterdam; for two years after that within the Province of Zeeland; thus alternating its sessions between these two localities, and during such terms respectively thereafter, as long as its charter should be in force.

The Company having been thus organized for effective operation, what was it empowered to do? For the space of twenty-four years after July 1, 1621, it was to have the privilege, to the exclusion of all other inhabitants or associations of merchants within the bounds of

the United Provinces, of sending ships for purposes of traffic to the countries of America and Africa that bordered on the Atlantic Ocean, and those on the west coast of America on the shores of the Pacific. The remainder of the globe was assigned to the Dutch East India Company, whose field of operations, as has been stated more than once in these pages, began in the seas east of the Cape of Good Hope and west of the Straits of Magellan. In the regions or waters designated, the West India Company was given the privilege that had been conceded to the East India Company in its sphere, of making treaties and alliances with princes and potentates. Here, too, for the purpose of protecting their trade or for carrying on war, the Company was allowed to erect forts, and having established themselves in friendly or conquered territories, the directors could appoint governors and other officers. The Company was permitted to levy troops of its own, and to fit out fleets with every appurtenance for attack or defense, in order to hold its possessions against the enemy. Amid all this warlike language there is but little said directly bearing on the injuries the Company should endeavor to inflict on the fleets or territories of Spain. But it was obvious that the permission to raise armies and fleets applied principally in the direction of predatory warfare on sea and land. Indeed, a special article conferring upon the Company authority to pursue methods of force in case of fraud practised against its servants abroad, or if goods were stolen from them by violent hands, gave them a sufficient margin for aggressive warfare. Yet a precisely similar article formed part of the charter of the East India Company. The troops levied by the Company were to take the usual oath of allegiance to the States-General as well as to their more immediate principals. Likewise the Governor-General who might eventually be appointed was to be approved and commissioned by the States-General, and must swear fealty to them as



WEST INDIA COMPANY'S HOUSE ON HAARLEM STREET.[1]

[1] In 1623 the Company rented a fine building belonging to the city on the "Haarlemmer Straat," and this, the second (not, as some have called it, the first) building occupied by their offices, is represented in the illustration in the text. If the reader should visit Amsterdam he will be easily able to identify this house. Through the kindness of Mr. K. H. Van Pelt, a merchant of Amsterdam, inquiries were made, and after making a personal visit to the locality he writes [in English]: "The building on the 'Haarlemmer Straat,' facing the Heeren Market [Square], is now a 'Home for Old Men and Women'; the number in Haarlem Street is 75. It is an old-fashioned building exactly in the state as it was built."

well as to the Assembly of the XIX. In case actual hostilities should occur, which the cessation of the truce of course made certain, the General Government were to provide twenty vessels of war of various burden, provided that the Company "man, victual, and support" these, adding themselves an equal number of armed vessels of like burden; while the troops of the States placed on board of these fleets should also be paid by the Company. Coming now to the matter of trade, of which we had almost lost sight amid so many military articles, the Company was conceded the privilege of exporting home manufactures and of importing the products of the countries along the Atlantic, free of all duties for the space of eight years. Prizes taken on the seas, and booty of war, wherever secured, were to have their value carefully estimated by the Boards of Admiralty, and the proceeds were to be distributed in fixed proportions among the shareholders and servants of the Company, with a fair percentage for the treasury of the General Government of the United Netherlands.

A number of other matters referring to details of business, such as the subscription of the capital and the management of it when subscribed, the duties and emoluments of directors and the subordinate officers and clerks of the Company, form the subject of several articles and need not be more fully described here. But among the whole of the forty-five articles of the charter, we find only one brief clause that can by any interpretation of language or spirit be regarded as imposing the duty of colonizing, and with that department of the West India Company's enterprises we are of course at present most concerned. It occurs in the second article, which is a very long one, but its words are few and not very pressing: "further [they] may promote the populating of fertile and uninhabited regions, and do all that the advantage of these provinces, the profit and increase of commerce shall require." Now we can hardly read in these lines what a recent writer saw in them, who says that "in the newly drafted constitution of the West India Company was a clause by which the corporation would be obligated to people the so-called Dutch territory of North America." We fail to read an obligation in the actual words of mild permission, and can discover no allusion whatever to New Netherland.[1] Nevertheless upon this slight and scarcely visible thread of duty or contract, if such even it may be called, hung the whole of

1 "History of New-York," by Martha J. Lamb, 1:46. This author's authority is evidently Dr. O'Callahan; but the latter has unfortunately misapprehended the Dutch phraseology, to which fact, we were glad to notice, after the above was written, that Professor Jameson gives extended attention, in Papers Amer. Histor. Assoc., 2:219. The importance of this point for the purposes of this work warrants the insertion of the original clause, which may be found in several works accessible in this country, such as De Laet, Aitzema, Groot Placcaet Boek, etc. The citation following is taken from Tjassen's "Zee Politie," p. 307, but we have consulted the charter as given by the others also, and the words are identical in all of them: "Voorts populatie van vruchtbare ende onbewoonde Quartieren mogen bevorderen, ende alles doen dat den dienst der Landen, proffijt ende vermeerderinge van den handel zal vereyschen." Professor Jameson correctly observes that "Landen" here does

that connection with Manhattan Island which made the Colony there the ward of the West India Company, and links its history inseparably with that of our great city.

With its powers and privileges carefully defined and its internal organization skilfully appointed, the West India Company was nevertheless helpless without a capital. It was fully two years and a quarter before the prescribed sum was secured, and for that length of time the great charter remained nugatory. The subscription books were thrown open not only to all the inhabitants of the United Netherlands, but also to those of other countries, who were to be ranged under the shareholders of one or the other chamber. Advertisements to that effect in the form of handbills, some of which are still preserved, were printed and distributed within a month after the charter was signed. As originally decreed, these books were to remain open no longer than five months after July 1st, or until November 30, 1621, no one to be admitted to the privileges of participation after that period had elapsed. The States-General promised to furnish one million of guilders ($400,000), to be paid in yearly subsidies of two hundred thousand guilders ($80,000) each during five consecutive years, the first one within the five months appointed as the limit for private subscribers. The latter were required to pay down in cash one-third of the amount for which they signed before November 30th, and the remaining two-thirds within three years.

But in the sequel these first limitations of time were proved to have no meaning whatever. For some reason there was a lack of interest among people of means in regard to the aims or purposes of the new Company. The success of the East India Company had been beyond all precedent, for, as has been shown, up to the year 1620 it had realized for each shareholder four hundred and twenty-five per cent. upon his first investment in 1602. But either this Company had in its employ all the available capital in the country, or else there was no expectation that similarly brilliant returns could be made by the proposed organization; and its subscription books were still open in 1623. An advertisement placed in booksellers' shops, and posted on the announcement-boards of public buildings, informed those interested that for citizens of the Republic these books would be finally closed on August 31st, and for foreign investors on October 31st of that year.[1]

It seems, however, that enough money was now subscribed to warrant the organization of the Company by the election of directors to

not refer to the countries to be "populated" or colonized, but to the home-country or the United Provinces themselves. In public documents they are invariably thus referred to.

[1] Asher, Bibl. and Hist. Essay, p. 102; also De Laet, introduction to "Jaerlyck Verhael van de Westindische Compagnie," 3d p. of "Accoordt" (no numbering of pages).

constitute the several chambers, and the general committee or Assembly of the XIX. In the spring of 1623 these bodies met and adopted regulations and by-laws for their own guidance in the government of the Company's affairs, which were submitted to the States-General and duly approved by them on June 21st. One cause of delay in raising the capital had been the fact that the charter of 1621 did not include the monopoly of the salt-trade. Although the proposition to close this trade had been one of the rocks on which the project suffered shipwreck in 1606 to 1608, and although the influence of the cities of North Holland was still strong enough in 1621 to keep it open, it would seem that only a complete monopoly in every particular would attract subscribers. Accordingly "amplifications" of the original charter were granted by the States-General in June, 1622, and again in February, 1623, forbidding all vessels except those of the West India Company to procure cargoes of salt in the West Indies.[1] This privilege having been duly secured, announcement was made of it by means of pamphlets and posters, "in order to arouse all lovers of the fatherland and to give them an appetite for subscribing, if they have not already subscribed, and if they have subscribed to make them do better, since now very soon it [the list] will undoubtedly be closed."[2] It was six months later, however, ere this was done. The capital then secured was precisely 7,108,161.10 florins ($2,843,264.44), as one careful historian informs us.[3]

The capital having been finally subscribed, and the books closed on October 31, 1623, with an exhibit of above seven millions of florins, the directors at once prepared for active operations, and on December 21st they despatched their first fleet. It consisted of twenty-six vessels, large and small, and was commanded by an admiral whose name it is not material to mention by the side of that of his vice-admiral, Piet Heyn, whose fame soon became worldwide. The object of the

1 The place specially indicated as the source for the supply of the finest salt was Punto del Rey, or, more correctly, Punta de Araya. Berg van Dussen-Muilkerk, in the article already referred to, "De Gids," June, 1849, p. 704, remarks that this concession was one of little value to the Company, "since Spain immediately caused to be built there Fort Sanct Iago, which cut off access to the salt deposits; the numerous fleet proceeding thither from Holland achieved consequently a fruitless journey."

2 Asher, Bibl. and Hist. Essay, p. 101; we have translated the quaint Dutch literally.

3 Luzac, "Hollands Rykdom," 1:318.

expedition, as revealed by secret instructions that were to be opened at sea, was an attack on San Salvador, situated on the Bahia, the capital of the former Portuguese, but then Spanish, possessions in Brazil. Manhattan Island had at that time been known and almost constantly visited by Dutch ships for nearly fourteen years; the name of "New Netherland Company" had been assumed by an association of merchants who had sought to develop the resources of the region thus popularly known, and this association, together with all the others trading with the countries on the Atlantic coast, east and west, had been absorbed by the great West India Company. But New Netherland, to which a few ships with emigrants had been sent in the course of this same year (1623), was not in the thought of the directors when they were contemplating a supreme effort. Brazil was the land of their desire, whose conquest from previous possessors was to bring untold wealth and glory.

There follows now a period of five or six years when the West India Company reached the height of its financial success, and the most extravagant expectations for the future seemed to be justified. San Salvador was taken in 1624, but lost the next year through some mismanagement. Towards the close of 1626, Piet Heyn, advanced to the rank of Admiral, was a second time sent to the Bahia, and, although he did not attempt to recover the city, he seized vast treasures by capturing the greater part of the South American fleet, which had just been collecting there preparatory to conveying to Spain the precious products gathered from field, and forest, and mine, through a whole year. The exploit netted his masters 370,000 florins ($148,000) in sugar alone. But the climax of prosperity, or what was deemed prosperity, for the Company, and the acme of glory for the Admiral himself were attained in the famous year 1628; for then took place that signal achievement which has made the name of Piet Heyn immortal — the taking of the Spanish Silver Fleet.

Early in the year the Admiral was placed in command of a fleet of thirty-one vessels, with which he proceeded directly to the West Indies. Sending out some of his swiftest yachts to reconnoiter, word was soon brought him, while cruising among the Antilles, that the great Silver Fleet of the Spaniards, lightly convoyed, was on its way to Cuba. Heyn at once gave orders to all his captains to be on the alert for the first signs of this splendid prize. His diligence was rewarded ere long by the coming into sight of no less than ten vessels sailing together. He speedily put to rout the few armed convoys accompanying the squadron, and made an easy prey of the others. It proved, however, to be, not the Silver Fleet, but that from Mexico, laden with rich dyestuffs and other merchandise. A few days later another fleet of eleven sail came into view. These vessels had sought to enter the harbor of Havana, but opposing winds and stress of weather had

driven them out of their course, and they were now endeavoring to make the bay or harbor of Matanzas, on the north coast of Cuba, when they fell in with the Dutch. They attempted to escape by hastening within the shelter of the bay, but it was too late. Besides, as they were entering, most of the ships ran aground upon the shoals, suffering no injury thereby, but being rendered helpless in the face of an attacking force. Admiral Heyn therefore considerately offered them quarter and honorable terms of surrender, which were accepted. And thus without a blow passed into his hands the annual fleet from Guatemala, freighted with silver on its way to replenish the Spanish treasury. Heyn, having transferred their cargoes, burned seven of the captured vessels, and succeeded in reaching the ports of the Republic late in the same year (1628), without the loss of a single ship. It was found that the booty he had secured was worth no less than eleven and a half millions of florins ($4,600,000), while the value of the prizes brought home about the same time by other fleets of the West India Company aggregated over four millions of florins ($1,600,000). The Company felt justified in declaring a dividend of fifty per cent. in 1629, and again in 1630 one of twenty-five per cent. But the same degree of success was never attained again. The Admiral, who, in gaining untold wealth for the West India Company, had won only renown for himself,—for he refused to accept a single dollar,—did not long survive his famous exploit. In 1629 he was killed off the coast of Belgium in an engagement with the Dunkirk pirates. He was buried at the public expense and a splendid monument raised to his memory in the Old Church at Delft, the first instance in which such an honor was paid to a Dutch admiral.

Enriched yet not quite satisfied with the immense but precarious returns of mere predatory warfare, the Company resolved to again address itself seriously to the conquest of a colonial empire in Brazil and Africa, to correspond with the one established by the East India Company in Eastern Seas. San Salvador had been won and lost; it was determined not to renew attempts in this direction, but to seek a lodgment higher up the coast; and the city of Olinda, in the Captaincy of Pernambuco, on the site of the present city of that name, was selected as the object of the next attack. Heyn being no more, the expedition was intrusted to Admiral Loncq. It set out early in 1629, but this was a trying year for the Republic, and Loncq was left unsupported until the crisis was past. Frederick Henry's heroic efforts having been crowned with brilliant success, later in the year the Admiral was placed over a very much larger command than that with which he had at first sailed. He was now at the head of a fleet of sixty-one vessels, carrying a force of 3500 marines besides 3780 sailors—a more powerful armament than had been ever before sent out by the West India Company. Nothing in Brazil could resist this

Dutch Armada, and on March 2, 1630, Olinda surrendered, becoming subsequently the capital of Dutch Brazil under the name of Mauritstadt, in honor of the Governor.

With extensive territories in its possession in Brazil, besides Curaçoa and other islands in the Caribbean Sea, and some towns on the shores of the Mexican gulf, it seemed to the West India Company that the time had now come for assuming a state and dignity in the government of its acquisitions on a scale to vie with the splendid empire established by the East India Company on the island of Java. But even that proud and wealthy association had never looked beyond its own directors, or men who had occupied the position of Burgomaster of Amsterdam, or of some other city, to fill the almost regal office of Governor-General at Batavia. The West India Company looked higher, and did not hesitate to apply to a scion of the illustrious house of Nassau. They invited to assume the post of "Captain-Governor and Admiral-General" of the West Indies John Maurice, Count of Nassau, the grandson of Count John of Nassau, the next younger brother of William the Silent. This nobleman, apart from this exalted family connection, was possessed of eminent personal merit. In 1629, during that brief critical condition in the affairs of the Republic already mentioned, he had won distinction under his cousin Prince Frederick Henry of Orange at the siege of Bois-le-Duc; and in 1632, at the equally successful siege of Maastricht, he had bravely sustained an attack by the famous Pappenheim, who was destined that same year to receive a mortal wound on the field of Lützen, where Gustavus Adolphus met his death. Count John Maurice was now in the prime of life, having been born in the year 1604, and thus when this invitation came to him (1636) only thirty-two years of age. The Company's terms were certainly generous, taking into consideration that money was then worth at least four times its value in the present day. He was to receive six thousand florins ($2400) for his outfit; his salary was to be fifteen hundred florins ($600) per month, with free table for his own and his official family, beginning with his embarkation; in addition, two per cent. of all prizes taken from the enemy by the forces under his command was to be his. He was also privileged to retain his rank of Colonel in one regiment, and Captain in another, with the pay attached; nor would he lose his right of promotion in regular order by his absence from the country. The tenth article of the contract read: "Further the Company shall provide his Grace with a Pious Minister of God's Word, a Doctor of Medicine, and a Secretary, at their expense."[1] Yet

[1] Aitzema, "Saeken van Staet en Oorlogh," 2: 352. Count John Maurice availed himself of this privilege by selecting as his body-physician the celebrated naturalist Piso, of Leyden, who in 1668 published the result of his valuable researches in Brazil, of which Cuvier ("Histoire des Sciences Naturelles," 2: 141–146) makes mention with great enthusiasm. De Laet sent at his own expense, to

the affairs of the Company at this time were by no means in a flourishing condition. De Laet, in his work on the West India Company, shows that from 1623 to 1635 its expenditures had amounted to forty-five millions of florins, which were counterbalanced by only thirty millions in returns. Thus at the appointment of the Governor-General the Company was fifteen millions of florins ($6,000,000) in arrears. It was expected that his advent would accomplish either of two things: the instituting of a policy different from the warlike one hitherto pursued, and by which the Company had proved itself more formidable to its enemies than profitable to its shareholders; or the carrying of that policy into larger and still more destructive execution at the expense of the enemy.

In October, 1636, Count John Maurice sailed from Holland, attended by a fleet carrying three thousand men, and arrived at the city of Paraiba in February, 1637. His arrival was soon followed by the establishment of very beneficial institutions within the bounds of his government, for which Robert Southey, the English historian of Brazil, awards him the highest meed of praise. Under the direction of a man so liberal and enlightened the colony flourished greatly, and as an indication of this it may be stated that from a duty of ten per cent. on the export of sugar alone an annual income of 280,900 florins ($112,360) was realized.[1] He was diligent also in promoting measures for the extension of territory. Before his arrival the Dutch had occupied four of the fourteen Captaincies into which Portuguese Brazil had been divided; these were Pernambuco, Paraiba, Rio Grande, and Tamarica. Several expeditions were undertaken against places still held by the enemy within these provinces, and with invariable success. While, as the result of his well-planned and vigorously executed manœuvers against the enemy outside of the territories already conquered, three more Captaincies were added to the Dutch possessions during the Governor's administration — those of Maragnan and Seara in the northwest, and that of Seregipe in the south. Nor was it forgotten that his legitimate jurisdiction embraced the coasts on the other side of the Atlantic. Slave-labor in that day was deemed indispensable for the development of Brazil's natural resources, and hence a few months after his arrival Count Nassau sent a fleet to seize the Spanish-Portuguese possessions in Africa. St. George del Mina, a strong fortress situated on the Gold Coast, the key to the country where the slave-trade was mainly pursued, fell into the hands of the Dutch. The island of St. Thomas, off the shores of Upper Guinea, captured by the unfortunate Van der Does in 1599, was now retaken, and occu-

be Piso's collaborators, two noted German naturalists, Marcgraf and Cranitz. Of this noble and liberal encouragement of science on the part of the West India Company, Cuvier says: "C'est la première expédition d'histoire naturelle qui ait été faite avec un grand succès."

[1] Netscher, "Les Hollandais au Brésil," pp. 102, 104.

pied by a sufficient force to hold it securely. In 1641 the city and fortress of St. Paul de Loanda, in Lower Guinea, surrendered—a place whence were annually exported twenty-five thousand slaves at a gross income of a million florins and a net profit of 660,000 florins ($264,000).

But now there appeared on the horizon the small cloud that boded storm and disaster after hitherto uninterrupted success. In 1639 Colonel Artichofsky, who had distinguished himself in the conquest of Brazil before the advent of Count John Maurice, arrived at Mauritstadt bearing credentials which showed that the Company had conferred upon him the title and command of "Generallissimus"—that is, he was to have special authority, independent of the Governor-General's control, over the land forces in Brazil, and indeed the entire regulation of military affairs seemed to have been intrusted to him. A greater mistake could not have been committed. The efficient incumbent of the chief office in the Company's service naturally resented this action on their part. He refused to recognize the "Generallissimus," and forthwith sent him back to Holland. The Polish nobleman, on his part, naturally complained of this conduct, and, finding sympathizers, the seeds of dissension were sown, and evil consequences were sure to follow.

And never was there greater need of harmony in the counsels of the Company, or in those of its Brazilian colony, than at this very time. The Spaniards had at last been roused to the importance of making an effort to recover the colonial empire of Brazil, which had fallen to their share when they reduced the kingdom of Portugal. A fleet of eighty-six vessels, with twelve thousand men on board, was despatched from the ports of Spain, and was known in Holland and at Mauritstadt to be crossing the Atlantic, to crush the power of the Dutch intruders with one fell blow. It seemed to be in no great haste, however, for not till eight months after it left Spain did the fleet appear off the coasts of Dutch Brazil. On January 12, 1640, the Republican squadron sailed forth to encounter the Spaniards, and after four days of hard fighting the latter withdrew from the contest under cover of the night. Thus Brazil was still held for the Dutch West India Company, and no molestation was likely soon to come from the direction of Spain.

A worse thing, however, than war had thus far proved for the interests of the Company was preparing for it in Portugal. It had been an exceedingly opportune circumstance for both the East and the West India Companies, that Spain had absorbed the kingdom of Portugal and made it one of her provinces; for by this act all the possessions of the Portuguese in the East and West Indies, in becoming the property of a nation at war with them, became also the legitimate object of attack and depredation by the Dutch. It so happened that almost all their colonial acquisitions in the Indian Ocean, as well as in South America, had belonged to the Portuguese rather than to the Spaniards. But in 1640 a change occurred in the affairs of Portugal; she threw off the Spanish yoke and became again an independent state. In so doing, however, she necessarily assumed an attitude of hostility to Spain, and this made her inevitably the ally of the Dutch Republic. Indeed, she had not accomplished her emancipation without material aid from the United Provinces. Therefore what were these Provinces now to do with the colonial possessions wrested from her ally? This proved a very serious as well as a very puzzling question. The Portuguese revolution had such a depressing effect upon the stock of both Companies, that the East India shares fell immediately from five hundred to four hundred and forty florins, and those of the other from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fourteen. But the most disastrous consequence was the loss of Brazil. Affairs there lingered for some years in a measurably prosperous condition; but the Portuguese subjects became more and more restive. Count John Maurice met with reverse or disappointment in one or two enterprises, and, not being supported by the Company at home, he offered his resignation in 1644. As a measure of frugality, as well as for other reasons, it was accepted, and the Governor left Brazil in the summer of that year. His subsequent career deserves brief mention. He arrived in Holland in the latter part of August, and was immediately restored to the command of his regiment. But to be a Colonel after having ranked as Admiral-General seemed an incongruity to the Dutch Government, as it must have been to himself. Fortunately an opportunity for promotion occurred scarcely a month after his return, whereupon the Count became Lieutenant-General of the Cavalry, the chief command in that branch of the service. In this capacity he took part in the closing campaigns of the Eighty Years' War, and after the peace of Westphalia, in 1648, was permitted to enter the service of the Elector of Brandenburg. He was made a Prince of the Empire, and, after being governor of several important military strongholds, became finally Governor of Berlin. Here he died in the year 1679. In those trying days of the Republic, in 1672, when Louis XIV. had penetrated into its very heart, he rendered

important aid to the youthful William III. of Orange in repelling the enemy, and distinguished himself, though then seventy years old, at the celebrated battle of Senef in 1674.[1]

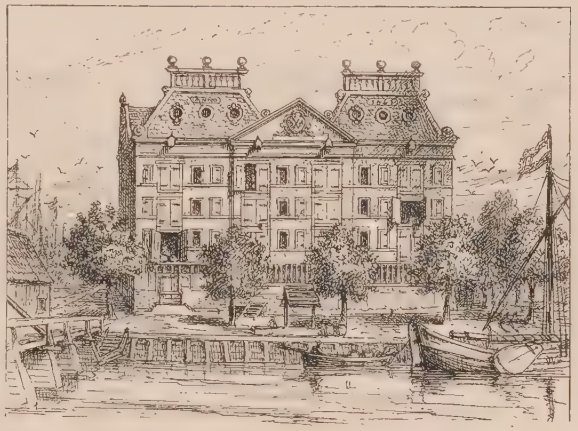
After the Count of Nassau's departure matters in Brazil grew rapidly worse. As if the pressure of adverse circumstances from without were not enough to produce ruin, by a strange fatuity the West India Company invited misfortune by the appointment of officers most of whom were incompetent, while others proved to be traitors. In despair the Company, in 1646, appealed for aid to the States-General, who granted a subsidy of one and a half millions of florins, and despatched a fleet carrying a force of four thousand men. Nothing of importance was gained, however. Then in 1647 Count John Maurice was once more solicited to accept the Governor-Generalship; but he saw that things had gone too far for remedy, and he wisely declined the honor.[2] Another attempt to send relief to the colony in 1649 was frustrated by internal dissensions and jealousies, at home and abroad. Shortly after, Cromwell declared war against Holland for affording shelter to the fugitive Charles II.; and, while all the strength of the Republic was necessarily concentrated upon the endeavor to resist so formidable an adversary, Portugal made use of the opportunity to finally destroy the power of the Dutch in distant Brazil, and in 1654 the West India Company saw that fair and vast acquisition pass completely and forever out of its hands. At a peace or convention concluded by the United Netherlands with Portugal in 1661, the latter agreed to pay eight millions of florins ($3,200,000) to the Company as an indemnification for its loss, together with the concession of certain privileges to Dutch traders or settlers similar to those granted to Portuguese under Dutch rule, and this was the last of the splendid Colonial Empire of the West which was to have rivaled that in the Orient.

At home, too, as was to be expected, the affairs of the Company were now in ruinous confusion. When, in 1644, the charter of the East India Company was about to expire at the end of its second period of twenty-one years, and that of the West India Company was approaching the close of its first term of twenty-four years, an effort was made to combine the two into one association. The directors of the West India Company offered to transfer to those of the other Company all their property in the shape of territories, forts, vessels, etc., together with a sum in cash of more than three millions and a half of florins. But the East India Company refused

[1] Netscher, Holland. au Brés., pp. 138–140; Cuvier, Hist. d. Sciences Naturelles, 2: 142. The American who has seen Rembrandt's "Anatomy Lesson," and Paul Potter's "Bull," in the Royal Museum at the Hague, will remember that these famous pictures are found in the "Mauritshuis." It is named after John Maurice, of Nassau, who caused it to be built while he was still in Brazil.

[2] Netscher, Holland. au Brés., p. 139.

to enter into the combination, on the ground that the assets of the West India Company were five millions of florins less than their liabilities, and that this deficit would have to be raised on the credit of the former, which would cause an immediate fall in the value of their stock.[1] This refusal, remarks Van Kampen, was the "death sentence" of the West India Company. But another fatal blow was the long-threatened and final loss of Brazil, ten years later, in 1654. After that destruction was inevitable. "Its affairs fell into such a state," says the author of "La Richesse de la Hollande," "that it no longer paid any dividends or interest, much less the principal of the sums that had been advanced. As early as 1667 it was contemplated to sell the property of the Company, as well as the rights which it enjoyed under its charter; but the project did not go into effect. Burdened with a debt of six millions without the means of liquidating the same, without the hope even of acquiring the power to do so, it was determined to dissolve the Company in 1674."[2] This dissolution took place. Thereupon a new West India Company was organized, to which a charter was granted for twenty-five years, to begin with the 1st of January, 1675. By one stroke the debt of the old Company was reduced thirty per cent., and the capital contributed by the former shareholders placed fifteen per cent. below the amount actually invested. On this reconstructed but crippled basis the West India Company continued its operations in a feeble manner for a century and a quarter longer. In 1682, Suriname, or Dutch Guyana,



WEST INDIA COMPANY'S HOUSE ON THE RAPENBURG.

[1] Aitzema Staet en Oorlogh, 2: 976; Van Kampen, Nederl. b. Eur., 1:460.

[2] Rich. d. l. Holl., 2:89. When its financial reverses came upon it the Company (1654) was no longer able to pay the rent of the house on Haarlem Street. It then transferred its offices to the warehouse which had been erected in 1642 on the Rapenburg Quay, its side facing the harbor, and with three gables fronting on the "Oude Schans," a canal-street running past the Montalbans Tower. In the central gable is sculptured in stone the Company's monogram, "G. W. C.," for "Geoctroyeerde Westindische Compagnie," or Chartered West India Company. This building is represented in the illustration, and, like the other, may be readily identified. The letter before cited (p. 94) speaks of it as follows: "The building with the monogram is also in the original state, the 'G. W. C.' still appearing on the central gable. It is called 'Het Westindische Slachthuis' [West India Meat Market], and part of it is now the 'Koloniaal Etablissement,' or Storehouse of the Government of goods for the colonial army. The Rapenburg Quay is now called 'Prins Hendriks Kade,' and the house can readily be found, as it stands on the corner of that street and the canal-street on which is to be found the well-known Montalbans Tower."

which had been ceded to the Dutch in the place of New Netherland in 1667, at the peace of Breda, was sold to the Company by the States of Zeeland, under whose auspices it had been conquered, for two hundred and sixty thousand florins ($104,000). But the Company was unable alone to conduct the colony's affairs profitably. It therefore sold a one-third interest to the city of Amsterdam, and another third to Cornelius Van Aerssen, Lord of Sommelsdyk.[1] This combination of interests was then incorporated as a separate organization, under the name of the "Suriname Company," in 1683.[2] In 1700, when the first twenty-five years had expired, the charter of the West India Company was renewed for thirty years, and in 1730 another thirty years were granted to it; but its affairs were ever after characterized by feebleness as compared with those of a century before. A momentary gleam of importance seems once more to be reflected upon it when, in 1747, William IV., Prince of Orange, and Stadholder of all the United Netherlands, was made "Chief-Director and Governor-General of both the Indies," and thereby placed at the head of the East and the West India Companies.[3] At length, in the year 1800, when the waves of the French Revolution had rolled over Holland, banishing the house of Orange, and destroying the old Republic or Confederacy of the United Netherlands, the two historic Companies were also swept out of existence. Their affairs and their possessions were placed under the care of the "Councils for the Asiatic and the American Possessions," and the East and West India Companies were heard of no more.[4] Fifteen years later Holland arose, a Kingdom instead of a Republic, out of the chaos into which the French Revolution and Napoleon's ambition had plunged European politics; and the colonial possessions in the east and west, or so much of them as could be recovered from the English, became the property of the State, and are relegated at this day to the Department of the Colonies under the chief direction of a Cabinet Minister.

The history of the West India Company has thus been traced from

[1] This was the grandson of that C. Aerssen, Lord of Sommelsdyk, who was Ambassador to France and Secretary to the States-General in Barneveld's day, and whose signature in the above form appears on the original charter of the West India Company, in 1621.

[2] Rich. d. l. Holl., 2 : 153, 168.

[3] Van Kampen, Nederl. b. Eur., 3 : 74. From 1702, when William III. of England died without children, until 1747, the Republic had been without a Stadholder. The direct line of William the Silent being extinct, when the national feeling in favor of the name of Orange demanded again a scion of that family at the head of the government, the States-General invited William, the Stadholder of Friesland, of the line of Count John of Nassau, the brother of William the Silent, and whose issue had therefore inherited the title of Prince of Orange, to assume the Stadholderate for the entire Republic. The position was at once made hereditary in this line. From William IV. descended the three kings who ruled Holland during the present century. The death of King William III., in November, 1890, left a little daughter to inherit the kingdom and the illustrious heritage of the name of Orange. The return of the house of Orange to the head of affairs after an interval of forty-five years awakened much enthusiasm; honors of various kinds were heaped upon William IV., and this title, which amounted to little more than a title then, was bestowed as an additional compliment.

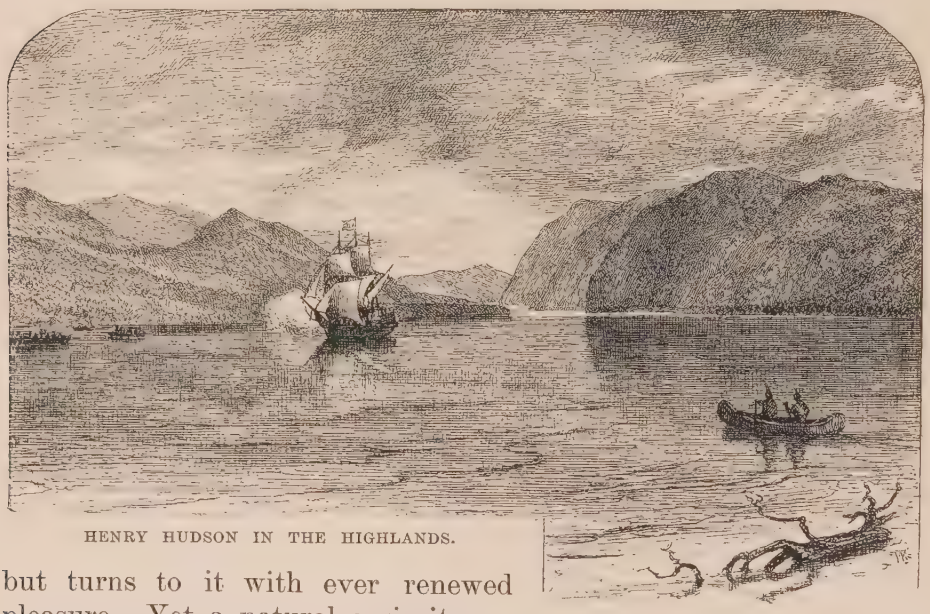
[4] Van Kampen, Nederl. b. Eur., 3 : 393, 396.

its inception in 1604 to its extinction in 1800. The principal use of this review for our purposes is to be found in the opportunity it affords to appreciate the position of the West India Company at home and abroad, while New Netherland was still a part of the territories over which it bore rule. If its management of New Netherland affairs was not without defect, it will be seen that it was equally defective in management in other quarters. If it is a matter of surprise at times that there was such great lack of vigorous support when it might properly have been expected from the directors at home, it can be seen that vigor was not long characteristic of the Company, or indeed within its ability to manifest anywhere; while its financial situation hampered its activities when scarcely more than half of its first term of twenty-four years had expired. It will be seen, too, that predatory warfare was its favorite pursuit; or, at least, that colonization was never its principal object. In 1626, when, as is claimed by some, the enemies of the Company pressed that almost invisible clause of the charter which only seemed to enjoin some such undertaking,—when, too, encouraging financial returns as the result of prizes-of-war began to come in,—the first regular Colonial Government was provided for New Netherland, and Director-General Minuit was sent out. Before he was recalled, and during a part of Van Twiller's administration, the acme of the Company's prosperity was attained. Yet there are not apparent any notable consequences attending these happy events in the province upon the Hudson River, except some brief activity in the erection of a few modest buildings, and the completion of Fort Amsterdam. In 1637, when the Count of Nassau, allied to the illustrious house of Orange, was sent to govern Brazil, William Kieft, a bankrupt in business, and with a clouded reputation, was sent to govern New Netherland. During his administration misfortunes began to accumulate upon the Company at home and abroad; in the midst of these Stuyvesant was appointed, and they became worse with every year of his incumbency. So in 1664 New Netherland, unsupported by the Company, because it was itself helpless and on the brink of ruin, was suffered to pass into other hands without a blow. And by a curious coincidence, when New Netherland, in the year 1674, finally ceased to be subject to Dutch control, occurred also the dissolution of the original West India Company.

CHAPTER IV

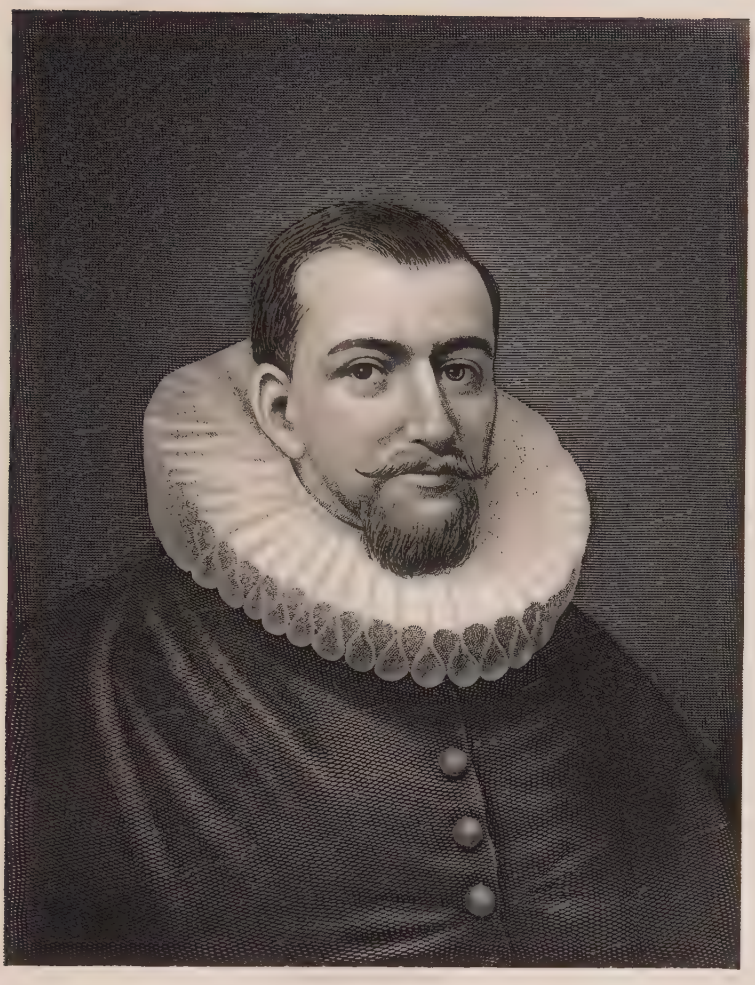
HENRY HUDSON'S VOYAGE AND ITS RESULTS IN TRADE AND COLONIZATION

TO the resident of New-York City perhaps the most interesting event in the history of American discovery, next to that of America itself, is the discovery of New-York Bay and the exploration of the Hudson River. Indeed, apart from this local interest, the account of Henry Hudson's voyage in the Half-Moon, from beginning to end, is so full of romantic and striking incident that the reader never wearies of its repetition,



HENRY HUDSON IN THE HIGHLANDS.

but turns to it with ever renewed pleasure. Yet a natural curiosity, as well as historical exactness, compels us to ask the question, which has already been suggested by the opening chapter: Were Hudson and his companions the first of European navigators to look upon the charming prospect of our bay and river? All can enter with hearty sympathy into Irving's feelings when, expressing his indignation against those writers who industriously seek to deprive Columbus of the glory of his discovery, he says: "There is a certain meddlesome spirit which in the garb of learned research goes prying about the



traces of history, casting down its monuments, and marring and mutilating its fairest trophies." Nevertheless, to be honest and thorough in a matter of such importance in the history of New-York, we must not shrink from looking at facts which may reverse, or at least unsettle, a popular tradition. Although the chapter alluded to seems to bring forward abundant reasons for believing that Hudson was preceded by Verrazano and Gomez, or even that he was not quite ignorant of the existence of the river it is supposed he looked upon as its original discoverer, still we may cling with considerable reason to the impressions of our ancestors. For whatever other navigators may have entered the Bay of New-York, or caught a glimpse of or even explored its noble river, before him, the exploration made by Henry Hudson possesses over the others not only the great advantage of having been carefully made and circumstantially reported, but of having never been lost sight of from the time of its occurrence to the present day. It bore fruit immediately in trading voyages begun the very next year; in temporary settlements upon the banks of the great river within five years after it had thus become known to the world; and finally, in regular colonization and permanent occupation by a civilized community through a period of nearly three centuries. It will therefore never lose any of its importance and significance, and hence we shall ever be justified in regarding with interest the arrival of the Half-Moon in September, 1609.

From the fifteenth century to the nineteenth, from the Cabots to Sir John Franklin, Baron Nordenskjöld, and Lieutenant De Long, the ignis fatuus of a passage through the frozen Arctic to the torrid zone of India has been almost constantly pursued, and with disappointment or disaster almost as constant and certain. Until within a comparatively recent period the object which prompted men to Arctic voyages was not the verifying of a fond and visionary fancy, or the higher aims of geographical and scientific discovery. It was purely commercial, and therefore intensely practical. It was believed by the Cabots and, as Motley tells us, by the Dutch cosmographers after them, that a good ten thousand miles of travel,—not to speak of peril from the warships of Spain,—might be saved, if the passage to India could be effected by the north. It may therefore be accounted to the credit of Sebastian Cabot that he kept himself, and quite as persistently held others, to that idea. It was at his instance that Gomez went from Spain to seek for a northwest passage, and Verrazano may have been influenced by the same ambition coming from the same source. But when towards the close of his eventful life Cabot left the service of Spain and returned to that of England, as a result we see English adventurers setting out for the Arctic regions as early as the year 1553. Having himself failed in the northwest, and others

also, Cabot, as Grand Pilot of England, directed Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor to steer northeastward. Again, in 1556, he cheered on with hopes of the great discovery the brave Stephen Burrough, who, in the service of the Muscovy Company of London, reached and partially explored the dual-island of Nova Zembla and the neighboring coasts, while Pet and Jackman made a similar voyage in 1580. Then the bold but disappointing work was taken up by Holland, as has been briefly noted in the previous chapter. In 1594, and 1595, and 1596, courageous men and skilful pilots were found willing to conduct the Republic's flag along the dangerous course and show the way to wondering Europe. The terrible experiences related by the survivors of the last expedition, who spent the winter of 1596-1597 on the dreary and deadly shore of Nova Zembla, effectually discouraged enterprise in that direction for some years. But Plancius and Linschoten, names honorable in the history of cosmography, the ardent promoters of the former undertakings, were not so easily disheartened. The reward of twenty-five thousand florins held out by the States-General as the premium upon success in Arctic exploration was still before the country, and was sure to tempt adventurers. Accordingly we find that nearly twelve years after the wintering on Nova Zembla there was another ship ready to proceed from the harbor of Amsterdam in quest of the northeast passage. Its captain and pilot was an English mariner, experienced in northern voyaging, who had distinguished himself considerably in the service of the Muscovy Company of London.

Of the parentage of Henry Hudson, and of his personal history previous to 1607, little has been learned, and what is advanced concerning it is mostly conjecture. "The whole period of his life known to us extends over little more than four years, from April 19, 1607, to June 21, 1611."[1] During these few years his fame rests upon four voyages which all had in view the same object, to pass through Polar seas to the spicy Orient. In 1607, Hudson sailed in the employ of the Muscovy Company and penetrated as far as the latitude of Spitzbergen, or within ten degrees of the North Pole. In 1608, again for the Muscovy merchants of London, he sailed further to the east, and became familiar with the regions around Nova Zembla. Returning to England before the end of the year, the news of his exploits spread abroad, and reached ears ever eager for such information in the city of Amsterdam. Some represent Hudson as having offered his services to his Dutch masters; others assert distinctly that he was invited to enter their employ. With men so keenly bent on one great project as Hudson, Plancius, and Linschoten, it would need but slight solicitation to bring them together in the pursuit of it. The East India

[1] G. M. Asher, "Henry Hudson, the Navigator," p. iii. (Hakluyt Society, 1860).

Company had returned its greatest dividend of seventy-five per cent. in 1606, and other large percentages in the two succeeding years. Men possessed of the personal influence, and the undoubted cosmographical learning, of the famous clergyman and the not less noted traveler just mentioned, found no difficulty in persuading the Amsterdam Chamber of the East India Company to devote a comparatively small portion of their enormous profits to sending out a vessel in search of the long-sought northern passage. Perhaps before the year 1608 had closed Hudson was in Amsterdam, for personal conference with the Directors upon the subject of the expedition. The magnates of the great Company, however, were disposed to delay matters. This was a mere speculative venture, with no assured commercial advantages clearly or at least immediately within sight. They desired Hudson to postpone the voyage for a whole year, a serious objection to a man of his ardor and energy. But, fortunately for the enterprise, an astute diplomat represented one of France's greatest kings, Henry IV., as ambassador in Holland. It needed but a hint to put President Jeannin in communication with the distinguished English navigator, and nothing but the promptness of the Dutch merchants prevented Captain Hudson from following in the footsteps of Verrazano in the interest of France. No sooner did the East India Directors learn of the French negotiations than at once they came to terms with Hudson. On January 8, 1609, a small company of four earnest men assembled in one of the rooms of the East India Company's buildings. Two of them were a committee with power to enter into an agreement with Captain Hudson in behalf of the Company, the other two were the navigator himself and his friend Jodocus Hondius, the celebrated cartographer, formerly of London, but now of Amsterdam, who was present at this conference in the capacity of interpreter and witness. The delegation of this important work to a committee evinces the haste which it now seemed necessary to employ in order to anticipate the French ambassador, who in a letter dated January 25th was compelled to inform his sovereign that Hudson was no longer at liberty to serve him.

HUGH A. VAN LINSCHOTEN.

In the Royal Archives at The Hague is preserved a manuscript history of the East India Company, written by the counselor P. Van

Dam, who served as their legal adviser from 1652 to 1706. Attached to this document is a copy of the contract between Henry Hudson and the Company, which the committee signed on their behalf.[1] From it we learn that the Directors bound themselves to equip a vessel of sixty tons burden for a voyage to the North, around the northern extremity of Nova Zembla, to continue on that parallel until he could turn to the south and steer for India. There appears to be no provision for the exercise of his judgment in case he failed to get to or beyond Nova Zembla, so that it would seem as if Van Dam rightly charges Hudson with a violation of his instructions when he directed his course to the northwest before reporting his previous experiences at

EAST INDIA COMPANY BUILDINGS, AMSTERDAM.

Amsterdam.[2] For this voyage, the Directors engaged to pay Hudson "as well for his outfit as for the support of his wife and children" the sum of eight hundred florins ($320), and "in case he do not come back (which God prevent) the Directors shall further pay to his wife two hundred florins ($80) in cash"; if he should be successful in his quest, the Directors promised to reward him "in their discretion."[3]

Nearly three months intervened between the signing of this contract and the sailing of the Half-Moon from Amsterdam. Preparations for the severe experiences to be expected were thus made under the personal direction of the navigator who was so familiar with them; but the appliances of those times could at best but ill provide

1 John Meredith Read, "A Historical Inquiry Concerning Henry Hudson," p. 150. 2 Henry C. Murphy, "Henry Hudson in Holland," p. 35. 3 Murphy, Ib., p. 39.

against the inevitable hardships, as compared with those which made possible the successful accomplishment of this same passage by Nordenskjöld in our own day. During these months we may be certain that frequent intercourse took place between the English captain, the learned Plancius, and the veteran navigator Linschoten. Hudson particularly desired to be furnished with maps prepared by Plancius. And thus equipped, and stimulated by renewed studies and profitable converse with kindred minds, Captain Hudson sailed from Amsterdam on April 4th, and out of the Zuyder Zee, through the channel between Texel and North Holland, on April 6, 1609. Scarce a month later the northeast journey was already abandoned, the ice preventing him from reaching Nova Zembla. Then, Van Meteren tells us,— who died in 1612, and whose work must therefore have been published less than three years after Hudson's voyage,— then Hudson made a proposition to his crew of twenty men to choose between two alternatives. The one was to proceed westward, and seek for a passage across the continent of America, about the latitude of forty degrees north, "induced thereto by charts which a certain Captain Smith had sent him from Virginia." The other was to attempt to reach India by way of Davis' strait across the Pole to the northwest. The crew selected the latter course: but from every subsequent detail of the voyage it is evident that Hudson deliberately steered in the former direction. Or it may be that a severe storm disconcerted his movements; for Van Meteren informs us that in latitude 44° he landed on the coast of New France in order to replace his foremast with a new one cut from the virgin forest.[1] From this point he kept on along our coast southward until he came upon Cape Cod, discovered by Gosnold in 1602; but on Hudson's maps it had been wrongly placed, we are told by De Laet, so that he thought this was undiscovered land and gave it the name of New Holland. Standing out to sea to the south and east he did not see land again until he reached the vicinity of Chesapeake Bay. Thence he coasted northward, now evidently bent on finding the passage to the west in the latitude of 40°. Thus he entered Delaware Bay, sighted the coast of New Jersey, and on Wednesday, September 2d, 1609, at five o'clock in the afternoon, the Half-Moon cast her anchor in a "great lake of water, as we could judge it to be." To the northward were seen high hills, "a very good land to fall in with, and a pleasant land to see." The hills were the Navesinks, and the lake was the Lower Bay.

For about ten days Hudson remained in the Lower Bay, shifting his position occasionally, sending out boats to cautiously sound the broad expanse of waters and ascertain the channel, and dealing distrustfully with the savages that flocked around his ship. At one

[1] Van Meteren, "Oorlogen der Nederlanderen," 10: 203–206 (Ed. 1763).

time the boat was sent between the Narrows to explore the bay beyond; but it was a fatal mission resulting in the death of Coleman, one of the crew, whether by accident or design, shot through the throat with an arrow. At last, on September 12th, the Half-Moon was steered into the opening between the "small steep hills" which Verrazano had described, and went up two leagues, which if it were measured exactly from the Narrows would have brought her about opposite the Battery. And now begins the oft-told and familiar story of Hudson's ascent and descent of the river that immortalizes his name and commemorates his exploit. We can do no better therefore than to follow diligently and closely the log-book of his English mate, Robert Juet, which has the charm of quaintness and the advantage of being written by an eyewitness on the very spot where these first impressions of our noble river were received.

Drifting with the tide as it went up the river, and anchoring when it ebbed, the next day eleven and a half miles were gained, and anchor was cast not far above Spuyten Duyvil Creek. Thence a "high point of land" was seen, "which shewed out to us bearing north by east five leagues off us"; and the Hook Mountain, which towers over the village of Nyack, may thereby be identified.[1] On the 14th of September, a favorable wind was first obtained, and it carried the Half-Moon thirty-six miles up stream, past the beetling walls of the Palisades, and to the very portals of the Highlands. "The land grew very high and mountainous." Twenty leagues more were made on the 15th, and these sixty miles would have carried the explorers through the Highlands and within view of the Catskills, with their long and undulating line far above any of the hills or highlands upon which they had hitherto looked. "Passing by high mountains" is the brief record in the matter-of-fact log-book, the writer being evidently more intent upon the replenishing of the ship's stores by contributions of "Indian corn and pompions" on the part of the friendly natives, and by means of the abundance of fish to be caught in the river. Six miles more were gained during the ensuing night, but then follows a series of groundings on the unexpected sand-banks, or mud-flats. Eighteen miles higher up the river might have brought them about opposite the location of Hudson City, where certainly there are "shoals in the middle of the river and small islands, but seven fathoms water on both sides." "Riding still" all day of the 18th a visit was made on land in the afternoon by "our master's mate," says Juet; but De Laet quotes Hudson's own journal, and this represents the navigator himself as going on shore. There he saw the habitation of an old

[1] It is interesting to note that, from the fact that it could be seen from such a great distance down the river (five leagues or fifteen miles as Juet writes), the Dutch sailors used to call it "Verdrietig Hoek," or Tedious Hook, as in case of an unfavorable or light wind they had it in view for a long and wearisome period.

chief, a circular house with an arched roof and covered with bark. He was especially impressed with the profusion of vegetable products lying about the house, and as a result exclaims that this was "the finest land for cultivation that he ever in his life trod upon." A feast was prepared in his honor, consisting of freshly killed pigeons and a fat dog; but he forbears to mention, or at least De Laet omits to do so, whether he partook of the latter delicacy. On September the 19th, with fair and hot weather, a run of two leagues was made; and now beavers' and otters' skins, obtained for a trifle, began to indicate a source of profitable trade, which was not lost upon the Dutch commercial public when the account of this voyage reached the mother-country. On the 20th the precaution was taken to send the boat up ahead of the vessel in order to sound the depth, and the Half-Moon rode at anchor all day and night. The next day (the 21st) was again a memorable one: no progress was made, but "our master and his mate determined to try some of the chief men of the country, whether they had any treachery in them." It must be admitted that Hudson resorted to a questionable experiment. The savage chiefs were taken into the cabin and treated to an abundance of "wine and aqua-vitæ," so that in the end "one of them was drunk, and that was strange to them; for they could not tell how to take it." On the 22d of September the boat had gone up nearly twenty-seven miles beyond the present anchorage of the Half-Moon, and now the disappointing conclusion was forced upon the ship's company that their dream of a Northwest passage must be abandoned. There were but seven feet of water at that distance, and the river ever growing narrower and more shallow. Hitherto there had been nothing to discourage the belief that the river they were on might be a strait like Magellan's at the southern extremity of the Hemisphere. For long stretches that strait drew its banks together to within even a smaller distance than that which separated the shores of this great River of the Mountains. But the report now brought by the master's mate was fatal to their hopes. This was a river, and not a strait; they had reached the head of navigation, "and found it to be at an end for shipping to go in." Accordingly on the 23d the anchor was weighed and the descent of the river was begun. In two days the Half-Moon had gone some thirty miles, and on the 24th "we went on land," says the mate, "and gathered good store of chestnuts." The monotony of the progress by water was

THE HALF-MOON.

diversified on the 25th by a brisk walk along the west shore, which resulted in a minute observation of the excellency of the soil, the abundance of slate rock in that vicinity and of other good stone, and with especial delight were noticed the "great store of goodly oaks, and walnut trees, and chestnut trees, yew trees, and trees of sweet wood." The next day, the wind being contrary though the weather was fine, the opportunity was seized to place on the ship a quantity of logs as specimens of the richness of this country in timber for ship-building purposes. A pleasant visit from old chiefs formerly met was made to the ship, and Hudson returned their courtesy by causing them to dine with him. On the 27th of September a strong wind from the north would have sent them far down the river if they had not struck upon a muddy bank; only about six leagues were thus made, and they may by this time have come within a few miles of Fishkill and Newburgh. Fifteen miles more brought them to the entrance of the Highlands from the north on the 28th. And here Hudson remained stationary for about two days: "Storm King" and "Breakneck" loomed up high and forbidding like two grim sentinels, and the cautious pilot would not venture among the treacherous mountains while the wind blew strong, "because the high land hath many points and a narrow channel, and hath many eddy winds." On the 29th and 30th, accordingly, they lay at anchor in Newburgh Bay with "the wind at southeast, a stiff gale between the mountains." Looking intently at either shore they came to the conclusion that this was "a very pleasant place to build a town on"; and surely their prescience has been justified by the event, as the sight of Newburgh and Fishkill abundantly testifies. The 1st of October was an eventful day. The wind changed, and in one uninterrupted run of twenty-one miles they cleared the troublesome channel of the Highlands and left the mountains behind them. But in other respects the adventurers were less fortunate. An Indian was caught stealing; "he got up by our rudder to the cabin window, and stole out my pillow," said Juet, "and two shirts and two bandoleers. Our master's mate shot at him and struck him on the breast and killed him." Then the ship's boat was manned and sent to recover the stolen goods; the Indians swam out to it, and one trying to upset it, "the cook took a sword and cut off one of his hands, and he was drowned." Thus two lives had been sacrificed that day, and trouble

EMANUEL VAN METEREN.

with the revengeful natives was sure to follow. The very next day it came. Seven leagues further down the strong incoming tide and a light wind compelled them to anchor. There a savage whom they had kidnapped on their upward journey, but who had escaped, lay in wait to have his revenge. An attack was made on the ship's company with bows and arrows, which fell harmless on the deck. But a discharge of six muskets slew two or three of the natives. "Then above a hundred of them came to a point of land to shoot at us. There I shot a falcon at them, and killed two of them, whereupon the rest fled into the woods." The savages, still persisting in the attack, manned a canoe; at which Juet leveled another falcon, or small cannon, shooting through the canoe, which sank with the Indians, and as they struggled in the water a second discharge of muskets killed several more. Another six miles and they came to anchor off "a cliff that looked of the color of white green"; and thereby we know that they were nearly opposite the Elysian Fields of Hoboken, which Juet assures us "is on that side of the river that is called Mannahata." October 3d was a stormy day, which gave them much trouble with their anchorage. Still the shelter of the Upper Bay was enjoyed by them and no harm came of it. On October 4th, the weather being fair and the wind favorable, the Half-Moon sailed out from between the headlands of the Narrows, the first vessel to leave the port of New-York direct for Europe. She stood straight across the ocean, discarding the ordinary course by way of the West Indies and the Canaries. Indeed in the opinion of some of her officers her mission was by no means accomplished, and she ought even now to be steered for the northwest and through Davis' Strait to India. The underskipper, who was a Dutchman, Van Meteren tells us, was for spending the winter at Terra Nova, or Newfoundland, and continuing the business of Arctic exploration the next season.[1] But Hudson knew the temper of his motley crew, and feared a mutiny unless a move were made toward home. Hence, as Juet concludes, "We continued our course toward England without seeing any land by the way, all the rest of this month of October"; and on the 7th of November, 1609, the Half-Moon arrived safely at Dartmouth.[2]

The English authorities no sooner ascertained whence the Half-Moon, a Dutch ship with an English captain, had come, than they detained both ship and captain. Eventually Hudson was permitted to send his reports to the Directors of the East India Company, and the Half-Moon reached Amsterdam in July, 1610; but it is very uncertain whether Hudson was permitted to proceed thither. The following year, in June, 1611, he ended a life of heroic adventure amid

1 Van Meteren, Oorl. d. Nederl., 10 : 205.
2 Purchas, "His Pilgrims and their Pilgrimages," 3 : ch's 14, 15, 16.

the very regions that had tempted him so often to bold endeavors. The manner of his death was cruel in the extreme, sent adrift by his mutinous crew amid icefields in an open boat; yet it was not an inappropriate close to a career such as his, and in this respect resembled that of the Dutch Arctic traveler, William Barents, whose exploits had no doubt helped to fire Hudson's ambition.[1]

The Dutch East India Company had sent Henry Hudson to the northeast, or northwest, to seek in either direction a way to China and the East Indies by sailing through Arctic seas. When it was reported by him that, failing in this, he had discovered unknown regions, or at least explored regions but little known before, on the continent of North America—the Company was prohibited by the express terms of its charter from utilizing such discoveries. Its field of operation was clearly defined to lie in seas east of Cape of Good Hope around which Vasco da Gama had first sailed to India, and west of the Straits of Magellan. The coasts and countries bordering on the Atlantic were not to be visited for purposes of trade by its vessels.

But Hudson's report was not lost upon other portions of the commercial world centered at Amsterdam; nor were the Directors of the Company in their private capacity debarred from engaging in mercantile enterprises beyond the limits indicated by the charter. The papers forwarded by Hudson from England to his employers at length reached Amsterdam in the spring of 1610, while the Half-Moon did not return until July. But at that time a number of merchants, having associated together,[2] were already prepared to send a vessel back to the parts whence she had come. A portion of her crew were at once induced to enlist in this new enterprise, and Hudson's Dutch mate was made captain or master of this vessel.[3]

The chief consideration which led to these earliest voyages to the shores of the Hudson River was the establishment of a profitable trade in furs. This constituted by far the greatest proportion of the very extensive trade with the Muscovy States, or Archangel in Russia. But this valuable staple, for which the climate of Holland assured a ready sale, had to be purchased at Archangel in competition with other merchants as in any other civilized market. In the New World, it was ascertained, there was an inexhaustible supply of the same article, equal in quality, and obtainable by the inexpensive expedient of barter with natives in whose eyes cheap and bright utensils were much more desirable than the gold of European currencies. When

[1] In regard to the subsequent fate of the Half-Moon, we are told by Brodhead ("History of New-York," 1: 24, 43, notes) that she was shipwrecked on the Island of Mauritius in 1615; which information he derives from the East India Company's "Ship-book." But Mr. Murphy (Henry Hudson in Holland, p. 57) gives the entry of this book, and while the remark "wrecked on the island of Mauritius" appears opposite a companion ship, that opposite the Half-Moon is, "not heard from."

[2] Van Kampen, "Nederlanders buiten Europa," 1: 331; De Laet, "Nieuwe Wereldt" (Leyden, 1625), Bk. 3: ch. 7: 84.

[3] Brodhead's New-York, 1: 44.

the sailors who had first come out in the Half-Moon saw their Indian friends for the second time, their persons were adorned with ax-heads and shovel-blades, given in payment for furs. Such articles, whether prized by the Indians for use or ornament, would inevitably assure a profitable return upon the beaver and other skins obtained for them.[1]

There is little doubt that the vessel despatched in 1610 returned with a cargo that realized a satisfactory profit for her owners, thus confirming the previous accounts of the country. At any rate, in February, 1611, two vessels are reported by the Admiralty Court, sitting at Amsterdam, to the States-General as being very nearly ready to sail. The destination avowed was China, via the North Pole, and the States-General were urged to prepare letters, and address them to the potentates and powers of whatever barbarous countries might be encountered,[2] in the over-confident expectation that the passage to China would surely be accomplished. The two ships, named the Little Fox and the Little Crane, went straight to the north till they were opposed by impenetrable fields of ice. Then the course was changed to the eastward, and the winter was spent in Norway. Mindful of the offer of a reward of twenty-five thousand florins ($10,000) by the States-General, it was feared that the return to Holland would be regarded as an abandonment of the enterprise. Hence they remained upon the Norwegian coast, intending with the opening of the spring to attempt to penetrate to the East Indies in the opposite direction through Davis' Strait and the northwest.[4] History makes no further mention of this venture, nor if, at any stage of it, they touched upon the coasts of New Netherland. Perhaps we may assume that they did, since the official record of the expedition is embraced among the Holland archives under the head of the West India affairs.

Meanwhile interest in the regions brought to notice by Hudson's

1 Rev. John Heckleweldер, in "New-York Historical Society Collections," Second Series, 1: 73, 74.

2 "Documents relating to Colonial History of New-York; Holland Documents," 1: 3, 4.

3 Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese explorer, the result of whose discoveries was second only to those of his contemporary Columbus, and which have been by Camoens "married to immortal verse," died in December, 1524, in Cochin, soon after his arrival there as the governor of Portuguese India. EDITOR.

4 Van Meteren, Oorl. d. Nederl., 10: 460, 461; Bk. 32.

voyage had spread to other cities of the land besides Amsterdam. A number of merchants residing at Rotterdam, Hoorn, and Enkhuizen, then the most active commercial towns next to the metropolis, having heard something concerning a new navigable river and countries thereabout, but perhaps designedly kept in ignorance as to its exact location, brought pressure to bear upon the magistrates of their respective cities to demand for them, from either the Provincial or the General Government, precise information and official charts, so that they too might despatch vessels thither. A similar request proceeded from certain Amsterdam merchants also, who were evidently not admitted to the privileged circles of the East India Company directors and their friends, and who were thus also in want of enlightenment. Hence, at the meeting of the States of Holland Province on September 7, 1611, a demand was submitted on the part of the deputies from those four cities, asking that their constituents be furnished with the data in question.

Possessed of this information, some of the five ships mentioned by name in the charter of 1614 were no doubt despatched to the new quarter early in the year 1612. Of one of these ships Henry Christiaensen was captain, master, or skipper, as the commander of a merchant vessel was then variously designated. On the testimony of Wassenaer, living at that time, a resident of Amsterdam, and thus a fellow-townsman of Christiaensen's, the latter had been favorably impressed with the country about the mouth of the Hudson, after but a brief glance at it. Sailing with a heavily laden ship from the West Indies towards Holland, he approached our Lower Bay, but he dared not enter, or anchor, having in mind the fate of a former vessel from a neighboring city in North-Holland, which had stranded here and had been wrecked. We have no other account of this vessel, or of the errand upon which it was sent, and which ended so disastrously; and hence, we incidentally learn that unrecorded voyages must have been made, perhaps in more instances than this, during those early years after Hudson's. The glimpse which Christiaensen had obtained sufficed to kindle within him a strong desire to revisit these regions. He succeeded in awakening a similar enthusiasm on the part of his friend Adriaen Block. The two at first chartered a vessel together, they themselves going with it to America, but placing her in command of a Captain Ryser,[1] which appears strange when we reflect that both of them were competent sea-captains. Without definite data to fix the exact time of this voyage, it is probable that it took place in the year 1612; when, perhaps, one or two others of the five ships named in the charter of 1614 may also have been despatched in pursuance of the information gained through the mediation of the States of Holland in the autumn

[1] Wassenaer, "Documentary History," 3: 25 (4-to).

of 1611. We may perhaps even specify that these were the Nightingale under Captain Thys Volkertsen, of Amsterdam, and the Fortune, of Hoorn, under Captain Cornelius Jacobsen Mey, or May; but the time of these earliest undertakings cannot be stated with certainty.

Christiaensen and Block, returning in their chartered ship, brought with them, besides a cargo of peltries, two sons of chiefs, to whom were given the names of Valentine and Orson.[1] The exhibition of these Indians contributed largely towards exciting an interest in America throughout the United Provinces. It is at least abundantly evident that the two friends themselves were satisfied with the result of their experiment as a commercial venture, for each now prepared to set out once more in command of a separate vessel,—Christiaensen of the Fortune (of Amsterdam), and Block of the Tiger,—having also enlisted other "adventurers" or merchants to share in the enterprise. It may be supposed that these two vessels sailed early in 1613. As the result of his experiences on this trip Christiaensen came to the conclusion that instead of returning to Holland when the peltry season was over, it would be more advantageous to remain in America. He perceived that the trade in furs would obviously be very much advanced if a somewhat permanent settlement were established on some point or points along the Great River. The Indians could thereby become accustomed to bringing their skins to a fixed locality as a market. The trade would thus acquire more regularity, and

THE HALF-MOON LEAVING AMSTERDAM.[2]

1 Wassenaer, Doc. Hist., 3: 25, 26 (4-to ed.).

2 The illustration in the text indicates the spot whence all vessels took their departure for long sea voyages. The tower was called "Schreyers Toren," or Weeper's Tower, because here leave was taken of relatives and friends, who were usually in a tearful condition as the ship proceeded on her way out of the harbor into the Zuyder Zee. It is unquestionably at this point that the Half-Moon cast off her moorings and began her eventful journey in 1609.

would receive greater stimulus by interesting a larger number of tribes stretching over a more extended territory, than could now be reached by occasional and hurried visits to places chosen at random. Naturally he first selected as the most appropriate place for such a market the island of Manhattan. Several rude houses, built mainly of boards, and roofed with great strips of bark peeled from the trees around them, were constructed here under Christiaensen's supervision; and historians attempt to identify the very spot.[1] But although he provided himself with a place of abode on the island, Christiaensen at the same time diligently explored the bays, creeks, and inlets of the immediate vicinity in every direction in order to effect negotiations with the natives.

While Christiaensen was thus variously employed, and while perhaps his comrade Block had either gone back to Fatherland or was exploring some other part of the coast, a visit of startling import was made to Manhattan Island in November, 1613, when an armed and strongly manned English ship sailed up into the Bay. On beholding the trading-camp in the midst of a wilderness the Englishmen were greatly surprised; but upon finding that the traders were of the rival nation of the Dutch, their surprise changed into wrath. On the basis of John Cabot's view of so much of the continent of North America as he could gain from the deck of his ship in 1497, the English claimed all of that continent north of Florida as their own. The commander of the vessel now before Christiaensen's trading-post, Captain Samuel Argall, had just been engaged in an exploit which had given practical effect to this claim. With a squadron of three armed ships, he had been sent from Virginia to dislodge the French settlements on the Bay of Fundy. The overwhelming force at his command secured the complete success of this undertaking, and on November 9, 1613, the ships left Nova Scotia on their return voyage. A storm scattered the vessels: one foundered in mid-ocean; a second was driven to the Azores, whence it returned to England; while the third, bearing Captain Argall himself, was forced to seek shelter in our bay. If the French could not be tolerated on what was claimed as English territory, neither could the Dutch. The alternative of destruction or tribute being placed before the handful of traders, the latter was naturally chosen, and Argall could depart with the satisfaction of having made an additional conquest, and thereby once more vindicating his country's title to this portion of America. But the

[1] Moulton, "History of New-York," part 2: 344, note, says: "On the site of the Macomb houses in Broadway, according to tradition as related by the Rev. John N. Abeel, in MSS. of the New-York Historical Society." Inquiry was made at the library of the Society, but a view of the Abeel MS. could not be obtained. Miss Mary L. Booth, however, evidently must have discovered the location of the "Macomb houses," for she particularizes the matter by naming as the site No. 39 Broadway. ("History of the City of New-York," p. 39.)

people he had to deal with in the present instance were not so easily turned from their purposes of commercial or colonial enterprise.[1]

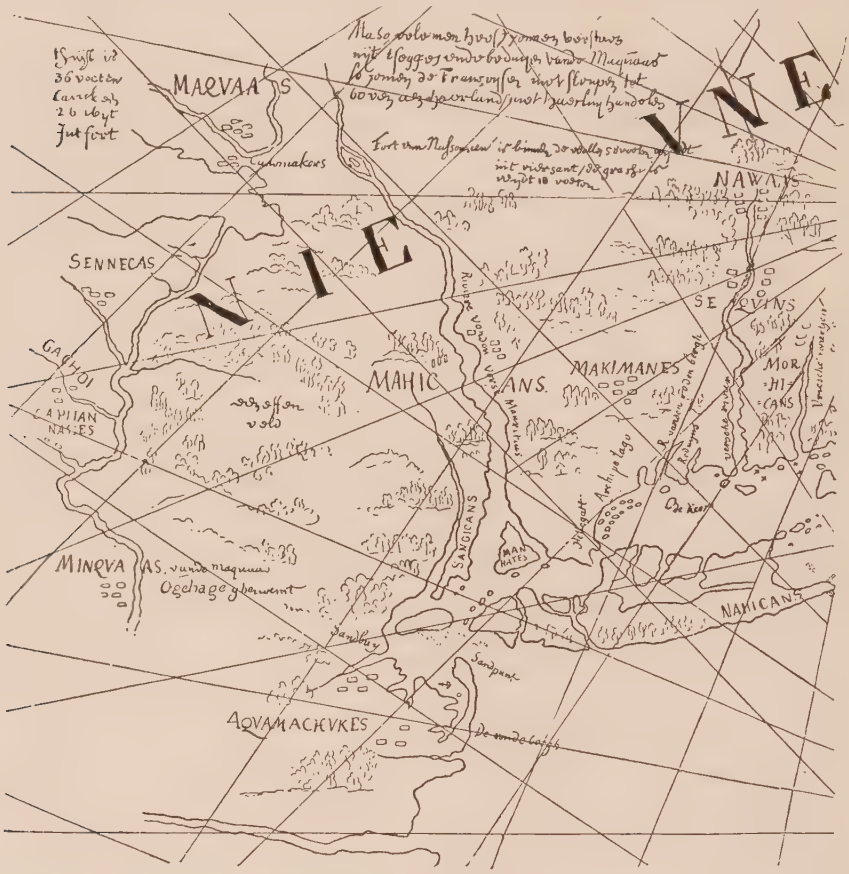
Undismayed by this unpleasant interruption, and doubtless feeling but slightly troubled by the promise of tribute just made, should the English return to collect it, Christiaensen continued trading with the Indians. Taking his vessel, the Fortune, he went up the river to the head of navigation. Here, above the site of Albany, near the junction of the Mohawk with the waters of the larger river, was the place where several routes of Indian trade concentrated. The Mohawk Valley formed a natural highway between the east and west, between the great Lakes and the Hudson; and down from the North, along Lake Champlain and Lake George, and the course of the upper Hudson and St. Lawrence, Indians came hither from points as distant as Quebec.[2] So advantageous did this place appear that when the winter was past Christiaensen immediately proceeded to erect a primitive fort in this vicinity. He selected for its site an island in the middle of the river, a little nearer the west bank than the eastern one. It was probably not much more than a stockade and breastwork surrounding the magazine or warehouse, an oblong building thirty-six feet long by twenty-six wide. The line of the palisades or breastworks measured fifty-eight feet within the fort, but the entire structure, including a moat eighteen feet wide, covered a space of one hundred feet square.[3] Upon this first stronghold of the Dutch in New Netherland was bestowed the name of "Nassau," in honor of the Stadholder of the Republic, Maurice, Count of Nassau; and about the same time his first name in the form of "Mauritius" was given to the Hudson River, hitherto designated as the River, or the Great River, of the Mountains, or sometimes simply as the Great River. Two cannon and eleven swivel-guns were taken from the Fortune and mounted upon the walls of Fort Nassau, and ten or twelve men were detailed to garrison it. Having completed this work Christiaensen departed to rejoin his trading-post on Manhattan. Not long after this bold navigator and intelligent trader was, Wassenaer

1 See the paper on Argall's visit in N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll., Second Series, 1: 334-342, by George Folsom, the editor. Some historians, Brodhead among others, refuse to credit this story, and even call it a fiction, invented in support of the English claim to New Netherland. But it is no injustice to Mr. Brodhead, Mr. Murphy, or Miss Booth, to suppose that their prejudice on the other side, in favor of the Dutch, may have influenced them to distrust the early printed accounts which make us acquainted with this incident. It is, indeed, unfortunate that the documentary evidence appealed to by the English writers does not exist, or has not, as yet, been discovered. Perhaps we may regard Mr. Folsom as an impartial witness: a careful perusal of his paper will not fail to leave the impression that it is a historic fact. He dwells much on contemporary French accounts of the expedition against that nation's settlements. If it were fabricated it would hardly fit in so well with the dates and circumstances there detailed. Moulton, while not quite yielding credence, is careful to relieve the fears of those who imagine that the title of the Dutch to Manhattan Island was imperiled by Argall's visit, if it really took place.

2 De Laet, Nieuwe Wereldt, Bk. 3: Ch. 9: 88 (Edition of 1625, Leyden).

3 These measurements are carefully recorded on the Figurative Map, laid before the States-General in 1614 or 1616. Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 1: 13.

tells us, killed by Orson, one of the two Indians whom he had taken to Holland. We are not informed what provoked the murder, which was avenged on the spot by Christiaensen's companions. Jacob Eelkins, a character who will appear more than once, and under various lights, in the subsequent history of these early days, was placed in command of Fort Nassau by Christiaensen on the latter's departure, and remained at the station uninterruptedly during three or four years, acquiring much facility in the intercourse with the natives.[1]



THE "FIGURATIVE" MAP.

A serious misfortune, meanwhile, had befallen Adriaen Block, serving, however, rather to stimulate than to discourage the energies of himself and his men. While Christiaensen was spending the winter with his ship at the junction of the Mohawk and Hudson, Block's vessel, the Tiger, lying at anchor in New-York Bay, accidentally caught fire and was totally destroyed. When the opening of spring (1614) found Christiaensen erecting a fort at the North, it heralded

[1] De Laet, Nieuwe Wereldt, 3 : 7 : 88 ; Doc. rel. Col. His. N. Y., 1 : 94.

the completion by Block of the first vessel constructed in the port of New-York. There was, indeed, an abundance of timber, but it was not in condition for being immediately applied to ship-building, and with insufficient and imperfect tools, the undertaking must have taxed the ingenuity as well as patience of captain and crew. The result of the labors of the winter and early spring was a shapely ship of sixteen tons burden, thirty-eight feet along the keel, forty-four and a half feet over all, and of eleven and a half feet beam. To this little craft was given the name of "Onrust" or Restless.[1] Proving as restless as his new vessel, Block could not idly await the arrival of ships from the Fatherland, but at once set out on a voyage of exploration, for which the Restless was well adapted, since with her he could venture into waters which were inaccessible to larger vessels. He first pushed boldly through the hazardous channel which we now call Hell Gate; a name which at that time designated the entire East River. He thus made his way, the first of European navigators, into the broad expanse of Long Island Sound.[2] He coasted along its northern shore; entered the inlet of New Haven, the "Rodenberg" or Red Hill of the Dutch; and sailed into the Connecticut, which, contrasting it with the salt and brackish water of the Hudson far into the interior, he called the Fresh Water River. The three-cornered island which Verrazano had seen and named, Block also saw, giving it his own name, which is the only appellation of his bestowal that has survived the changes of years and the supremacy of the English language. He had by this time established the interesting fact that the long stretch of coast running almost directly east from the mouth of the Hudson, apparently a part of the mainland, was in reality an island. The Restless was next guided into Narragansett Bay, where Verrazano had spent a fortnight, and its noble proportions induced the Dutch to give it the name of "Nassau." Block passed and named several islands, doubled Cape Cod, and did not turn his vessel's head homeward until he had penetrated as far as Salem Harbor, then called "Pye Bay." On the return to Manhattan, in the neighborhood of Cape Cod,[3] he fell in with Christiaensen's ship, which was directing its course to Holland, probably to announce the news of its master's fate. It was commanded by one Cornelius Hendricksen, or Hendrick's son, so that it is not unlikely that he was the son of Hendrick Christiaensen, if we are to judge from the prevailing custom of family names among the burgher class of Holland at that date. Block directed

1 De Laet, Nieuwe Wereldt, 3: 10: 89.

2 In 1619 Captain Thomas Dermer sailed in an open pinnace from New England to Virginia, and passed through the Sound from the opposite direction. He was whirled swiftly through Hell Gate, to his great alarm, but without accident. He wrote an account of his experience to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and English historians, without further investigation, at once asserted that he was the discoverer of the Sound. See Captain Dermer's Letter to Gorges, and note on same, in N. Y. Hist. Soc. Colls., Second Series, 1: 343-354.

3 De Laet, Nieuwe Wereldt, 3: 9: 90.

Hendricksen to take charge of the Restless, and to continue in her the series of discoveries which he had begun. He himself embarked in the Fortune, and kept her on her course to Amsterdam, to report the results of his adventures. Before following him thither, to note the consequences of this report, a few words will suffice to indicate his subsequent career. He does not seem to have ever re-visited the regions which he so industriously explored. He entered the service of the great "Northern Company," the Holland (provincial) branch of which was chartered in 1614, and which was erected upon a national basis in 1622. In December, 1624, he was promoted to the command of an entire fleet of whaling ships; but history makes no further mention of him.[1]

Besides his own explorations Block had also in charge to report those made by Captain May, in the ship Fortune, of Hoorn. The latter had been partly over the same ground, for his testimony is appealed to later in regard to the clayey appearance of the soil of Martha's Vineyard, called "Texel" by the Dutch. But May had been busy on the south coast of Long Island while Block was in the Sound north of it, for on his authority its length is given by the historian De Laet as being twenty-five (Dutch) miles from Montauk Point, or "Visscher's Hoek," to the Bay of New-York.[2]

Fortified with these facts, and, it is more than likely, aided by what is known as the Figurative Map, Adriaen Block appeared before the authorities at The Hague. In March of this very year, 1614, the States-General had published a decree than which nothing could have been better calculated to stimulate enterprise, or to advance the cause of geographical discovery, in an age when such discovery was not merely a noble ambition, but had become a veritable passion. It was in the form of a "General Charter for those who discover New Passages, Havens, Countries, or Places." Thus it was a charter in blank, so to speak, to be filled in with the names of the most successful adventurers on the one hand, and, on the other, with the names of the regions which they should bring to the knowledge of mankind. The reward was to be a monopoly of trade to such countries, but only to the extent of making four voyages thither. A final proviso was that within fourteen days after the return from the original exploring voyage, a report of the same, with careful details of the work accomplished, should be made to the States-General.[3] There are no means of ascertaining the date on which Block arrived in Holland. The Restless could not have been ready for launching till part of the spring had elapsed, and the minute exploration of every prominent feature that

[1] Brodhead's "Memoir," N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll., Second Series, 2: 358.

[2] De Laet, Nieuwe Wereldt, 3: 8: 85 and 9: 90.

[3] Wagenaar, "Vaderlandsche Historie," 10: 69; Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 1: 5.

offered itself along some hundreds of miles of coast-line must have consumed months at least. Add to this the return trip across the Atlantic in the Fortune, which was not a matter of a few weeks or days then as now, and our calculations will bring us to about October 1st. He doubtless hastened to The Hague with his report before the required fortnight had passed; and on October 11th, he arrived there. For there was good reason for promptness aside from the limit set in the charter. On the 18th of July, a number of merchants, severally located in no less than six of the principal cities of the Province of Holland, appeared before the Provincial "States," or Legislature. They sought to obtain the indorsement of that influential body to a petition for a charter from the States-General for exclusive trade to Africa and America. Probably they had in mind the promised charter of the preceding March, and they may have urged the recent discovery of Hudson as sufficiently meeting the conditions of that document; the more so as that discovery, while it had been followed by a number of ventures on the part of a few individuals, had not been made the basis for the organization of any very general association of merchants throughout the country.

Adriaen Block, however, had something better to put forward than Hudson's exploit of 1609 as a claim for a charter for himself and the merchants he represented. On Saturday, October 11, 1614, in company with some or all of the captains or ship-owners whose names appear in the subsequent charter, he presented himself before the Assembly of the States-General. It was no imposing gathering so far as numbers went, only twelve deputies being present, including the illustrious John of Barneveld. For such a limited company the small hall of the States-General described in a previous chapter was amply sufficient. Standing by the side of the President on the raised dais near the three windows opening upon the Binnenhof, we may imagine Block explaining with the aid of the Figurative Map, spread out upon the "Greffier's," or Secretary's table, the course of the Restless through Hell Gate into the Long Island Sound. Here certainly was a "new passage," an addition to the discovery of Henry Hudson. Block's arguments carried conviction with them; for new discoveries had indisputably been made by him. The latest maps then known, even the map of 1610 prepared expressly for King James, and only recently brought to public notice,[1] gave the coast-line along the Long Island shore without a hint of its separation from the main. A resolution was therefore at once adopted to grant a charter to the association of merchants for whom Block had spoken, and the document itself was issued, signed, and sealed on that same day, October 11,

[1] See Alexander Brown's "Genesis of the United States," 1:457–461; also above, Chapter 1.

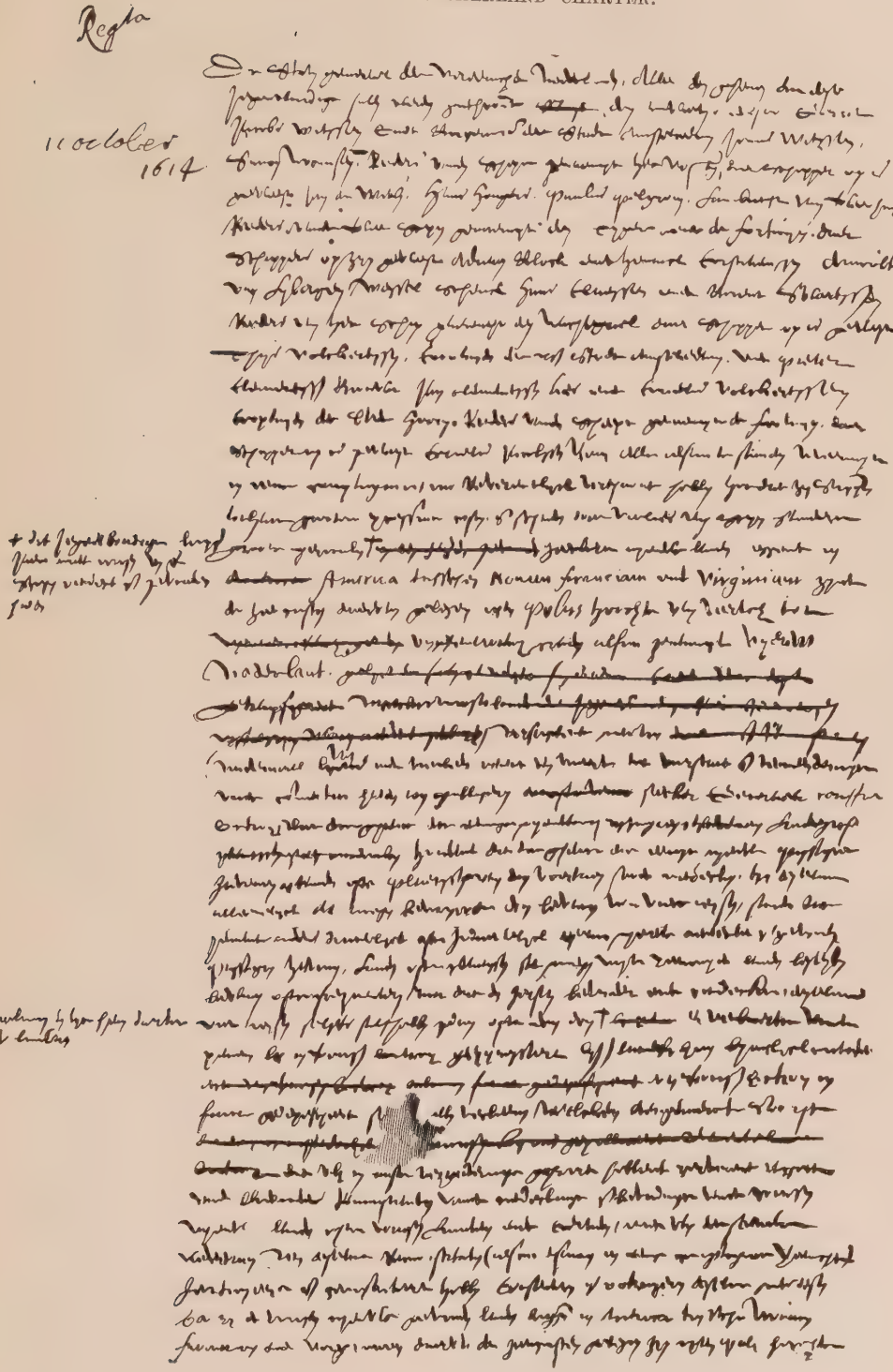
1614. It is of peculiar interest because it first officially gave the name of New Netherland to this portion of the Republic, and a fac-simile of it seemed worthy of a place in this history of our city. For the same reason we insert the translation of it here.[1]

"The States-General of the United Netherlands to all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting. Whereas, Gerrit Jacobz Witssen, ex-Burgomaster of the city of Amsterdam; Jonas Witssen, Simon Morissen, owners of the ship called the Little Fox, whereof Jan de With was skipper; Hans Hongers, Paulus Pelgrom, Lambrecht van Tweenhuyzen, owners of the two ships called the Tiger and the Fortune, whereof Adriaen Block and Henrick Cristiaensen [2] were skippers; Arnolt van Lybergen, Wessel Schenck, Hans Claessen, and Berent Sweertssen, owners of the ship called the Nightingale, whereof Thys Volckertsen was skipper, merchants of the aforesaid city of Amsterdam; and Peter Clementsen Brouwer, John Clementsen Kies, and Cornelis Volckertsen, merchants of the city of Hoorn, owners of the ship called the Fortune, whereof Cornelius Jacobsen May was skipper, all now united into one company, have respectfully represented to us, that they, the petitioners, after great expenses and damages by loss of ships and more such perils, have this present current year discovered and found with aforesaid five ships certain new lands situated in America, between New France and Virginia, the sea-coasts of which lie between forty and forty-five degrees north latitude, and now called New Netherland. And whereas, we did in the month of March last, for the promotion and increase of commerce, cause to be published a certain general consent and charter setting forth, that whosoever should thereafter discover new havens, lands, places, or passages might traffic or cause to traffic, to the extent of four voyages, with such newly discovered and found places, passages, havens, or lands, to the exclusion of all others trafficking or visiting the same from the United Netherlands, until the said first discoverers and finders shall have themselves completed the said four voyages, or cause the same to be done within the time prescribed for that purpose, under the penalties prescribed in the said charter, they request that we would accord to them due Act of the aforesaid charter in the usual form: Which being considered, we, therefore, in our assembly having heard the report of the petitioners appertaining hereto, relative to the discoveries and finding of the said new countries between the above-named limits and degrees, and also of their adventures, have consented and granted, and by these presents do consent and grant, to the said petitioners now united into one company, that they shall be privileged exclusively to traffic, or caused to be trafficked, with the above newly discovered lands, situate in America between New France and Virginia, whereof the sea-coasts lie between the fortieth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, now named New Netherland, as can be seen by a Figurative Map hereunto annexed, and that for four voyages within the term of three years, beginning the first of January, sixteen hundred and fifteen following, or earlier, without it being permitted to any other person from the United Netherlands to sail to, navigate, or traffic with the said newly discovered lands, havens, or places, either directly or indirectly, within the said three years, on pain of confiscation of the vessel and cargo wherewith infraction hereof shall be attempted, and a fine of fifty thousand Netherland ducats for the benefit of said discoverers or finders; provided, nevertheless, that by these presents we do not intend to prejudice or diminish any of our former grants or charters; and it is also our intention that if any

[1] A translation of this charter by Dr. O'Callahan is published both in Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y. (1 : 11) and in his "History of New Netherland," 1 : 74-76. We have compared this with the original and made a few changes in the phraseology where this appeared to be called for.

[2] A close study of the photographic copy of the original MS. leaves it somewhat uncertain whether Corstiaensen or Cristiaensen be the correct reading. But with Wassenaer's undoubted Christiaensen before us, we may conclude that the latter reading is the proper one.

THE NEW NETHERLAND CHARTER.



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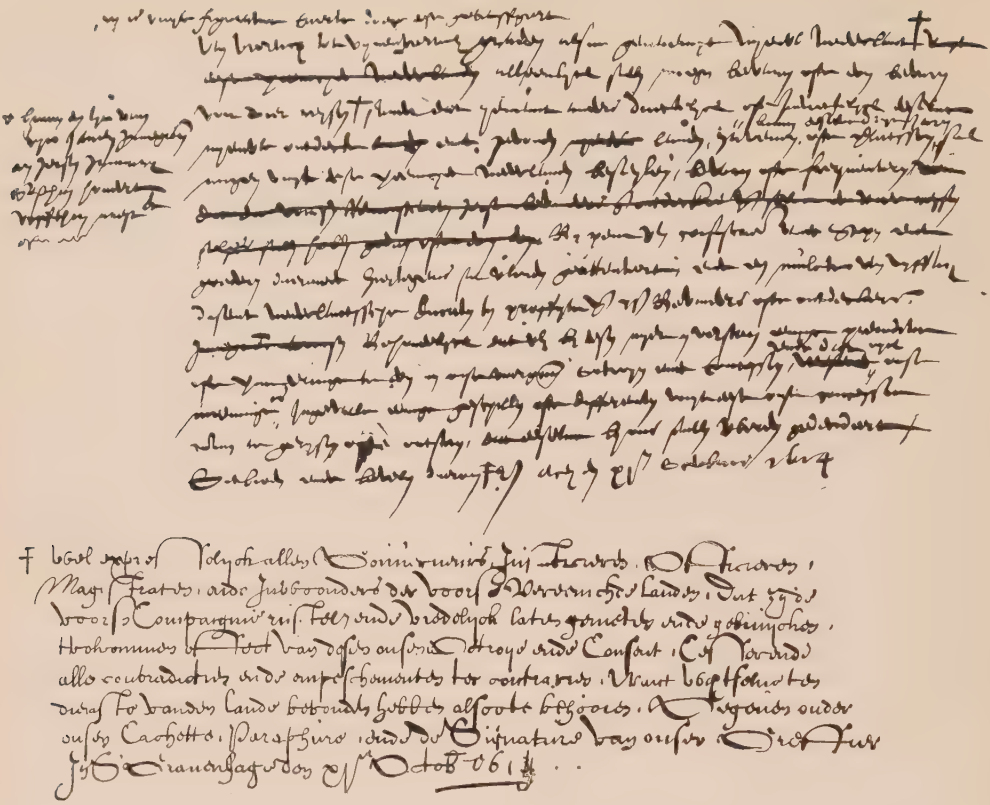


disputes or differences arise from these our concessions, they shall be decided by ourselves. We therefore expressly command all governors, justices, officers, magistrates, and inhabitants of the aforesaid United Lands that they allow the aforesaid Company quietly and peacefully to enjoy and use the complete effect of this our charter and consent, refraining from all opposition or detention to the contrary, for we have found such to serve for the benefit of the country. Given under our seal, paraph, and signature of our secretary, at the Hague, the 11th of October, 1614."

New Netherland was thus named; and by a curious coincidence, to which Brodhead calls attention, in the very same month and year, the name New England was first applied to the adjoining regions (to some extent the same regions) by Prince Charles, heir to England's throne, when he was made acquainted with Captain John Smith's explorations on the coasts of Massachusetts and Maine.

To return to New Netherland: after the charter which gave it a name, the first event that calls for attention is the erection of a second fort. It has been supposed such was built on Manhattan Island in the year 1615. Twenty years later the West India Company reminded the States-General in a memorial that "one or more little forts were built," under their High Mightinesses' jurisdiction, "even before the year 1614." But this declaration, like some others of their

historical statements, admits of doubt. And while learned historians differ as to the fact whether any fort was erected on Manhattan before that constructed by Director Minuit in 1626, perhaps we will not be far amiss in looking for the origin of the rumor that there was, in the very probable circumstance that Hendrick Christiaensen may have constructed breastworks or have surrounded his little hamlet with a stockade in anticipation of another visit from the English. Certain it is that neither on the Figurative, nor on what we may call Hendricksen's Map of 1616, do we notice any indication of a fort on Manhattan Island. But near the head of navigation there undoubtedly was one; and, indeed, so great appeared to be the necessity for a stronghold there that we find one succeeding another in rather rapid succession. Christiaensen's Fort Nassau, with Jacob Eelkens in command, remained "occupied steadily through three years," says De Laet, "and then fell into decay."[1] Its position on the island was advantageous in some respects; but on the other hand the floods at the breaking up of winter made havoc, until in 1617, they swept away ramparts and warehouse and ditch and all. Eelkens thereupon promptly selected a less perilous situation. A few miles below Albany there falls into the Hudson River from the west a small stream known as "Norman's Kill," corrupted from Noordtman's, given to it by the Dutch because a Scandinavian at one time possessed a farm on its banks. The Iroquois name "Tawasentha" was more euphonious; but its associations must have been sad, as this signified "the place of many dead"; evidently an Indian burying-ground was to be found in its neighborhood.[2] Its northern bank rose into an eminence called by the Indians "Tawassgunshee," overlooking the broad stream of the Hudson. Tawasentha has been the theme of many American poets, including Alfred B. Street and Henry W. Longfellow.[3] At Tawasentha a redoubt was built to succeed the one on Castle Island, four miles further up the river; and having no information to the contrary, we may suppose that the name of Nassau was retained for its successor.

But the names of Tawassgunshee and Tawasentha have become historic for another reason. Here in 1618 was held a great council of the chiefs of several Indian tribes, at which appeared also the com-

1 Nieuwe Wereldt, 3 : 9 : 88.

2 Henry R. Schoolcraft's "Indian Names along the Hudson," in "New-York Historical Society's Proceedings," 1844, p. 111.

3 In the Vale of Tawasentha,
In the green and sient valleyl,
By the pleasant water courses,
Dwelt the singer Nawadaha.
Round about the Indian village
Spread the meadows and the corn-fields,
And beyond them stood the forest,
Stood the groves of singing pine-trees,
Green in summer, white in winter,
Ever sighing, ever singing.
And the pleasant water courses,
You could trace them through the valley,
By the rushing in the spring-time,
By the alders in the summer,
By the white fog in the autumn,
By the black line in the winter;
And beside them dwelt the singer,
In the Vale of Tawasentha,
In the green and silent valley.

mander and officers of the new Fort Nassau, in order to effect with the red men a solemn treaty of amity and mutual assistance. About the mouth of the Hudson, on the islands and the main, dwelt tribes belonging to the numerous Algonquin nation. But when the Dutch erected their forts in the vicinity of its junction with the Mohawk River, they had penetrated to the border-line between this and another great Indian family, not quite so populous, perhaps, but much more formidable by reason of their political organization and warlike prowess. These were the Iroquois, and more particularly that part of them which was known as the "Five Nations," a confederacy comprising the tribes of the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas. For a century or more this confederacy had flourished, and, finding strength in their union, they had subdued the surrounding tribes, as much by the dread of their name as by the force of arms. No one chief bore rule among them, but affairs of common interest to the several members of the confederacy were discussed in councils especially called, to which each of the five nations sent a delegation, one of whom acted as the orator and was distinguished by a name which it was stipulated should always be borne by some person of the tribe.[1] Such a council had now met on Tawassgunshee Hill. The affairs of the Five Nations had reached a painful crisis. Accustomed to undisputed sway over the surrounding country, conquering whatever tribes of red men dared to wage war against them, they had recently met with an unexpected repulse on the banks of Lake Champlain and of the beautiful "Horican." An Algonquin tribe in Canada, assured of the assistance of the French on the St. Lawrence River, had declared war against the Iroquois confederacy. A handful of the Europeans, under Champlain, marching in the ranks of the Indian warriors, by the use of a strange weapon had scattered swift and mysterious death, to the utter dismay of the hitherto invincible Iroquois, and their complete discomfiture in battle. The European firearms, clumsy as they were, had proved effective and more than a match for the primitive bows and arrows of the natives. The disastrous and unusual experience of defeat had been repeated more than once, so that the Five Nations prudently resolved to refrain from wars in that direction until they could furnish themselves with allies

[1] Moulton's New-York, p. 346.

possessed of the deadly firearms, or better still, until they could obtain these destructive weapons from some friendly European nation, and learn the use of them themselves. The advent of the Dutch seemed to open the way towards the fulfilment of their desires. At the council of Tawassgunshee a treaty was made, the main terms of which were that, on the one hand, the natives should supply the Dutch traders with the furs they valued so highly; while in return the strangers promised to furnish the tribes of the Five Nations exclusively with muskets or carbines. Representatives from other tribes of the neighborhood, of the Algonquin family, such as the Lenni-Lenapes, the Mohicans, the Minquas, were allowed to be present at the council, but only to bear a humiliating part in the ceremonies; for as the Iroquois and the Dutch at either end upheld the long belt of wampum in token of the covenant that bound them together, the middle portion of it was made to rest upon the shoulders of the subject Indians. This may have been meant to emphasize the fact that the furs would have to be furnished by the tribes which they represented, while the warrior tribes of the confederacy were confining their attention to the conquests which they would be able to achieve when the possession of firearms should put them on an equality with the French and their allies. The compact thus solemnly and ceremoniously formed was never seriously violated. It was the basis of a lasting friendship between the Iroquois and the Dutch, to which the English succeeded, and which raised a perpetual barrier to the encroachments of the French from the North. For the question of the domination and development of the continent of North America by a Latin or a Teutonic race and faith—"the most momentous and far-reaching question ever brought to an issue on this continent"—depended almost entirely upon this other question, "which side should win and hold the friendship of that powerful confederation of red men who overawed or held in tribute the Indians from the Mississippi to the Atlantic, and from Lake Champlain to the Chesapeake."[1] No doubt Jacob Eelkens' sojourn of more than three years among them had enabled him to win the confidence and to understand the character of the Indians; and his share in this transaction goes far to condone one or two other acts which do not place him in so favorable a light. It may be added that as a final ceremony on the part of the Indians, symbolic of perpetual peace, a tomahawk was trampled under foot until it had disappeared under the loose soil; while the Dutch on their side promised to build a church on the spot consecrated by this burial of the implement of war.[2]

1 William E. Griffis, D. D., "Arendt van Curler," p. 5 (1884).

2 O'Callahan's New Netherland, 1 : 78-80; Brodhead's New-York, 1 : 81-88. These authors refer principally to Moulton's New-York (p. 346) as their source, who, in turn, refers his readers to a "note (157)," which unfortunately is not to be found in any edition of his book.

Hudson on his way along our coast had anchored within Delaware Bay, and the curiosity and enterprise of the Dutch traders needed but this hint to send them off in that direction also, to see what could be discovered. As a result of explorations there we find Captain Cornelius Hendricksen before the States-General at the Hague, in midsummer, 1616. He at first gave a verbal report, but he was instructed to reduce it to writing. He had also in his possession an outline map, which roughly delineated the part of New Netherland which he had explored, and upon which he had hastily jotted a note conveying most interesting information.

Champlain

After he had exchanged the ship Fortune, bound for the Fatherland, for the Restless, this convenient craft was employed once more in the service of examining untried waters. It must have been some time during the year 1615 that Hendricksen sailed southward along the coast of New Jersey. He applied to at least one feature of it a name which has descended to our day, although in a translation; this being "Eyerhaven" or Egg Harbor. He doubled ere long the triangular point of land now called Cape May, but gave it the name of Hinloopen, either in honor of a merchant of Amsterdam, or after the town of Hindeloopen in Friesland. The point opposite he called, with pardonable self-assertion, after himself, Cape Cornelius. But by a strange fate that designation has disappeared from our maps, "Hinloopen" having been substituted for it, and the first Cape Hinloopen becoming later Cape May, in honor of the navigator who afterwards came upon the scene, although he had already borne a part in the exploration of adjoining regions. Favored by the small size of the Restless, Hendricksen could now undertake what Hudson dared not do in the Half-Moon. He pushed his way up the Bay that opened upon his delighted vision, entering the creeks, or bays, or rivers that offered on either side. He soon found the shores narrowing, however, until they became unmistakably the banks of a river, and it must have been no small satisfaction to him thus to realize that he was the discoverer of a new and unsuspected stream. In distinction from the Mauritius further north, he, or other Dutch geographers, called this the "South River." He followed its course, it is supposed, up as far as the Schuylkill, thus

passing the site of Philadelphia; and he reported to the States-General that here he encountered three of his countrymen, whom he was obliged to ransom from the custody of the Minqua Indians. These men proved to be a part of the garrison that had been left at Fort Nassau. They had been captured by one of the tribes living on the Mohawk River, and made to act as their servants. They had escaped, however, and had been sheltered and aided on their way through the country by a tribe of Ogehages, who were hostile to the Mohawks. Reaching the banks of the Delaware, they had followed its course down, and had finally come into the country of the Minquas, from whose rather mild bondage they were easily ransomed by a few trinkets. Here certainly was a chapter of adventure worthy of record. Hence, Hendricksen relates this circumstance in the written report to the States-General, and in a note upon his map he also mentions it, and shows besides that valuable information regarding the relative positions of various Indian tribes was furnished to him by these three wanderers.[1] But whatever interest Captain Hendricksen may have awakened in the mind of their High Mightinesses, they saw nothing in either his verbal or written report to warrant them in giving him a charter in fulfilment of their promise of March, 1614. The regions he brought to their notice were too closely contiguous to those reported on by Block, and they were of a character so similar in the way of trade, that it seemed unjust to the "United Netherland Company," erected on the basis of the charter of October, 1614, to grant another patent of monopoly to a rival association.

When the three years of exclusive trade to New Netherland conceded to the above Company had expired, they found it difficult to obtain renewal of the privilege, for other merchants now claimed the right of sending ships thither. One company of adventurers, headed by a Henry Eelkens, no doubt a relative of Jacob Eelkens, obtained permission to send a ship, the "Schilt," or Shield, from their port of Amsterdam to the North River, as the Mauritius was now designated, in October, 1618. But still the aim of each band of merchants who wished to send their ships to the fur regions of America was to enjoy such a privilege to the exclusion of others; and the competition to secure the monopoly became eager. In August, 1620, it appears that Captain Cornelius Jacobsen May has been abroad again, visiting the scenes he had explored six or seven years before. In the ship called the Glad Tidings he had sailed up the James River in Virginia.[2] He may then, too, have entered Delaware Bay and given his name to the Cape that still bears it, although this was perhaps the result of his subsequent prominence in those parts. At any rate it was hardly

[1] See the note on the map in Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 1 : opposite page 11; also Hendricksen's "Report," Ib., 1 : 13, 14.

[2] De Laet, Nieuwe Wereldt, 3 : 13 : 93.

honest for him to claim that he had discovered new countries, within the meaning of the General Charter, and to seek to obtain a charter for an exclusive trade of four years. His mistake, or worse, was therefore promptly exposed by Henry Eelkens and his partners, and the issuing of a charter to May's principals opposed. The States-General made an attempt to reconcile the parties at issue, but as, after a delay of nearly two months, "that could not be done, it is, after consideration, resolved and concluded that the requested Charter shall be refused."[1] This was on November 6, 1620. Indeed the disputes between these rival firms only served to commend the superior advantages that attached to one consolidated national association, the scheme which had begun to be agitated in 1604, and had been discussed again in 1614. The consummation of the West India Company was therefore only hastened by this quarrel. In November, 1618, after Barneveld's arrest, the subject of its formation had been introduced into the States-General, and it was now awaiting action on the part of the several Provincial Legislatures. Even at the time of this discussion between Eelkens and Captain May, the reports from the Provinces were slowly coming in, and on June 3, 1621, the charter establishing this great Company was finally signed and sealed.

An incident now occurred to which attaches a special interest for two important reasons: because, in the first place, it gives evidence that the idea of colonization, for which there was made such slight provision, as has been seen, in the charter granted to the West India Company, was distinctly entertained and its importance intelligently appreciated by many men in Holland whose attention had been directed to this country; and, in the second place, because it connects the Hudson River and Manhattan Island in an intimate and pleasant way with a neighboring Colony, the advent of whose members to the shores of America is looked upon as the beginning of national history for the Republic of the United States.

On the 20th of February, 1620, a unique document[2] was addressed to Maurice, Prince of Orange, the Stadholder of the Republic of the Netherlands. It was a petition from the Directors of the "New Netherland Company." The Company was still in existence and actively engaged in the trade to the Hudson, although its charter had expired three years after January 1, 1615. The trade was now open to all, and, as they remark in this paper, other associations and private merchants were also despatching vessels thither. There is not in their petition, however, the slightest trace of a desire to revive their monopoly. Another and, we may say, a nobler project was in their minds. Beyond a mere trading-post, they had conceived the idea of making the banks of the Hudson the seat of a regular colony.

[1] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 1: 24, 25.

[2] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 1: 22, 23.

But it was not easy for Holland to colonize uninhabited districts in foreign lands. Much as has been said by some writers about the overcrowded condition of the United Provinces, we must accept such statements with caution. There was ample space for all her citizens within the territories of the Seven Provinces. At any rate they were not a people inclined to leave the Fatherland permanently. Restlessly diligent in pursuing wealth or glory to the remotest parts of the earth, her sons ever cherished the expectation of spending their last days amid the early associations of home. So it will be seen that the first attempts at colonization in connection with New Netherland depended for the supply of colonists upon refugees who had found an asylum in free Holland from religious persecution in their own lands. These having been once transplanted, and not yet rooted to the soil, it seemed easier for them to make another change.

SITE OF ROBINSON'S HOUSE, LEYDEN.

Now it "happened," the petitioners informed the Prince, and through him the Government, that there was "residing in Leyden a certain English preacher, versed in the Dutch language, who is well inclined to proceed thither to live," *i. e.*, to New Netherland. What is more, he was the representative in this proposal of no less than four hundred families who would "accompany him thither both out of this country and England." Here was thus a golden opportunity for forming a colony. A thousand people at their doors, indebted to Holland for a home and freedom of worship during a dozen years, besides several hundred fellow-sufferers in England ready to join their brethren in this change of abode, and likely to be equally grateful for the favor accorded. Eagerly do the Directors of the New Netherland Company recommend this project to the Prince, requesting that they be aided in transporting these families. They had themselves, as we learn elsewhere, made generous proposals to these English exiles; New England historians call them "large offers," and well they may, for the Directors promised to give them free passage to America, and to furnish every family with cattle.[1] But there was danger to be apprehended on the high seas

[1] See Brodhead's (N. Y., 1: 124) references to Bradford in Alexander Young's "Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers," p. 421; and to Winslow, p. 385.

as well as after they should have landed on the distant shores, from the vindictive persecution of their own King; and hence the Directors begged the Dutch Government to take the enterprise under its protection, and to allow two armed ships to accompany the expedition.[1]

There is no mistaking who were this preacher and the people for whom he was authorized to speak. John Robinson and his flock had been living in Leyden since 1609, and thus from the first must have heard of the exploit of Henry Hudson which had been for years agitating commercial Holland. Their views of church government differing hopelessly from those prevalent in England and indorsed as well as enforced by the Crown, and king and prelates insisting on conformity thereto or banishment, or worse, the nonconformist band at Scrooby in Nottinghamshire, led by their pastor, chose banishment, and being assured of tolerance and protection in Holland, the asylum for the oppressed of all creeds or despotisms, they entered upon their first "pilgrimage," and took up their abode in Amsterdam in 1608. But in 1609 Robinson's flock found it more advantageous to remove to Leyden. Here they spent many peaceful years, though, being in a country just recuperating from a sanguinary war, they were compelled in common with her own citizens to maintain a severe struggle for existence, and they sometimes speak of "hard" times. Yet they must have been reasonably prosperous, for in 1611 they bought a large piece of ground with a spacious house upon it, for over three thousand dollars, which would represent about four times that amount in our day. The site of this house is now indicated by a stone in the front wall of the building occupying it at present, which records that "on this spot lived, taught and died John Robinson, 1611–1625."[2] Believing in the independency of the congregation as distinguished from the Presbyterian system of both the Dutch and the Scotch churches, and objecting to worship in buildings that had once been devoted to Roman Catholic services,[3] Robinson himself could form no ecclesiastical affiliations with the church of the land, as the pastors of Scotch refugees had done; nor could his people be granted a sanctuary, as

[1] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 1: 23.

[2] It stands immediately opposite the St. Peter's church, in which the remains of Robinson were deposited after his death in 1625. July 24, 1891, there was unveiled a large bronze tablet placed in the front outside wall of the church, at the instance of the "National Council of Congregational Churches of the United States of America." (For illustration, see p. 149.) The unveiling was an impressive ceremony, witnessed by a large assemblage, including about sixty Americans. The whole town was en fête and the ancient church decorated with flags and flowers. As it was unveiled the American, Dutch, and English flags were unfurled and saluted, the band playing the "Star Spangled Banner," "God Save the Queen," and the tune "Plymouth Rock." The tablet having been formally delivered by the representative of the American Council to the city's keeping, the Burgomaster, Mr. De Laat de Kanter (presumably a descendant of the historian De Laet, who was a citizen of Leyden), accepted the trust with a few brief and appropriate words. The University, of which Robinson was made a member, was represented by Professor Kuenen, who also made an address in Dutch and English.

[3] Wagenaar, "Amsterdamsche Geschiedenis," 4: 125–127.

had been assigned to the Scotch, since the Protestants throughout Holland were wisely using the abundant supply of such edifices built in Roman Catholic times, which it would have been mere wantonness to destroy or to leave vacant. The Pilgrims therefore met for public worship in the spacious house they had purchased, which was also set apart for their pastor's residence; while about the extensive garden smaller buildings were erected for the use of a number of the poorer families. And it is certainly worth noting that upon this very ground stands an almost similar institution, it being a home for indigent people belonging to the French or Walloon congregation—that is, descendants of religious refugees from France and Belgium.

But while enjoying perfect liberty to conduct their church government on the principles which they had adopted, and to exercise their worship in the place or manner that their consciences could approve, there were some considerations which made Robinson and his flock wish for different surroundings. In the recent discussions in New England in regard to erecting a monument at Delfshaven to commemorate the departure thence of the Pilgrim Fathers, those who oppose the scheme have charged that the Hollanders did not treat them handsomely. But we cannot discover this among the causes of their leaving. They were Englishmen, and the younger generation were fast becoming amalgamated with the foreign element around them. They were not far enough away from James I. to altogether escape his annoyances, for although the Dutch Government necessarily defied him in harboring the refugees at all, it could not entirely break with the head of the only other great Protestant Power, and thus at times it was compelled to give the appearance at least of heeding the remonstrances of their King. Again, the Pilgrims could not much better bear the Presbyterian government of the Dutch Church than they could the English Episcopacy; yet their children were growing up where they constantly saw this form exemplified, and they would thus not only be reconciled to it but might become identified with it. The new free principles of church polity for which

Robinson and his co-religionists contended needed wide space and unmolested practice for their development. Early in their stay in Holland, therefore, they began to turn their eyes towards America. Negotiations were attempted more than once with the London or the Plymouth Company. But their own countrymen could not be quite depended on, and their King least of all. Then their intentions were made known to the New Netherland Company, whose Directors, as we have seen, met their advances cordially. When the matter, however, came before the States-General, they adopted a broader view of the situation. Here was not a mere colonizing scheme, an undertaking for enterprising Dutch merchants only. Important political questions were involved, which had not occurred to simple business men. Dutch statesmen, accustomed to take in a wide range, and to look far in advance, in their keen combat against overwhelming power, were not ignorant of the claims of the English, and how these might be favored in the future by the proposed action at present. Argall had given practical exhibition of the temper of his nation towards the Dutch on Manhattan. That which in a few decades was to find its way into printed volumes was undoubtedly then abroad in diplomatic circles—namely, that on the strength of Hudson's nationality all his discoveries properly belonged to England.[1] It would therefore have been the height of impolicy to send as the first colonists to a section so strenuously claimed by England some hundreds of families who, although exiled, were nevertheless, to their honor be it said, Englishmen to the core. Hence the States-General denied the petition of the Directors of the New Netherland Company, and refused to allow the Pilgrims to proceed thither. Less than six months afterwards, on July 20, 1620, the half of the number dwelling at Leyden left that city, parted from their pastor and the remainder of their brethren at Delfshaven, and sailed forth thence in the Speedwell to a glorious destiny, going out from the protection of the republican institutions of the United Netherlands to plant the seeds of a greater Republic on the far-distant shores of America. A simple memorial, an "answering monument" to that which on Plymouth Rock commemorates the arrival of the Mayflower, might well therefore be set up to mark the beginning of a journey fraught with so much promise to our country.[2]

The charter of the Dutch West India Company was granted in 1621; but not until 1623 was the Company ready for complete organization, and not till 1626 was the first regular colonial government provided

[1] Peter Heylin, "Cosmographie," Bk. 4 : 1028 (Ed. 1653).

[2] Mr. Thayer, the present Minister of the United States at The Hague, immediately after the unveiling of the monument at Plymouth, Mass., in August, 1889, visited Delfshaven, and addressed a despatch to Secretary Blaine, suggesting the erection of a monument at the latter place, and pointing out the advantages of the locality for such a purpose.

for New Netherland. The interval was filled up with a number of voyages that are worth recording, of which some were for purposes of trade merely, while others were made in the interest of colonization. To avoid confusion we shall consider these events in chronological order; as indeed, for the most part there is no other connection between them, until we approach within a few years of the arrival of Director Minuit.

In this series of individual enterprises the name of Henry Eelkens is met with again. He had been among the earliest to take advantage of the expiration of the New Netherland Charter and the opening of the trade to the Mauritius in 1618. It was still necessary, however, to obtain a special license for each voyage, and thus in September, 1621, he and his partners, all of Amsterdam, brought a petition before the States-General, asking leave to send their ship, the White Dove, to the New World. They specified Virginia in their document, but that term embraced a much wider extent of territory then than now, and there can be no doubt that New Netherland was meant. Next there appeared before the Parliament of the Republic a company of men, including other than merchants, and representing besides the awakened interest of cities other than Amsterdam. The week after the former petition was granted one was received from six persons, two of whom were physicians, and some of whom were citizens of Hoorn and Medemblik, then active participants in the national commerce, but now among the "Dead Cities of the Zuyder Zee." Four days later another group of adventurers procured leave to trade to our coast, among whom was Petrus Plancius, minister of the gospel at Amsterdam, but better known as a cosmographer, the Hakluyt and Purchas of Holland. He has been already referred to as the chief promoter of the Arctic voyages of 1594 to 1596, whose cosmographical studies and the maps prepared by himself had been placed at the service of Henry Hudson, and with whom beyond question that navigator had enjoyed many a personal conference during those weeks from January to April, 1609, that he was in Amsterdam preparing for the voyage that ended in our river. His personal interest in that discovery or exploration was now practically manifested by his investing with others in a trading expedition. Two ships were to be engaged in this, and they were to enter not only the waters of the Mauritius or North River, but also to penetrate into the "great river situate between the thirty-eighth and fortieth degrees"—that is, the South or Delaware River, which Hendricksen had brought to the attention of the Dutch traders. Ere a twelvemonth had elapsed, before, indeed, the expedition had returned to Holland, death had put an end to the useful labors of this venerable scholar, which had been so largely in keeping with the spirit of the age in which he lived.

These numerous expeditions of the Dutch to the coast of North America embraced within our United States had not passed unnoticed in England. The maritime nations of that day were watching each other closely as to what was being accomplished on the new continent in the West. The Papal bull had given to Spain the entire world west of a certain imaginary line running through the middle of the Atlantic. But the decline of her power left her impotent to keep the Dutch, English, and French from the regions north of Florida. That vast extent of country England claimed, and by virtue of that claim had devastated a few plantations of the French in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, while she was only waiting her opportunity to eject them from the whole of Canada, an achievement reserved for the middle of the next century. But now, south of Canada, into the very heart of the country, claimed not only but partly occupied by England, into the very portion that divided her northern from her southern colonies, the Hollanders were diligently penetrating and establishing a nucleus for profitable trade and future colonization. The voyages undertaken or licensed in 1621, and the charter extended to a Dutch West India Company in June of that year, led James I. in December to direct Sir Dudley Carleton, his ambassador at the Hague, to address a remonstrance to the States-General.[1] After some preliminary exchange of communications Carleton presented such an address in French to their High Mightinesses in February, 1622. In spite of the English title to those countries, which his sovereign declared to be "notorious to every one,"[2] yet was the King "informed that in the previous year some Hollanders had put foot in certain parts of the said country, and had planted a colony there, changing the names of ports and havens, and baptizing them anew after their own fashion, with the intention of sending more ships for the continuance of the said Colony, and that in fact they now had six or eight ships all ready to sail thither." Sir Dudley, accord-

PETRUS PLANCIUS.

[1] It is possible also that Captain Dermer's visits to Manhattan Island in 1619 and 1620 (see N. Y. Hist. Soc. Col., Second Series, 1: 343-354) may have been one of the moving causes. At least the immediate occasion of the instructions to Carleton was a petition submitted to James by four persons, of whom Sir Fernando Gorges, Dermer's principal, was one, and Samuel Argall was another. See O'Callahan's "New Netherland," 1: 95; Brodhead, New-York 1: 140; and Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 1: 58.

[2] "Comme il est notoire à un chacun." See O'Callahan's "New Netherland," 1: 97, note, for this address in the original; a translation is to be found in Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 3: 8.

ingly, stated that his master had commanded him to apply to the States-General, and "to require of you in his name that by your authority not only the vessels already fitted out for the said voyage be detained, but also that the further prosecution of the said Colony be expressly forbidden." This was strange language to address to an independent republic, quivering with an irrepressible vitality born of forty years of heroic struggle against a foe much mightier than James; a vitality that had been seeking an outlet in commercial enterprises which embraced the ends of the earth! A visionary title to a vast region which England was incapable of occupying could not restrain a nation such as the Dutch. The foreign interference, therefore, the more exasperating because it proceeded from such a source, only stimulated instead of checking the "further prosecution" of colonizing New Netherland.

As if in defiance of England's remonstrance we now observe for the first time the participation of the West India Company itself in the enterprise. In the spring of 1622 the Company was still awaiting the slow ingathering of its required capital, and was therefore not yet fully organized. At this juncture, but a month or two after Carleton's protest, application was made to the States of Holland by a number of families who desired transportation as colonists to New Netherland. It was referred to the West India Company, and taken in hand by the Amsterdam Chamber, as doubtless its capital was fully subscribed before that of the other Chambers. Moreover, the families who had made this request were settled at Amsterdam, and there direct communication could be held with them. The same peculiarity attached to them which distinguished the people who had offered to form a Colony in America in 1620. They too, like John Robinson and his flock, were exiles for conscience' sake, having been compelled to leave their homes in the Southern Provinces of the Netherlands, bordering on France, because they were Protestants, and the Belgian Provinces had failed to maintain a united struggle against Spain and the Church of Rome until for Protestant and Catholic alike there might be liberty of worship as in the provinces of the North. The inhabitants of the Southern Provinces of Belgium were designated by the name of Walloons, either on account of their Gallic origin, or of their proximity to France and the use of that language.[1] Being, as the pilgrims were, sojourners in a strange land, these Walloons were prepared to undertake a second removal, although the vast majority of their compatriots felt perfectly at home in Holland, and became thoroughly identified with all her institutions of Church and State. It seems possible that

[1] In transition from the Romance to the Teutonic tongues the g is often changed into w; even as *guerre* becomes war, and *Guillaume*, William, so *Gaullois* would become *Waalsch* or Walloon. The Prince of Wales is the "Prince de *Galles*" in French.

at first they hesitated to pass from Holland to regions to which Hollanders indeed were trading, but which, lying between the northern and southern limits of English patents, were a debatable land where no settlement might be secure. At least they applied to Sir Dudley Carleton to intervene for them with the authorities in England, to obtain permission to settle in Virginia.[1] Failing to arrive at any satisfactory arrangements in this quarter, they had addressed themselves to the Provincial Legislature of Holland.

For the transportation of these fifty or sixty families there was provided, by the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company, a vessel of great size for that day, having more than three times the dimensions of the Half-Moon, or a measurement of two hundred and sixty tons. It was appropriately christened the New Netherland. Thirty of the Walloon families were placed upon her, and it was carefully planned in advance how these were to be distributed into various settlements. Part of them were to go to the South River, and Cornelius Jacobsen May, who was made Captain of the New Netherland, was appointed to be director or governor of the settlement there to be planted. But he was to have a general survey of the whole expedition and of the plantation in America. Proceeding first to the head of navigation on the Hudson, he was to restore the former fort there or build a new one, and leave in command Adriaen Joris of Thienpont, or as some writers call him, Adriaen Joris Thienpont.

The setting out of this first colonizing expedition to New Netherland cannot be regarded without interest. It left Amsterdam in March, 1623, or nearly a year after the application of the Walloon families had been laid before the States of Holland. It reached the mouth of the Hudson in May, and several incidents connected with its arrival, as well as the facts just stated, have been preserved for us by the contemporary historian Wassenaer. In the first place the New Netherland encountered a French vessel, upon an errand similar to her own, in the Upper Bay. The intruder was soon disposed of. An armed yacht, the Mackarel, coming opportunely down the river from Fort Nassau, it convoyed the stranger outside the bay well into the ocean, with so unmistakable an intimation of the danger of returning that the attempt does not seem to have been renewed. But it is said that the Frenchman tried to effect his object on the South or Delaware River; with the same result, however, for the Dutch traders there treated the would-be colonists of France with equal firmness.

The New Netherland, after the episode just mentioned, proceeded up the river, perhaps now, or else on its return later, leaving a part of the Walloons upon Manhattan Island.[2] At any rate about this time

[1] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 3:9.

[2] Deposition of Catelina Trico, in Doc. Hist., 3:32 (4to). She states that eight men were left on Manhattan.

a number of them must have settled at the "Waelenbogt," or Walloon Bay, the Wallabout of to-day, bearing testimony in this corrupt form to the presence of these earliest settlers in that portion of Long Island and the city of Brooklyn. And here, two years later, occurred an event full of human interest as well as of a merely historic one. A certain Simon Jansen de Rapallo or Rapalje, according to the Dutch spelling, having first settled on Staten Island, removed to the Walloon Bay, in the spring of 1625. When but a few months in this new home, on June 6, 1625, he became the father of the first female child of European parents born within the bounds of New Netherland.[1] It was long supposed that Sarah de Rapalje was the first white child born in New Netherland. But the Labadist voyagers who photographed upon their written journal the manners and customs and people of New Amsterdam, and indeed of all New Netherland, as they were in 1679, have left the record that in this year they were introduced to one Jean Vigné, then about sixty-five years old, who was known to be the first child thus born. His birth, therefore, must have taken place in 1614 or 1615. His parents were from Valenciennes, situated in one of the Walloon Provinces, now in France.[2]

THE SHIP NEW NETHERLAND.

Approaching the head of navigation in the Hudson, the unusual size of the New Netherland, as compared with the class of trading ships that ordinarily visited these parts, proved to be of some inconvenience. When opposite Esopus Creek, it was found necessary to lighten her by transferring a portion of her cargo to boats, and by this expedient she was enabled to work her way up as far as the Tawasentha. While this had been thought a good place for the small redoubt called Fort Nassau, now that it was contemplated to build a regular fort another site was deemed preferable. And thus Fort Orange, scientifically constructed, with four angles, a few miles further to the north,

1 If Virginia Dare, the first white child born in the United States, had not perished less than three years after her birth, she would at this time have been nearly thirty-eight years of age.

2 "Journal of Dankers and Sluyter," translated with notes by Henry C. Murphy, p. 114, and note; published by the Long Island Historical Society.

came to occupy the site of the present Albany, or that level part of it where its business is now transacted. At the same time that the engineers and soldiers of the expedition began marking out the angles of the fortress and digging the trenches, the Walloon colonists put their spades into the virgin soil and sowed their grain, so that when the fort was completed and Captain May, leaving Adriaen Jorisz in command, was about to betake himself to the quarter assigned for his special jurisdiction, the grain stood high and promising. On Wassenaer's sole authority we learn that another fort or redoubt, called "Wilhelmus," was built on an island in the vicinity of Fort Orange (or perhaps near Kingston[1]), by the name of "Prince's Island," formerly "Murderer's Island." But it is difficult to identify this spot, although the suggestion offers itself whether it may not have been upon it that Christiaensen, whose murder this historian alone relates, met his fate at the hands of young Orson. Eighteen families were left at Fort Orange, and besides Adriaen Jorisz, who as sea-captain had occasion to make the voyage to Holland at certain intervals, one Daniel Kriekenbeeck, whose rather lengthy cognomen was considerately abbreviated to simple "Beeck" or "Beck" in daily conversation, was appointed to command in his absence. Eelkens, with all his valuable experience gained through several years of trading with the Indians, had been guilty of a serious misdeed, as we shall see later, and had been dismissed.

The year 1623 had therefore been made memorable for Albany. Ere it was gone Captain May had already established himself on the South or Delaware River. He built a fort there also, for which he selected a spot on the Timmer's Kill, near the site of the present town of Gloucester, in New Jersey, about four miles south of Philadelphia. Four couples that had been married at sea, and eight men, were appointed to remain there.[2] The name borne for nearly ten years by the redoubt on the banks of the upper Hudson was transferred to the stronghold on the Delaware, and there we must look henceforth for Fort Nassau. It is related, but with rather slight grounds of probability, that during this same year (1623) a fort was built and a colony, consisting of no more than two families and six men, established on the Freshwater or Connecticut River, where, in 1633, Fort Good Hope was erected; but of this more hereafter.

Thus the first colonies had been established in New Netherland; but we need not suppose that the thirty families brought out by the first ship were the only ones to supply so many points. A few months after she sailed, or in June, 1623, the project upon which

[1] Wassenaer, Doc. Hist., 3:35 (8vo); see Brodhead's conjectures and explorations, New-York, 1:152, note.

[2] Deposition of Trico, Doc. Hist., 3:31.

those who despatched her were bent was pursued still farther, and more of the Walloon families were brought over by an expedition consisting of no less than three ships at once—the Orange Tree, the Eagle, and the Love. And it is to be noticed, moreover, that these vessels were sent, not by the Amsterdam Chamber alone, but by the West India Company as a whole. It was now perfecting its arrangements and fast completing its organization; its capital was nearly all subscribed, and notices everywhere published that its books would soon be closed. Perhaps in honor of this event and in compliment to the Company, the States-General in this very year (1623) granted a seal for New Netherland, as if to place it on a level with the provinces of the Republic. As it will be remembered, these United Provinces had all originally been separate suzerainties,—Duchies, Counties, Baronies, or Lordships,—and as such each had possessed his appropriate armorial bearings, which were still retained on their provincial seals. To New Netherland such armorial bearings were now assigned, which was equivalent to making it a province,[1] the seal representing a shield bearing a beaver, proper, over which was a count's coronet, surrounded by the words: "Sigillum Novi Belgii."[2] Nor is it to be forgotten that a little later the American province received a conspicuous share of attention in the literature of Holland; for in 1625 there was published in Leyden, by the famous house of Elsevier, De Laet's "Nieuwe Wereldt, ofte Beschryvinghe van West Indien," a monumental work, the source to this day of much of our information concerning Hudson's exploit, the condition of the country and of the natives at the time of his visit, also of the subsequent explorations by Block, May, and Hendricksen. De Laet was one of the directors of the West India Company, and his book, no doubt, contributed greatly towards directing the attention of Hollanders to those interesting regions in America of which that great corporation was just beginning to assume the charge.

SEAL OF NEW NETHERLAND.

Director May's term of office having expired in 1624, another Director, appointed again for only one year, was sent out. This was one William Verhulst.[3] As no trace of him appears on or about Manhattan, while in the Delaware there was an island known for some time as Verhulsten Island, whereon stood a substantial trading-house of brick, it may be concluded that the seat of his jurisdiction, like May's, was mainly on the Delaware River. One event of note, that gave evidence of how thoroughly the idea of colonizing had now taken root,

[1] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 1: 262. [2] Brodhead, New-York, 1: 148. [3] Wassenaer, Doc. Hist., 3: 30 (4to).

marked his brief administration. This was the sending of over one hundred head of cattle to New Netherland by Peter Evertsen Hulft, one of the directors of the West India Company. The expedition consisted of three ships, furnished by himself, and an armed yacht provided by the Dutch Government. The cattle were placed upon two of the ships. A special deck was constructed for their stalls, which were kept thickly sanded, and doubtless every other provision was made to secure that scrupulous neatness and cleanliness that still characterize the stables of Holland. Beneath these decks immense tanks were placed filled with a supply of water, while a sufficient quantity of fodder was stored on a separate ship, which contained also six families or forty-five persons as colonists. Of the one hundred and three head of cattle, beeves, hogs, and sheep, only two died on the passage. Arriving before Manhattan the precaution was taken to land them on Nooten Island, lest they should go astray and be lost in the forests. But there being some difficulty in properly watering them there, they were finally transferred to Manhattan Island. In a short time about twenty died, in consequence of grazing on some strange or poisonous weeds.[1]

At the end of 1625 William Verhulst's term as Director came to a close, and about the middle of December of that year Peter Minuit was invested with the title of Director-General. Furnished with a staff of officers for a fully equipped Colonial Government, he embarked for his seat of authority on Manhattan Island, where he arrived in May, 1626,[2] and regular Colonial history for the State of New-York, or the then Province of New Netherland, began.

NOTE ON THE PORTRAIT, AUTOGRAPH, AND ANTECEDENTS OF HUDSON.

Of the oil-painting of Henry Hudson in the "Governor's Room" in the City Hall, which has been handsomely engraved on steel for this work, and it is believed for the first time, there is, unfortunately, no satisfactory account obtainable. A diligent and careful search of the records in the City Hall has resulted only in disappointment, as we have been unable to discover any trace of former ownership, or of the authenticity of the portrait. In 1868 David T. Valentine, then clerk of the Common Council, wrote to General Meredith Read, "I have examined the indexes to the proceedings as far back as 1730, under every imaginable head that would be likely to lead to the information desired, but without avail. I am convinced that unless the name of the donor can be first ascertained, there is no way to obtain it otherwise than by an examination of the records, page by page — a labor that I do not feel warranted in undertaking. I regret exceedingly that I cannot obtain what you desire in this particular, and can only say

[1] Wassenaer, Doc. Hist., 3 : 25.

[2] Dr. O'Callahan, usually so accurate, places the date of Minuit's arrival in 1624. We can find no other authority for this statement.

that the records are at your service, for a personal examination, should you deem the object in view of sufficient importance to warrant the labor necessary to attain it." Foiled in my search among the archives of the city, I next attempted to learn something of the history of the portrait from other sources, and have only succeeded in obtaining the following, which I found in a work published in 1827, entitled "The Picture of New-York and Stranger's Guide to the Commercial Metropolis of the United States," by A. T. Goodrich. Speaking of Henry Hudson, he says: "A portrait of this distinguished navigator is in the City Hall, painted in 1592, when he was twenty-three

THE ROBINSON TABLET, UNVEILED JULY 24, 1891.[1]

years of age. He is represented with a frill round his neck, and holding a compass in his hand; he has a youthful and very interesting appearance. It was deposited by an ancient Dutch family, and is of undoubted originality."

Washington Irving's description of that "worthy and irrecoverable discoverer" is not at all in harmony with our portrait of Hudson, who is described by Irving, but without giving his authority, as "a short, square, brawny old gentleman with a double chin, a mastiff mouth, and a broad copper nose, which was supposed in those days to have acquired its fiery hue from the constant neighborhood of his tobacco pipe!" Our personal search in England and Holland for any writing of Hudson's, or even his autograph, was as unsuccessful as the quest for authentic data concerning his portrait. Under date of London, July 9, 1891, Mr. W. Noel Saintbury, assistant keeper of the English Public Records, writes: "I have delayed answering your letter requesting signature, until I had exhausted every available source for obtaining one. Hudson was for so short a time a prominent man that very little indeed is known authentically about him. . . . In my Colonial Calendar, East Indies, 1513–1616, are several incidental allusions to him and to his widow and son. The former was assisted by the East India Company, and the latter was taken into their service, but there is not a particle of Hudson's writing in this office, neither is there in the British Museum, where I have had search made. There is no will in Doctors' Commons, and it is not likely that he ever made one — if he did, it went to the bottom of the deep with him. As you will

[1] For an account of the ceremonies attending the unveiling of this Tablet, see page 138, note.

see by the inclosed answer of their secretary, I have written to the Hudson Bay Company, so that I feel convinced the search is hopeless."

In view of the fact that so little was known of Henry Hudson beyond the four years from 1607 to 1611, when he appears so prominently in the annals of navigation and discovery, General Meredith Read, in proposing to himself the preparation of a biographical work on Hudson,[1] determined to deal only cursorily with the well-known portion of his life, in order to discover some light upon his unknown past. In the course of his studies he explored the founding and the great services of the then unfamiliar Muscovy or Russia Company. Among its charter-members in 1555 was found the name of Henry Hudson, perhaps the grandfather of the explorer of the Hudson River. From 1555 to 1615 many persons of this name are found among the distinguished servants of the Muscovy Company, and while the precise family connection remains as yet undiscovered, there is every reason to believe that Henry Hudson the Navigator belonged to this family. It was learned that the children and relatives of members of the Company were frequently in its service. Two classes of boys were employed. "The members of one class," remarks General Read, "having received at the Company's expense a good elementary education, were sent out to Russia to keep accounts and to buy and sell goods under the direction of the chief agents. Many of these lads finally reached high official stations as ambassadors and statesmen. The other class, comprised of young men also of influential connections, were placed as apprentices aboard of the Company's vessels to learn the art of navigation. The destruction of the books of individual records makes it impossible for me to prove by documentary evidence that Henry Hudson was educated from his earliest youth in the Muscovy Company's service, but the circumstantial evidence is so overwhelming as to make it clear that this was the case. At the time that he first appears (1607) as a trusted captain in its employ, the Company's commanders were all mariners who had been from their earliest youth advanced grade by grade." EDITOR.

[1] "Historical Inquiry concerning Henry Hudson, his friends, relatives, and early life, and his connection with the Muscovy Company," Albany, 1866.

HENDRICK'S PROPHECY.[1]

FLOW fair beside the Palisades, flow, Hudson, fair and free,
By proud Manhattan's shore of ships and green Hoboken's tree;
So fair yon haven clasped its isles, in such a sunset gleam,
When Hendrick and his sea-worn tars first rounded up the stream,
And climbed this rocky palisade and, resting on its brow,
Passed round the can and gazed awhile on shore and wave below;
And Hendrick drank with hearty cheer, and loudly then cried he:
"'T is a good land to fall in with, men, and a pleasant land to see!"

Then something — ah! 't was prophecy! — came glowing to his brain;
He seemed to see the mightier space between the oceans twain,
Where other streams by other strands run through their forests fair,
From bold Missouri's lordly tide to the leafy Delaware;
The Sacramento, too, he saw, with its sands of secret gold,
And the sea-like Mississippi on its long, long courses rolled;
And great thoughts glowed within him; — "God bless the land," cried he;
"'T is a good land to fall in with, men, and a pleasant land to see!

"I see the white sails on the main; along the land I view
The forests opening to the light and the bright ax flashing through;
I see the cots and village ways, the churches with their spires,
Where once the Indians camped and danced the war-dance round their fires;
I see a storm come up the deep — 't is hurrying, raging o'er
The darkened fields, — but soon it parts, with a sullen, seaward roar.
'T is gone; the heaven smiles out again; — God loves the land," cried he;
"'T is a good land to fall in with, men, and a pleasant land to see!

"I see the white sails on the main; I see, on all the strands,
Old Europe's exiled households crowd, and toil's unnumbered hands —
From Hessenland and Frankenland, from Danube, Drave, and Rhine,
From Netherland, my sea-born land, and the Norseman's hills of pine,
From Thames, and Shannon, and their isles — and never, sure, before,
Invading hosts such greeting found upon a stranger shore.
The generous Genius of the West his welcome proffers free;
'T is a good land to fall in with, men, and a pleasant land to see!

"They learn to speak one language; and they raise one flag adored
Over one people evermore, and guard it with the sword;
In gay hours gazing on its four and forty stars above,
And hail it with a thousand songs of glory and of love.
Old airs of many a fatherland still mingle with the cheer,
To make the love more glowing still, the glory still more dear —
Drink up-sees out! join hands about! bear chorus all," chants he;
"'T is a good land to fall in with, men, and a pleasant land to see!"

[1] The words of the refrain in this song are those used by Henry Hudson when he sailed his ship through the Narrows, and, for the first time, it is supposed, saw the beautiful Bay of New-York. EDITOR.

CHAPTER V

PETER MINUIT AND WALTER VAN TWILLER

1626–1637

THE PURCHASE OF MANHATTAN ISLAND.

THE commercial metropolis of the Western Hemisphere had its origin in the pursuit of commerce. In Holland, a country which had achieved its independence and established a government of the people, there were no political exiles to seek freedom in foreign lands. Since the Dutch Republic had been founded as a protest against religious persecution, and consistently with that protest had become the asylum for the persecuted for conscience' sake in other lands, whether Catholics, Jews, or Protestants, there was no occasion to leave the United Provinces in order to enjoy liberty of worship on the distant shores of the New World. "Adventure brought men to Virginia," writes an American author, "politics and religion to New England, philanthropy to Georgia; but New-York

was founded by trade and for trade, and for nothing else. The settlement on the island of Manhattan was due to the active spirit of Dutch commerce."[1] The early trading voyages were now to be succeeded by permanent colonization. But none the less was the aim of the West India Company that of merchants rather than of statesmen, to derive financial profit from the settlement rather than to create a new province for the advancement of social prosperity and political principles. It was inevitable under these circumstances that the conduct of colonial affairs should suffer from mistakes.

A clearer conception of the conditions under which Colonial Government in New-York began may be obtained by a brief glance at the Colonies already established on the soil of the subsequent United States of America. Virginia's permanent settlement dates from the year 1607, and after many vicissitudes, after many discouragements and even disasters, it was at this time greatly prospering under the liberal rule of Sir George Yeardley. It was he who instituted the first colonial legislature, consisting of representatives from the people, and which began its sessions in July, 1619, or a whole year before the Pilgrims left Leyden. In 1622, no less than four thousand souls occupied plantations along both banks of the James River, and after the Indian massacres of that year and the consequent wars, inducing many to return to England, there remained still a population of nearly twenty-five hundred. While Minuit governed New Netherland a charter was granted to Lord Baltimore, embracing the territory that later became the State of Maryland, but the first colonists did not arrive until Van Twiller had succeeded to the Directorship, in 1634, and the next year already beheld a popular assembly established among them, with religious toleration the keynote of their history from the very beginning. In New England, since 1620, there had been prepared by the circumstances of the times a plantation of men who might be expected to prove friendly to the settlers from Holland, so that in this distant quarter of the world, much mutual comfort could be derived from their comparatively close neighborhood. These were the Pilgrims at New Plymouth, still filled with memories of the free Republic; still receiving accessions to their numbers from the families left in Leyden when the Speedwell sailed away with the first adventurers. And in these regions, too, other colonies found a home before Director Minuit's term had expired. Portsmouth and Dover, which Bancroft places "among the oldest towns in New England," had been established in 1623; and five years later stern John Endicott settled at Salem. In 1630, religious intolerance had already sent back the brothers Browne for daring to adhere to the Church of England, but the year was also marked by a brighter event, the coming of Governor John Winthrop

1 Henry Cabot Lodge, "Short History of English Colonies in America," p. 285 (1881).

with seven hundred colonists, and the founding of the city of Boston. Finally in 1636, or one year before Director Van Twiller's term ended, Rhode Island's history began with the colony established by Roger Williams at Providence — a monument to his own liberal spirit, and to advanced ideas that were to find America so congenial a soil in later generations; but also a living witness to the wrong then committed, of practising under these free skies that very religious persecution which had driven its perpetrators themselves across the broad Atlantic. It was nearly fifty years after Minuit's arrival before the Carolinas were colonized; and almost sixty years ere William Penn established a refuge for Quakers in the State known by his name. Georgia originated just a century after the expiration of the term of the first Director-General of New Netherland, while that colony itself was the beginning of the States of Connecticut, Delaware, New Jersey, and New-York.

History records that Peter Minuit, appointed Director-General of New Netherland, embarked in the ship called the Sea-Mew, on December 19, 1625. Detained by the ice in the broad harbor of the Y or in the Zuyder Zee, the vessel did not clear the Texel channel till January 9th, and on the 4th of May, 1626, arrived at Manhattan Island. So vast have been the changes wrought upon its vicinity that it is hardly possible for the imagination to picture the appearance of New-York Bay, and especially that of our island, as it presented itself to the eyes of the small company upon the deck of the Sea-Mew. If the spring had been reasonably forward that year, the early verdure must have enhanced the beauty of woodland and open field, diversifying the surrounding hills and valleys. Instead of the forest of masts that now encircles the island, and almost hides the view of southern Brooklyn, above which the graceful arch of the great bridge suspends its delicate tracery of cables, the primeval forest stood solemn and silent, waiting to make way for the march of civilization whose pioneers had already begun their work. The tides ebbed and flowed against the rocky and reedy shores of Manhattan, and instead of the stately buildings, the marts of commerce, or the teeming hives of business and enterprise, that now rise upon the view from far adown the bay, a few lowly cabins were nestled among the trees, scarce to be seen until the vessel had actually anchored near the shore.

There had been two Directors before Minuit, but the office was to be henceforth of a more important nature, and was thus distinguished by a more exalted title, and he was the first Director-General. On board the same ship with him came his council, consisting of five members, Peter Bylvelt, Jacob Elbertsen Wissinck, John Jansen Brouwer, Simon Dircksen Pos, and Reynert Harmensen. These were to advise the Director upon all matters pertaining to the government

of the colony, and to see to it that he and others properly advanced the interest of the Company. They constituted also a court for the trial of offenses, but could not punish beyond the imposition of a fine. Capital cases were to be referred to the mother country. Indeed, although New Amsterdam was not incorporated as a city until 1653, the appointment of the colonial officers seems to have been modeled after the plan of municipal government in Holland, even the number of the council suggesting the analogy. In Dutch town-government the Court of the Schepens or Scabini consisted of five, seven, nine, eleven, or thirteen members, according to the size of the place, five being the least. When it is considered that the other officers were a Secretary

FIRST VIEW OF NEW AMSTERDAM.[1]

and a Schout, or a Schout-fiscal, the municipal form is borne out still more completely. The Secretary first met with is Isaac de Rasières, who, however, did not come with the Sea-Mew, but arrived in July of this year. The Schout-fiscal was John Lampe.[2] His was an office much like a Sheriff's of our day, but combining also the functions of prosecuting attorney and counsel for the defense at the same time. Several other odd and incongruous duties fell to his share in the new community. But in a general way Lampe's office resembled both in name and in character that of the most prominent official of Netherland towns, who in earliest times was superior to the Burgomasters.

[1] See page 244.

[2] It is impossible to state whether this dignitary's signature should be deciphered Lampe, or Lampo. In the peculiar script of those days, the final letter may be regarded as either an e or an o; in some of the signatures the letter looks a little more like an e. Lampe would be unquestionably a Dutch name, whereas Lampo is neither Dutch nor French nor German, but would indicate a Spanish or Italian origin. He could hardly have been of either of these nationalities.

While so much of New Netherland centered at Manhattan Island the Colonial Government was practically a town government.

About the personal history of Peter Minuit very little is known. He is generally introduced to us as being from Wesel, a town of Rhenish Prussia, very near the borders of Holland. And hence he has been called by some writers a German. But his name is unquestionably Dutch, it being the old form of the word for minute, which in ancient Dutch is spelled "minuit," while illiterate people still use the older pronunciation. Wesel, so near the borders, had been a veritable "city of refuge" in the days of persecution under the Duke of Alva, and thousands of Protestants fled to it from Holland. In 1568, the year of the beginning of the Eighty Years' War, the first Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church was held there, and when the Republic had gained strength and freedom, it is possible that some of her citizens remained permanent residents of the town. Hence Peter Minuit may have been of Dutch parentage though born at Wesel; for in the Church composed of the descendants of the Dutch refugees, we learn from the letter of the first pastor on Manhattan Island that Minuit was a deacon. How he came to be selected by the Dutch West India Company for their first Director-General does not appear. He must, however, have commended himself as a person worthy to be intrusted with the command of others, and of a sufficiently adventurous disposition to try his fortunes under circumstances so novel as they were likely to be in the New World. It is also extremely probable that the Amsterdam merchants had knowledge of his capacity as derived from some occupation or office connected with the East India Company. Its possessions abroad had become a training-school for energetic and enterprising young men in the work of colonial government and the advancement of Dutch commerce. Wesel was far from the sea but on the banks of the Rhine, and Amsterdam, with its preponderating size and wealth, acted as a loadstone upon all ambitious natures who wished to see the world, to every part of which she was daily sending scores of ships.

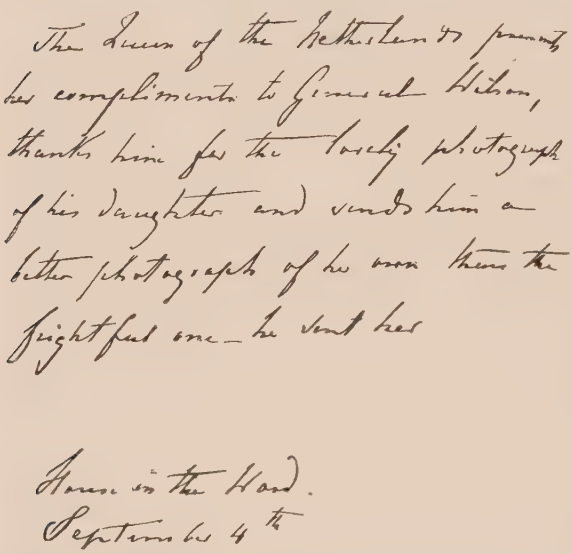
There being no houses suitable to receive the Director-General, his Council, and his subordinate officers, it may be supposed that they remained for a time upon the Sea-Mew while she lay anchored in some sheltered cove within the shore-line of Manhattan Island. The first act of the Colonial Government was the highly honorable one of securing the land to be acquired, by purchase from its aboriginal owners. Imagination, aided by the painter's brush, has brought that scene before the minds of later generations.[1] On the very edge of

[1] The illustration of the text on another page is in part a reproduction of a picture of this scene by William Ranney, of Philadelphia, painted by order of the late Dr. James Anderson, an Elder for several years of the Reformed Dutch (Collegiate) Church of New-York.

the land, low by the water, in a clearing of the primeval forest, stood the representatives of European civilization face to face with the "untutored Indian." The contact in many instances before had been ruinously destructive to the red man. Here was suppressed all consideration of laws that were binding as between man and man on the other side of the Atlantic. Might, in rude contempt for right, where ignorance knew not how to assert it nor weakness how to defend it, had trampled upon the very instincts of human nature in the savage breast. Such had been the policy and practice of Spain; the citizens of a free republic, however, growing stronger every day by successful commerce with numerous tribes and nations—these would show an example of acknowledging rights where none could be asserted, and of dealing fairly with savages upon a desert isle. We can see the glittering trinkets, brought from the ship near by in chests, opened upon the shore, the eager eyes of Indian men and women watching the display of the contents, each article still more wonderful than that which went before. An extent of territory which Minuit and his officers estimated at eleven thousand Dutch morgens, or more than twenty-two thousand acres, was definitely transferred, in some way doubtless mutually understood, as becoming henceforth the property of the strangers from Europe, ceded to them in due form, so that the Indian proprietors comprehended and appreciated that it had passed out of their hands into those of the others, conveying to them an ownership as legitimate as had been their own. Exception has been taken to the inadequacy of the price paid: sixty guilders, or twenty-four dollars. Yet how was adequacy of price then to be determined? The honest

Sophia Hoose in the Hood 1875

Hollanders certainly could not be expected to have paid its present value, estimated at two thousand millions of dollars. And what would the Indians have cared for a hundred thousand florins, at which the Dutch valued a ton of gold? But, on the contrary, the glittering beads and baubles and brightly colored cloths, great quantities of which could have been obtained in that day for sixty florins, filled the minds of the simple Indians with delight. These would represent untold wealth to them by reason of the attractiveness of the articles, and a more than adequate price for an island, small in the midst of the vast regions over which they were free to roam and hunt.


The Queen of the Netherlands to present her compliments to General Wilson, thanks him for the lovely photograph of his daughter and sends him a better photograph of herself than the frightful one he sent her

Hague in the Hand.
September 4th

When in the summer of 1875 the writer asked the late Queen of the Netherlands if sixty guilders was not a very small consideration to give for Manhattan Island, being but about one-tenth of a penny an acre, Her Majesty, unaware that the amount was not paid in gold or silver coin, promptly replied, making the following clever defense, if any was required, of the thrifty Dutchmen: "If the savages had received more for their land they would simply have drunk more fire-water. With sixty florins they could not purchase sufficient to intoxicate each member of the tribe!"

Of this purchase, so unique and rare an episode in the history of American colonization, there fortunately exists unassailable proof. On July 27, 1626, a vessel named the Arms of Amsterdam arrived at Manhattan Island. She bore as passenger Isaac de Rasières, the Secretary of the Colonial Government, and had for her captain Adriaen Joris, who in 1623 accompanied Captain May, and was left in charge of the colony at Fort Orange. On the 23d of September the vessel was ready to sail again for the Fatherland with a valuable cargo of furs and logs of timber, soon to be tested in Holland for its ship-building qualities. But more than that, she carried the official announcement of the purchase of Manhattan Island, addressed to the "Assembly of the XIX" of the West India Company, in session at Amsterdam, for the first six years of the charter were not yet past. The nineteenth member, representing the States-General at this ses-

sion, was Peter Jans Schaghen, Councilor and Magistrate of the city of Alkmaar, in North Holland, and deputy in the States-General from the States of Holland and West Friesland.[1] While in duty bound to report the proceedings of the Assembly of the XIX to the august body who had delegated him, it would scarcely seem likely that he was required to send a report every day. It is more probable that after the adjournment of the former he would render an account of its affairs in person at a regular session of the States-General. But on November 4, 1626, so interesting an event occurred that he did not wait to report it in person. The Arms of Amsterdam had arrived from New Netherland, and the announcement of the purchase had been presented in the Assembly. Thereupon, on the next day, Schaghen addressed to the States-General, in session at The Hague, the following historic letter:

High Mighty Sirs:

Here arrived yesterday the ship The Arms of Amsterdam which sailed from New Netherland out of the Mauritius River on September 23; they report that our people there are of good courage and live peaceably. Their women, also, have borne children there, they have bought the island Manhattes from the wild men for the value of sixty guilders, is 11,000 morgens in extent. They sowed all their grain the middle of May, and harvested it the middle of August. Thereof being samples of summer grain, such as wheat, rye, barley, oats, buckwheat, canary seed, small beans, and flax. The cargo of the aforesaid ship is: 7246 beaver skins, 178½ otter skins, 675 otter skins, 48 mink skins, 36 wild-cat (lynx) skins, 33 minks, 34 rat skins. Many logs of oak and nut-wood. Herewith be ye High Mighty Sirs, commended to the Almighty's grace, In Amsterdam, November 5, Ao. 1626.

Your High Might.'s Obedient,

P. SCHAGHEN.

The letter is addressed: "Messieurs the States-General, in The Hague,"[2] and the original copy is preserved to this day among the archives of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. By the courtesy of Mr. T. H. F. Van Riemsdyk, the "General Archivist," at The Hague, a photographic copy for this work was for the first time permitted to be taken, and thus its fac-simile reproduction upon another page furnishes to every reader undeniable proof of the purchase of the Island of Manhattan by Director-General Minuit as the initial act of his term of office, and the inauguration of colonial government for the State of New-York.

[1] In passing by rail from the city of Alkmaar to that of Den Helder, the great naval station of Holland, the traveler will see the village of Schagen, a few miles north of Alkmaar, attention being especially attracted by a large and handsome brick church with stone trimmings, that would grace any of the avenues of our city. In some forms of Schagen's name occurs the "van" or of; sometimes he is called the Lord of Schagen. Possibly this village formed part of his patrimonial estate, or at least he may have been born there. From his connection with the episode of the purchase of Manhattan Island, it has seemed of sufficient interest to mention these particulars.

[2] The translation of this letter is published twice in "Documents relating to Colonial History of New-York," pp. xxxix and 37. We have adhered somewhat more closely to the original phraseology and punctuation. "Sirs" gives a more correct idea of the Dutch "Heeren" than "Lords." It is unnecessary to add that sixty guilders is equivalent to $24; and that 11,000 morgens amount to more than 22,000 acres. The Dutch morgen is equal to two and one-tenth acres.

Fac 5.

Recepti 7 november 1626

Hoyghe Moghende Heeren

Hun is ghestelt t'Schip t'overen van Amsterdam
achterhouwen ende is de 23 septembr. uyt viri Tudk
Land gezeylt uyt de Hoek Manvtius. rapporteert
dat ons volck dat Kloot is in verdrogt Lijf
ende Kroonen gebbe ooc hundert alvaat gbaakt
gebbe t'Eylant Mankatter van de volck gebroght, voor
de waarde van 60 ond. is groot 11000 marck
gebbeldt alle Koren zeer mijn gezegt, ende zalf
augusto gemaayd. dat was zeyndende munsterlijck
van zomer-Koren, als taruw, Hoggen, garste, Haber
boonwijt. Anaxigart, boontjens in vlas.

Het Cargasoen van twee Schip is

7246 Lasten Vells
178½ Ohms Vells
675. Ohms Vells
48. Muyds Vells
36. Talkaes Vells
33 Muyds
34 Halve Vellekens.

Wesl Oysten Balcken, in Noten-gout.

Hun mede

Hoogh Moghende Heeren, uyt de Demoyselen
en ondere Dienaers.

In Amsterdam den 5. novem. a° 1626

Ghoe Hoo: Moo: Dienstwillighe

Schaghen

FAC-SIMILE OF THE SCHAGHEN LETTER.

From the letter of Deputy Schaghen it would appear that the colonists who accompanied the Director very soon addressed themselves to cultivating the purchased land. Having arrived at Manhattan on May 4th, by the middle of the month, it appears, grain of many kinds was already in the ground. But there was work also of another character for a portion of the pioneers. A military engineer, whose name is given by Wassenaer as Kryn Fredericke, accompanied the expedition, and under his direction labor was at once commenced upon the lines of a regular fort. Nature itself indicated a site such as would command the entrance to both rivers. The shore-line now includes the park of the Battery; but in those days the waves of the incoming tides beat close to the western wall along the line of State street. The walls of the fort were originally constructed of earth and faced with sods; in 1628 it was still in process of construction, and then the walls were fortified by masonry-work of "good quarry stone."[1] In the later history of the fort the ample space within was occupied by numerous edifices, even a church, but while it was building several structures were erected outside of the lines. Among these were a stone or brick warehouse for the storing of the Company's goods while awaiting shipment for the Fatherland, and a mill, whose motive power was a horse. The upper story of this mill was devoted to sacred uses, rude benches and a pulpit or desk of primitive form being placed in position for religious services. Clustering near the walls that were daily rising higher was a group of thirty small houses, built mostly of boards or logs, and covered on roof and sides with bark or thatch. These lined the bank of the North River, each family occupying a cabin. The roofs of thatch and bark, exposed to the summer sun, invited a disaster which finally took place. Before 1628 the settlement on Manhattan Island had already suffered from a general conflagration, by which many of the colonists lost valuable papers and other property.[2]

Surveying in advance the period of this administration, there seem to be but few events upon which to dwell. Perhaps this evinces its peculiar merit, according to the familiar maxim, "Happy is the people that has no annals." Until recent years, the very fact that Peter Minuit ruled here as Director was somewhat apocryphal. "Some doubt has hitherto existed," remarked Senator Folsom, in his report on Brodhead's collection of documents, "in regard to the name of the Director-General or Governor of the Colony prior to the year 1633; and although it was generally supposed that the office was then held by Peter Minuit, yet no official act of that person as chief magistrate was among our records." Mr. Brodhead found an original document conveying part of the Patroonship on the

[1] Letter of Rev. Jonas Michaelius, in Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 2: 769 (Appendix). [2] Ib., p. 764.

Delaware, and bearing Minuit's name. Two other documents, however, exist which afford additional proof of his Directorship. They were discovered by the editor of this work while engaged in the summer of 1889 in making researches among the archives of Amsterdam.[1] This contract and deed, of which fac-similes are herewith given, are both signed by Director Minuit and his Council, and convey part of the patroonship of Rensselaerswyck. They were in the possession of the late Admiral Van Rensselaer Bowier, aide-de-camp to the King, and the representative of the Dutch branch of the Van Rensselaer family, who, in perfect good faith, asserted that they were the contract and deed for Manhattan Island, but which on careful examination proved not to be the case.[2] They were for the Albany lands of his ancestor, Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, and it is exceedingly doubtful if any documentary transfer of title was made to Minuit by the Manhattan or Rickgawawanc tribe of Indians.

ADMIRAL VAN RENSSELAER BOWIER.

There exists therefore ample documentary evidence that before 1633 Peter Minuit guided the destinies of New Netherland under the auspices of the Dutch West India Company. And uneventful as were the years of his incumbency, it will be observed that the few events that present themselves for notice proved to be the germ of later oc-

[1] In the matter of documents it may be well to indicate here that there is no occasion to abandon the hope of discovering such as bear on the earliest colonial history of our State. As is well known, when Mr. Brodhead undertook researches among the archives of Holland at The Hague in 1841, he learned that twenty years before more than a ton of the West India Company's papers had been sold at auction for waste paper by an unwise official who wished to use the space occupied by what he deemed worthless documents. Brodhead concluded that these must have been irretrievably lost, and that none were in existence except the few found in the Archives Office. But Netscher in his "Les Hollandais au Brésil" (1853) mentions the fact that in 1851 a number of West India documents were discovered at Middelburg, and later Mr. Carson Brevoort collected some three-score papers relating to Brazil, to New Netherland, and to the recapture of New-York by the Dutch in 1673 (including a letter of Admiral Evertsen) which are undoubtedly a part of the original West India Company's documents. These are now in New-York, having passed into the hands of Mr. Walter R. Benjamin, of New-York, and the Archivist of the Netherlands is in correspondence with him for their purchase. They should, however, remain in this country, and be added to the collections of our City or State.

[2] During the past week, while engaged in examining the public archives at the Hague, General Grant Wilson, the well-known American author, met with a letter addressed to the States-General of the United Netherlands by P. Schagen, dated Amsterdam, November 7, 1626, announcing the purchase of the Island of Manhattan by the Dutch West India Company for the sum of $24, or say £5. Two days later he was so fortunate as to find the original deed, which had lain *perdu* for 263 years among the papers of an ancient Dutch family. Amsterdam furnished eight of the nineteen delegates from five chambers of managers of the company, located in the five principal cities of Holland. In the family of perhaps the most important of the Amsterdam delegates, it is presumed, the deed has remained since the year 1626. General Wilson expects to be able to purchase the deed and take it with him when he returns to New York in October, in order to place it in the custody of the city or State of New-York. Computing the interest at the rates that have prevailed on the island since its original purchase, it would make its cost at the present time £2,178,000. Large as this sum may appear, it is but a small portion of its value, as will readily be seen when it is stated that two corner lots on the Fifth Avenue, 25 ft. by 100 ft. each, were last month sold for £60,000. These were simply vacant lots, without

currences of importance, especially in the matter of the relations with the English and the surrounding Indians; while the institution of the Patroonships, beginning under Minuit's Administration, was both fatal

buildings, situated between 56th and 57th streets, near the entrance to the Central Park. The island contains more than 22,000 acres. The discovery of this deed was made in the course of researches concerning Mrs. Wilson's Bayard ancestors, who went to the New World in 1647 with their kinsman, the last of the Dutch Governors of New Netherland, the celebrated Peter Stuyvesant.

—The London Times, 16 July, 1889.

CONTRACT.

Inasmuch as Bastiaen Janssen Crol, commissary at Fort Orange here at the Manhatas, has made known to the Hon. Council of this place, that the land situated near the aforesaid fort could not be bought this present year from the owners thereof, and that, even though such were acquired thereafter, it would only be understood by the Virginians to be sold so long as he (Crol) should continue to reside at the fort; That, further, Wolfert Gerritsz, having orders from the Hon. High Principals to inform their Hons. of the state of affairs there, had expressly inquired of him (Crol) as to this, what and what sort of advice he should send about it to the estimable H.(igh) Principals, Did thereupon reply that there was this year no chance or means of acquiring any land, answering to the same effect repeatedly according to the deposition of aforesaid Wolfert Gerritsz thereanent made, *Thereafter* it occurred, That Gilles Hosset, on the twenty-seventh of July, 1630, in sailing up the river, arriving at the place where Jan Jansz Meyns was encamped with his men for the cutting of round timber for the new ship; there having also come by chance to this spot, *Kotiamak*, *Nawanemitt*, *Alantzenee*, *Sagiskwa*, and *Kanamoak*, owners and proprietors of their respective parcels of land, stretching along the river to the south and north of *dito* fort, to a lutien south of Moeneminnes Castle, Belonging together and *conjunctim* to the aforesaid owners, and to the aforesaid *Nawanemit* in particular his land called *Semesseeck*, situated on the east shore, from opposite the castle island to the aforesaid fort, *Item* from *Potanock* the Mill Kill northward to Negagonse, fully about three miles long, and the Aforesaid Gilles Hosset, having come to an agreement with the said owners of the aforesaid land, to sell, cede, and surrender the said respective parcels of land, these same Declared in presence of and before Jan Jansz Meyns, Wolfert Gerritsz, and Jan Tyssen, Trumpeter, to be content therewith, to sell, transfer, cede, and surrender, the said respective parcels of land; in pursuance whereof they thereafter on the 8th of August next following, before us, Director and Council in New Netherland, residing on the island Manhatas and the fort Amsterdam, under the jurisdiction of their H. M. the Lords States General of the United Netherlands, and the Chartered West India Company of the Chamber of Amsterdam, voluntarily and deliberately for and in consideration of certain portions of cargoes, which they acknowledge to have and to hold in their hands and power for the passing of these presents, even as they by virtue and title of sale do transfer, cede and surrender by these presents to and for the benefit of Mr. Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, being absent, and for whom we accept the same *ex officio* with proper stipulations, namely the respective parcels of land hereinbefore specified, with the forests, appendages and dependencies thereof, together with all action, claim, and rights accruing therefrom to the cedents jointly and in particular; constituting and surrendering the same to the abovementioned Mr. Rensselaer, in their stead, condition, and right giving him real and actual possession thereof, and, at the same time, complete, absolute and irrevocable power, authority, and special control *tanquam Actor et Procurator in rem suam ac propriam ;* the same land to be assumed by the oft and abovementioned Mr. Rensselaer, or those who hereafter might acquire his rights, to be possessed in peace, cultivated, occupied, used; also therewith or thereof to do, treat, and dispose, even as his Hon. or others, would do, or be allowed to do, with their own properly and by lawful title acquired lands and domains; without that they, the cedents, shall in the least have, reserve, or retain any part, right, claim, or authority therein whether of proprietorship, command, or jurisdiction; but much rather in his behalf, as before said, *in infinitum* desisting, surrendering, resigning and renouncing all this by these presents; Promising further not alone to hold firm, binding and irrevocable, this their Transfer, and that which may be done by virtue thereof, but also to see to the eviction of the aforesaid land *obligans et Renuncians and A bona fide ;* In witness whereof is the present confirmed by our customary signatures, with the ordinary seal suspended below. *Actum* on aforesaid island Manhatas, and fort Amsterdam, on the day and year mentioned above.

Peter Minuit, D.
Pieter Bylvelt.
Jan Lampe, Schout.
Reyner Harmensen
Jan Jansz Meyns.

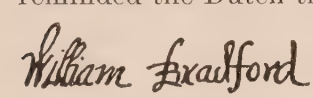
DEED.

Anno 1630 – *Adi* 13 *Augusti.*

We, Director and Council in New Netherland, Residing on the Island the Mannahatas and the Fort Amsterdam, under the jurisdiction of Messrs. their H M. the Lords States General of the United Netherlands and the Chartered West India Company, of the Chamber of Amsterdam, testify and declare by these presents, That on this date subscribed hereto, appeared and showed themselves before us in proper person *Kottamack*, *Nawanemit*, *Alantzeene*, *Sagiskwa*, and *Kanamoack*,

to its continuance and left for future generations a heritage of trouble and legal contentions.

Negotiations with the English colonies were soon inaugurated. The Indians occupying the territory lying between the Dutch and the Pilgrims, who traded their furs to representatives from both settlements, soon made them aware of one another's exact positions. Minuit was the first to extend the courtesy of addressing letters to Governor William Bradford, conveying a formal and cordial greeting. But from the first a presage of trouble was thrown into the intercourse. Bradford, receiving Minuit's letters written in French and Dutch, early in March, 1627, replied on March 29th. He acknowledged with cordiality the indebtedness incurred and the gratitude felt by the Pilgrims toward the Netherlanders for "the good and courteous entreaty" which they had found in their country, "having lived there many years with freedom and good content." But at the same time he reminded the Dutch that the region where they had settled was England's by first right, offering indeed no interference on his own part, but warning them against the possible assertion of that right on the part of the Virginians, or by vessels from England engaged in the fisheries on the American coast. Director Minuit hastened to assure the governor of New Plymouth Colony that there was no doubt in his own mind or in that of his countrymen as to their right to settle in



owners and proprietors of their respective parcels of land, stretching along the river to the south and north from *dito* fort to a *lutien* south of Moeneminnes Castle, belonging to the aforesaid owners together and *conjunction*, and to the aforesaid *Nawanemit* in particular, his land called Semesseeck, situated on the east shore, from opposite the Castle island to the aforesaid fort, *Item* from *Potanock* the Mill Kill northward to Negagonse, fully about three miles in length, and declared that they voluntarily and deliberately,—for and in consideration of certain portions of cargoes, which they acknowledged to have received into their hands, and power for the passing of this present [instrument], even as they by virtue and title of sale hereby do—transfer, cede, and yield by these presents, to and in behoof of Mr. Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, absent, and for whom we *ex officio*, in view of proper stipulations, accept the same, namely, the respective parcels of land hereinabove specified, with the forests, appendages, and dependencies thereof, together with all title, right, and equity accruing therefrom to the cedents jointly or in particular;—constituting and surrendering to the above-mentioned Mr. Rensselaer in their stead, condition and right, real and actual possession thereof, and at the same time giving [him] perfect, absolute and irrevocable power, authority, and special control *tanquam Actor et Procurator in rem suam ac propriam;* the same land to be by the often- and above-mentioned Mr. Rensselaer, or by those who hereafter may acquire his Hon.'s title, assumed, peaceably possessed, cultivated, occupied, used, also therewith and thereof to act, to do, and to dispose, even as his Hon., or others, might or may be permitted to do with their remaining and other own and properly acquired lands and domains, Without that they the cedents shall reserve or retain therein any the least part, right, title, or authority, whether of proprietorship, control, or jurisdiction, But much rather in behalf of the aforesaid *in infinitum* desisting, surrendering, resigning, and renouncing it by these presents, Promising further, not alone to observe always firmly, faithfully and irrevocably this their transfer and whatever may be done by virtue thereof, and to follow and fulfil the same; but to see to the evacuation of the aforesaid land, *obligans et Renuncians et A bona fide.* In Witness is this present confirmed by our usual signatures, with the ordinary seal suspended below, *Actum* on the aforesaid Island Manahatas, and Fort Amsterdam, on the day and year hereinabove written. . . . .

PETER MINUIT, Director.
PIETER BYLVELT.
JACOBS ELBERTSZ WISSINCK.
JAN JANSZEN BROUWER.
SYMON DIRCKSZ VOS.
REYNER HARMENSEN.

This instrument, written with mine own hand, Is in the absence of the Secretary executed in my presence on the thirteenth of August, sixteen hundred and thirty, as above,

LENAERT COLE, Vice-Secretary.
JAN LAMPE, Schout.

New Netherland. In his zeal to assert a priority of trade he put an exaggerated estimate upon the length of time the Dutch had been trading in this vicinity, making it "six or seven and twenty years," instead of sixteen or seventeen.[1] These letters had been despatched back and forth by the hands of friendly Indians. But when Minuit's last missive, sent in May, had received no reply by August, on the 9th of that month he sent the captain of a vessel then in port, to carry a third communication to Governor Bradford. This was John Jacobsen, of the island of Wieringen, in the Zuyder Zee. He sailed with his ship the "Drie Koningen," or the Three Kings,[2] into Buzzard's Bay, and landing at a point then called Manomet, now Monument Village, in the town of Sandwich, he proceeded on foot to New Plymouth. He was graciously received by Bradford, and sent back with a request for a still more formal delegation, to consist of a person in authority at Fort Amsterdam, with whom negotiations could be effected of an important nature. Director Minuit readily fell in with this request, and selected for the mission the Provincial Secretary, who may be regarded as the next in command under him. The ship Nassau, freighted with merchandise both for trading and for presentation to the Governor, was placed at his disposal, and a party of soldiers with a trumpeter was sent as a guard of honor. The Nassau proceeded to Manomet, whence De Rasières sent word to Bradford that he had arrived at this point, but naïvely remarking that he could not follow Captain Jacobsen's example and walk all the remainder of the journey. "I have not gone so far this three or four years," he added, "wherefore I fear my feet will fail me." A boat was accordingly sent up a creek falling into Cape Cod Bay from the south, whose head waters reached to within four or five miles of Manomet on the other side of the isthmus. To this short distance De Rasières did not object, and embarking in the boat, he reached New Plymouth in due season, "honorably attended with a noise of trumpets." The principal result of these personal negotiations, besides cementing the bonds of friendship, and encouraging commerce be-

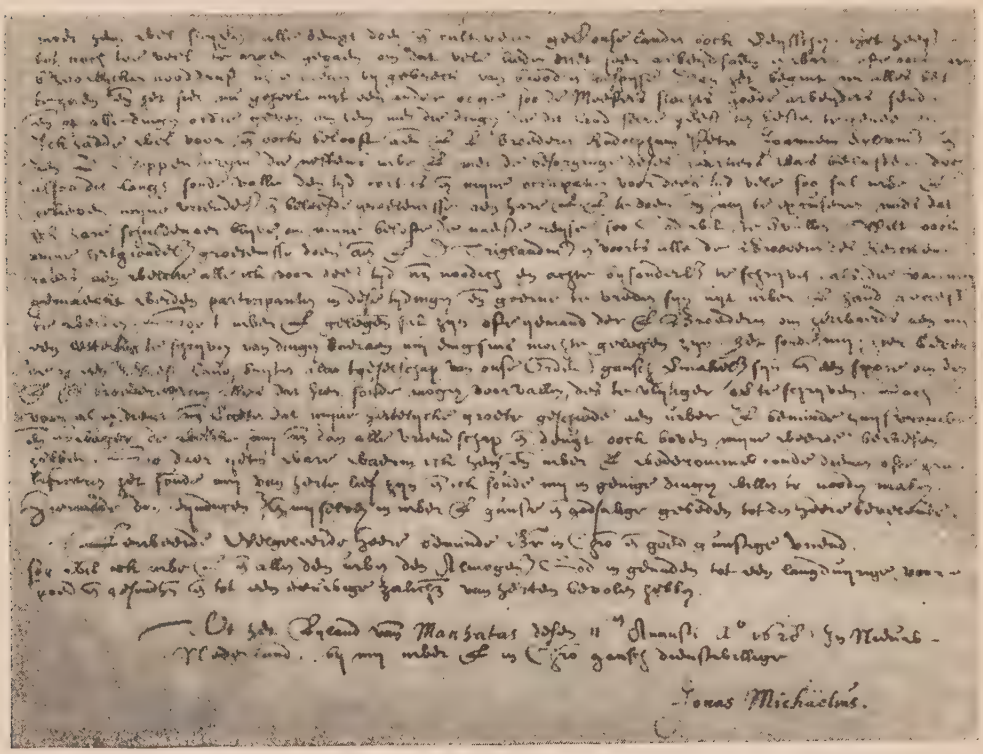
GOVERNOR BRADFORD'S HOUSE.[3]

[1] This obvious and natural mistake has given some ground for the otherwise unsupported assertion that the Dutch had been on Manhattan Island prior to Hudson.

[2] "Drie Koningen" is the Dutch for the three wise men from the East who came to visit the Christ-child in Bethlehem.

[3] The house where Secretary de Rasières was hospitably entertained at Plymouth is still standing, and is represented in the above illustration.

tween the two colonies, was the sale to the Pilgrims of a quantity of wampum, and the recommendation of its use in trading with the natives. The English soon found great advantages flowing from their



Jonas Michaelius.

Translation of above fac-simile of the last page of the Michaelius letter: The writer has begun the sentence with the statement that the soil was fertile, and would reward labor, but the farmers "must clear it well and manure and cultivate it the same as our lands require. It has happened hitherto much worse, because many of the people are not very laborious, or could not obtain their proper necessaries for want of bread. But it now begins to go on better, and it would be entirely different now if the Masters would only send good laborers and make regulations of all matters in order, with what the land itself produces, to do for the best. I had promised [to write] to the Reverend Brothers Rudolphus Petri, Joannes Sylvius, and Dom. Cloppenburg, who with your Reverence were charged with the superintendence of these regions, but as this would take long, and the time is short, and my occupations at present many, will you, Right Reverend, be pleased to give my friendly and kind regards to their Reverences and to excuse me, on condition that I remain their debtor to fulfill my promise—God willing—by the next voyage. Will you also give my sincere respects to the Reverend Dom. Triglandius and to all the brethren of the Consistory, besides to all of whom I have not thought it necessary to write particularly at this time, as they are made by me participants in these tidings, and are content to be fed from the hand of you, Right Reverend Sir. If it shall be convenient for your Reverence, or any of the Reverend Brethren, to write hither to me a letter concerning matters which might be important in any degree to me, it would be very interesting to me, living here in a savage land without any society of our order, and would be a spur to write more assiduously to the Reverend Brethren concerning what might happen here. And especially do not forget my hearty salutation to the beloved wife and brother-in-law of you, Right Reverend, who have shown me nothing but friendship and kindness above my deserts. If there is anything in which I can in return serve or gratify you, Right Reverend, I will be glad to do so and will not be behindhand in anything. Concluding then herewith and commending myself to your Right Reverend's favorable and holy prayers to the Lord.

"Reverend and Learned Sir, Beloved Brother in Christ and kind Friend: commending you, Right Reverend, and all of you, to Almighty God, by His Grace, to continued health and prosperity, and to eternal salvation of heart.

"From the Island of Manhatas, in New Netherland, this 11th August, Anno 1628, by me, your Right Reverend's obedient in Christ.

"Jonas Michaelius."

adoption of this practical advice.[1] It is, however, to be regretted that relations so profitably initiated should have been marked ere long by unpleasant features.

Scanty as is the record of events during the two administrations which form the subject of this chapter, it is a singularly fortunate circumstance that there are in existence two letters descriptive of Manhattan Island during the earliest years of colonization. One of these is the letter of Secretary de Rasières, which, in addition to describing affairs within the colony, furnishes the details of his embassage to New Plymouth just noted. The other was written in 1628 by the Rev. Jonas Michaelius, the first clergyman settled on this island, and is addressed to a minister in Amsterdam.[2] It affords an admirable picture of every-day life, of the trials and hardships that beset the first settlers of Manhattan.

The first item of importance gathered from this interesting epistle is the character of a sea voyage in the year 1628. This of course was the initiatory stage in the process of colonizing, and it certainly was enough to deter emigrants altogether. It has been already stated that a voyage from Holland to New Netherland was unnecessarily prolonged, by reason of the roundabout course pursued by way of the Canary Islands and the West Indies. Leaving Amsterdam on January 24th, the ship which conveyed Mr. Michaelius and his family did not arrive at Manhattan till April 7th. And that long journey was marked by the endurance of the most disagreeable hardships. The captain was often intoxicated. He would not listen to complaints when he was in this condition, nor would he remedy matters when he was sober. The minister's family, consisting of his wife, two little girls, and a boy, were subjected to great deprivations. "Our fare in the ship was very poor and scanty, so that my blessed wife and children, not eating with us in the cabin, had a worse lot than the sailors themselves." Even when they were ill other than with seasickness, from which they did not long suffer, no better fare was provided for them, because of the captain's culpable neglect of his duties. Indeed, as a result, seven weeks after landing, the worthy lady died from the effects of this dreadful experience. These facts are certainly instructive: if a minister's family was reduced to endure such treatment on board of a ship, what must have been the experience of ordinary emigrants?[3]

1 "Correspondence between New Netherlands and Plymouth," in "New-York Historical Society Collections," Second Series, 1 : 364; Letter from Isaack de Rasières," Ib., 2 : 350 – 353.

2 Buried for two hundred and thirty years among the neglected documents of the Classis of Amsterdam, its ecclesiastical judicatory, and finally among the papers of an official of a civil court, it was discovered by the learned antiquary Bodel-Nyenhuis, to whom Dr. Asher was so greatly indebted for aid in the compilation of his bibliographical work on New Netherland. He prepared it for publication in a periodical devoted to ecclesiastical history, in which it appeared in the year 1858. The original letter, of which a fac-simile of the last page is herewith given, is now in the possession of Dr. George H. Moore, of the Lenox Library.

3 Fifty years later, when the Labadists Danckers and Sluyter visited New-York, matters had not much improved in this direction.

Hence it must have then required courage to undertake the settling of colonies in distant America, the test of endurance beginning even before arriving. On land everything was rude, tentative, in short, primitive, and therefore imperfect. The privations were necessarily numerous and distressing. For daily food there was little variation from a diet of "beans and gray peas," unpalatable and not very strengthening, so that those in delicate health had little hope of gaining vigor. There was a scarcity of horses and cattle, and therefore much land which might otherwise have yielded abundance of wheat for bread was left uncultivated. Milk was not to be obtained from the farmers because there was not enough for their own use, while butter and cheese were equally unattainable luxuries. The best that could be done was to purchase, at exorbitant prices, ship's stores as vessels came into port. Nevertheless, the little colony, with all its hardships, was very industrious. The farmers were exerting themselves to the utmost to draw from the long-neglected soil the staples of life, but their cry was for more farm laborers. More timber was cut than the vessels could carry to the home-country. Brick-baking and potash-burning were tried, but without success. A saw-mill was constructed to take its place by the side of the rude grist-mill worked by horse-power. Preparations were also made for the manufacture of salt by evaporation. But one signal achievement of this earliest colonial industry was accomplished in 1630. There being a superabundance of timber, as stated above, it occurred to two Walloon ship-builders to utilize it in the colony instead of sending it to Holland. A practical exhibition of the excellence of the wood and the remarkable length of the beams that could be obtained from the trees in this vicinity would be given if these were constructed into a vessel larger than any that then floated on the seas. Director Minuit was speedily won over to the scheme, and encouraged it, pledging the funds of the Company for its execution. Parties of men scoured the woods, even to the vicinity of Fort Orange, encamping in the forests for weeks at a time, cutting timber for the great ship.[1] As a result, there was launched in the harbor of New-York in 1630 a vessel larger than any that had heretofore been produced in the ship-yards of Holland or Zeeland; being of twelve hundred tons burden according to some authorities, and eight hundred according to others. It was proudly christened the New Netherland. In the mean time the thirty houses first built along the North River shore must have increased in number and improved in manner of construction. In 1628, Wassenaer informs us there was a population of two hundred and seventy souls;[2] but all New Netherland was then concentrated at Fort

[1] See document reproduced opposite p. 162, and with translation on p. 163.
[2] Wassenaer, "Documentary History," 3: 47 (8vo Ed.).

Amsterdam. Troubles between the Indian tribes near Fort Orange, in the course of which several Dutch settlers had lost their lives through imprudent and unwarranted interference, had induced the careful Minuit to order all the families residing there to come to Manhattan, leaving only a garrison of men; while for another reason not quite apparent, but perhaps an economical one, the colonists on the Delaware were ordered to abandon Fort Nassau, and likewise to make their homes on this island.[1]

This small number of not quite three hundred colonists is a great contrast to the four thousand people on the banks of the James River in 1622, and seven hundred at once arriving under Winthrop at Boston in 1630. It must have been difficult to induce adventurers to leave Holland, and the number of religious refugees was not so extensive as to cause a constant emigration to New Netherland. It was therefore determined, in 1629, to put into operation a scheme which had been tried with success in Brazil, now passing into the possession of the West India Company. Discovered and explored in the interest of Portugal and in 1500–1501 by Americus Vespucius, for about thirty years thereafter, Southey informs us, the country was apparently neglected. "It had then become of sufficient importance," he continues, "to obtain some consideration at court, and in order to forward its colonization, the same plan was adopted which had succeeded so well in Madeira and the Azores, that of dividing it into hereditary Captaincies, and granting them to such persons as were willing to embark adequate means in the adventure, with powers of jurisdiction both civil and criminal, so extensive as to be in fact unlimited."[2] In this description may be seen the model for the Patroonships of New Netherland. In 1629 the Assembly of the XIX, with the approbation of the States-General, published a Charter of Privileges and Exemptions. It addressed itself only to "members of the Company," even as the Captaincies had been granted only to favorites at the Portuguese Court, but the restriction in the former case was a more reasonable one than the latter. "All such" of the Directors, and possibly also of the shareholders, would "be acknowledged Patroons of New Netherland" who should "within the space of four years undertake to plant a colony there of fifty souls upwards of fifteen years old." Population was therefore wisely made the *sine qua non*. Should that condition fail to be complied with within the allotted time, all privi-

[1] Brodhead, "History of New-York," 1: 170, 183; citing Wassenaer.
[2] Robert Southey, "History of Brazil," 1: 41 (Ed. 1822).

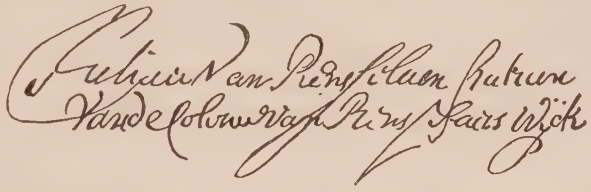
leges and exemptions and grants of land would at once cease and be forfeit. In consideration of the effort to plant such colony, however, there would be given in absolute property sixteen miles of territory upon one side of any river in New Netherland, or eight miles on both sides, the extent back from the stream being left practically unlimited. For this land, title must be obtained from the aboriginal possessors by suitable purchase. When thus secured, and occupied by settlers sent thither at the expense of the Patroon, all privileges of hunting and fishing were to remain in his hands, to be granted by him at will. Should cities be founded within territory so possessed, the Patroon would have "power and authority to establish officers and magistrates there"; in which case his position would approximate that of a feudal lord of the olden times. Within the bounds of his grant he might pursue agriculture to the furthest extent of his ability; all that the streams would yield of fish, the forests of timber, and the mountains of minerals were to be his own without restriction. But the products must be sent to the Fatherland, and almost all fruits and wares must be first brought to Manhattan and there reshipped. Traffic might be engaged in from Florida to Newfoundland, "provided that they do again return with all such goods as they shall get in trade to the island of Manhattes." There was a strict prohibition placed on manufactures of any kind, for fear, it is to be presumed, that the industry of Holland might fail to have a market, and "pitch, tar, weed-ashes, wood, grain, fish, salt, quarry stone" must be loaded on the Company's ships only, at a fixed rate of charges. Lastly, the lucrative trade in furs must be left wholly untouched by the Patroons and their colonists; "beavers, otters, minks, and all sorts of peltry the Company reserve to themselves." On the other hand, again, the favor of the Company was to be extended so that the Patroons and their settlers "shall be free from customs, taxes, excise, imposts, or any other contributions for the space of ten years"; and they were to be protected and to the utmost defended by the troops and navies of the Company "against all foreign and inland wars and powers." A final article engaged the Company "to finish the fort on the island of Manhattes without delay," which shows that this stronghold was still incomplete more than three years after Minuit's arrival.[1]

THE FIRST WAREHOUSE.

It thus appears that the system of Patroonships was a curious and

[1] See the Charter in Moulton's "New-York," pt. 2: 389–398; O'Callahan's "New Netherland," 1: 112–120.

confusing mixture of large privileges and small restrictions. The extent of the liberties enjoyed in many directions would only make the yoke of the prohibitions the more galling; and here lay the real difficulty with the scheme, furnishing cause for endless contentions and eventual failure. Some writers trace this result, as well as the difficulties that grew out of the Patroonships, to the fact that the system was an attempt to ingraft European feudalism upon American soil. This, however, would apply more correctly to the colonization of Maryland, of which Bancroft thus truly says: "To the proprietary was given the power of creating manors and courts baron, and of establishing a colonial aristocracy on the system of sub-infeudation. But feudal institutions could not be perpetuated in the lands of their origin, far less renew their youth in America. Sooner might the oldest oaks in Windsor forest be transplanted across the Atlantic than antiquated social forms."[1] If it were intended to tempt the capitalists of Holland with the attraction of feudal authority, it must be said that very few availed themselves of the opportunity. The attractions of the system for men of means, but without pedigrees and without patrimonial estates, are descanted on by Brodhead. But less than a score of such persons engaged in the colonizing enterprise. The real temptation was commercial advantage, and the rock upon which the whole establishment suffered shipwreck was trade, too eagerly indulged in by the Patroons, and too stringently prohibited by the Company. The Directors who hastily procured for themselves territories in America before they quite knew what the provisions of the charter were to be were more than disappointed when the true state of their case became known; and, as one of the later Patroons himself asserted, the conditions themselves instead of attracting rather discouraged people from becoming Patroons.[2]



It is only in their bearing upon affairs in general, involving also the fortunes of Fort Amsterdam, that in a history of New-York City it becomes necessary to include a consideration of the Patroonships, for by a distinct proviso of the charter, Manhattan Island was entirely exempted from this experiment in colonization, and only one of them came within close proximity to it. The first to avail themselves of its privileges were two merchants of Amsterdam and Directors of the Company, Samuel Bloemaert and Samuel Godyn. Before the States-General had seen the document, even before it had received

[1] Bancroft, "History of the United States," 1 : 158 (Ed. 1883).
[2] "Vertoogh," in N. Y. Hist. Soc. Col., Second Series, 2 : 289.

the final revision and approval of the Assembly of the XIX, these men had sent agents to America to select lands and to buy them from the Indians. When, therefore, in 1630, the sanction of the republican Congress was obtained, they were ready at once to appear before the Colonial Government with evidences of purchase, and obtained a ratification of their grant.[1] Their territories extended thirty-two miles along the Delaware River on the southwest bank, and sixteen miles on the northeast shore, both tracts having been bought within the year. From the two documents in fac-simile, it is learned that earnest efforts had been made also to obtain lands around Fort Orange for Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, a pearl merchant of Amsterdam, and a director, through the officers in charge there, and agents were sent among the Indians to persuade the reluctant ones to part with their broad acres. As a result, five or six Indian chiefs owning property along the Hudson extending several miles both to the north and south of the fort, having first made a contract, appeared afterwards before the Director and Council at Fort Amsterdam, and formally ceded their lands.[2] This was the beginning of the Colony of Rensselaerswyck, the only one among the Patroonships that proved to be a success. Ere this same year (1630) was over, a third proprietary appeared in the person of Michael Paauw, also a director, some of whose relatives had been Burgomasters of Amsterdam. As he was himself Lord or Baron of Achtienhoven, a place in South Holland, it could not have been the opportunity of becoming a feudal lord that attracted him. His territory lay near Manhattan Island, including at first Hoboken-Hacking, the name indicating a site familiar to residents of New-York. But in rapid succession were added Staten Island and an intervening space between that and Hoboken called Ahasimus, now the site of Jersey City. Godyn and Bloemaert having given to their patent the name of "Swanendael," or Swan's Valley, Paauw bestowed upon his the more euphonious title of Pavonia, by translating into Latin his own name, which is the Dutch for peacock.

Thus before a year had passed all the Patroonships that were created by the original charter had already been secured. The first difficulties naturally sprang out of this somewhat undue if not unseemly haste. There appeared to be nothing left for others, except in unprotected regions far from either of the three forts. The Directors had evidently taken advantage of their position in the Chamber of Amsterdam to anticipate all competitors from the other chambers. Naturally jealousies and unpleasant accusations arose between the members of the West India Company, which did not greatly advance the interests of New Netherland. The first compromise growing out of these troubles

[1] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 1:43; the paper is dated July 15, 1630.
[2] See translations of the fac-simile documents, on pp. 163, 164.

was in the form of a copartnership in colonizing. Several merchants were admitted to a share of each of the colonies on the Delaware and at Fort Orange, the historian De Laet becoming one of the proprietors in both territories. It is worthy of notice also that while the chief proprietors of Swanendael became copartners for Rensselaerswyck, Van Rensselaer also became a copartner for Godyn and Bloemaert's patent. Besides De Laet, another name of importance appears (among the copartners for Swanendael only), that of David Pietersen De Vries, author of an exceedingly rare volume of which the title appears on a subsequent page.[1]

Gustavus Adolphus

When the Patroons fairly began to comply with the conditions imposed on them, and sent colonizing parties to occupy the land confirmed to them, the trade in furs, the forbidden fruit, proved most attractive, while agriculture, which was the main object of the establishment of the Patroonships, was comparatively neglected, because its returns were slow and small compared with those of the sale of peltries. A conflict with the Directors of the West India Company was therefore inevitable, and as a result the Assembly of the XIX seriously amended the charter of 1629, rescinding some of the most important exemptions. Van Rensselaer and the others thereupon appeared with a paper of complaints before the States-General, claiming that it was entirely illegal for the Company to rescind what they had so recently granted, and that on the strength of the privileges promised the petitioners had fitted out expensive expeditions. It was urged, too, that the Swanendael colony had been exterminated by the Indians, because the Company, contrary to its engagement, had no sufficient force in the vicinity, Fort Nassau having been abandoned.[2] The principal result of this controversy seems to have been that the States-General examined the nature of these grants of land, leading them to conclude that they were excessive and burdened with other objectionable features. As Director Minuit had countenanced and confirmed them, they further exercised their stipulated authority over the Governors in the service of the Company, by ordering his recall—a most unjust act,

[1] An edition of this work in quarto, limited to 250 copies, was issued in 1853, for private circulation, by James Lenox. A presentation copy is now before the writer. It was translated by Henry C. Murphy, and is illustrated by a fac-simile of the ancient portrait of De Vries, of which the picture is a reproduction, while the title-page (p. 178) is a fac-simile of the typography of the original.

[2] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 1 : 83–88.

since the Director-General had no choice but to follow the provisions of a charter issued by his immediate principals and sanctioned by the States-General themselves. But perhaps there had been a too liberal interpretation of the privileges to be extended. Secretary de Rasières had already been dismissed a few years before, having fallen into disgrace on account of these same factions, as Governor Bradford writes,[1] and now, early in the year 1632, Director Minuit, accompaned by the Schout-fiscal, Lampe, embarked for Holland in the ship "Eendracht," or Union, and the administration of the first Director-General came to an end.

The connection of Peter Minuit with the history of American colonization did not cease with his Directorship of New Netherland. Among the ambitious views entertained by Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden was included a design of establishing a colonial empire in North America. When about the year 1624 William Usselinx left Holland, despairing of success in inducing the Dutch merchants and statesmen to adopt his plans of West India trade, he proceeded to Sweden and succeeded in interesting the illustrious soldier in his schemes. Gustavus granted a charter to a "New South Company," which was modeled after the Dutch West India Company, and was to include participants both in Sweden and Germany. But the Protestant king's active part in the Thirty Years' War prevented Swedish operations in American waters. After his death in the battle of Lützen in 1632, however, Chancellor Oxenstiern, under whom Sweden maintained the exalted position won by the "Lion of the North," prosecuted the King's ideas with regard to American trade and colonization, and under his auspices an expedition was sent out early in the year 1638 to establish a colony on the Delaware River. It was placed under the direction of Peter Minuit. A large tract of land was purchased from the Indians on the west side of the river, and defensive works at once begun, which were eventually designated by the name of Fort Christina. Having inaugurated this settlement and established an active trade in furs in defiance of Director Kieft's formal protests, Minuit returned to Europe, according to some authorities, while he is represented by others as "dying at his post" at Fort Christina, in 1641.[2]

Considering that the troubles arising out of the undue aggressiveness of the Patroons were the cause of the removal of Peter Minuit, it appears strange that his successor should have been nearly allied, both by blood and marriage, to Patroon Van Rensselaer, the most energetic and persistent of them all in pressing his privileges. Probably the interference of the States-General in dismissing their chief officer in New Netherland produced a reaction in the counsels of the

[1] N. Y. Hist. Soc. Col., Second Series, 1 : 364.
[2] O'Callahan, New Netherland, 1 : 190, 191; Brodhead, New-York, 1 : 321.

West India Company, and placed the influence of the Patroons once more in the ascendant. Thus was elevated to the position of Director-General of their North American Province, Walter Van Twiller, one of the clerks in the Company's offices on the Haarlem street in Amsterdam. He is usually described as born at Nieuwerkerk, a village near Amsterdam. Some call him a cousin, others a nephew of Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, but this confusion doubtless arises from the fact that in Dutch one word stands for both. Van Rensselaer's sister Maria married one Rykert Van Twiller, and Walter may have been their son. Again, Johannes Van Rensselaer, who succeeded his father as Patroon, married his cousin Elizabeth Van Twiller, the sister of the Director-General, on the above theory. So that the latter was doubly related to the Van Rensselaer family.[1]

It seems that Walter Van Twiller had been in New Netherland some years before his appointment to office. He was sent as agent to select a territory for his relative's Patroonship, and for this purpose is supposed to have been here in 1629. It has also been stated that he remained for about a year, and was ordered to act as a kind of spy upon the Colonial Government, it being due to his information that cause for dismissal was found against Minuit. But this conflicts again with the usually received opinion that precisely for serving too well the interests of Van Twiller's principals Minuit fell into disgrace. It is unfortunate that there are not in existence a greater number of official documents covering this period to elucidate these many points of obscurity, in the determination of which we are now reduced chiefly to conjecture.[2]

The undoubted connection of Walter Van Twiller with the history of New Netherland and of Manhattan Island begins with his arrival in the ship the Salt-Mountain, in April, 1633, more than a twelve-month after the departure of Peter Minuit. He was accompanied by a force of one hundred and four soldiers. His Council of four was composed of Captain John Jansen Hesse, Martin Gerritsen, Andrew Hudde, and Jacques Bentyn. John Van Remund, who had succeeded De Rasières as Secretary under Minuit, was retained in this office. But while De Rasières had also performed the functions of a "Book-keeper of Wages," this part of the Secretary's duties was now assigned to a separate person, and Cornelius Van Tienhoven was invested with the office. Conrad Notelman was appointed Schout, or Sheriff.

Within the same month of the new Director-General's coming

[1] O'Callahan, New Netherland, 1 : 122, note.
[2] Moulton, New-York, pt. 2 : 400 and 427, "General Note for 1632–1633."

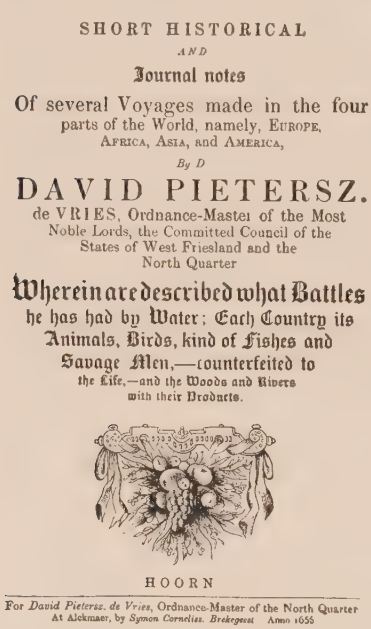
occurred two events of note. One was the arrival of Captain De Vries, on April 16th. He was now an active partner in the Patroonship of Swanendael on the Delaware, and thus in close alliance with a number of the Directors of the West India Company; but the beginning of his relations with that Company had been neither pleasant nor profitable. As far back as 1624 there was lodged a complaint before the States-General against the West India Company on the part of a sea-captain and part owner of a vessel lying in the port of Hoorn and bound for New France. The West India Company had then newly entered upon its career of enterprise, and it imagined that here was an infringement of its charter privileges. Accordingly the captain was arrested at the instance of the Company by the Magistrates of Hoorn. But this resolute person was not to be so summarily disposed of. He at once served an attachment on the agents of the Company, who were thereby compelled to send for instructions to the Assembly of the XIX. The captain went beyond this body to a still higher authority, and sent a petition for redress to the States-General, the result being that the States-General sent a communication to the West India people, clearly showing that the vessel in question was not interfering with their rights, inasmuch as the fisheries of Canada were distinctly under the jurisdiction of France, and that it was owned or chartered by French merchants; and at the same time their High Mightinesses took occasion to rebuke the Company for risking at the very commencement of its operations a quarrel with a friendly power. This formidable sea-captain was David Pieters, or David Pietersen De Vries. He had gained a victory over the great West India Company, but the inevitable delay in sailing was fatal to the projected enterprise, and it was necessarily abandoned, De Vries losing a large sum of money.[1] When the Patroons consented to receive partners in the management and profits of colonies in America, the captain, instead of contributing capital, placed at the disposal of the patentees of Swanendael his skill and experience as a mariner and explorer. In February, 1632, he sailed with two ships to plant a colony on the Delaware, to succeed the one which the copartners had sent in 1630, but which had been massacred the preceding year. He succeeded in conciliating the Indians, but no one ventured to settle in the vicinity of the doomed plantation, and the whale-fishery also furnishing but an unsatisfactory return, De Vries sailed down the coast, paid a brief visit to Sir John Harvey, Governor of Virginia, at Jamestown, and on April 16, 1633, arrived in New-York Bay, to make the acquaintance of the new Director-General.

Two days later, as De Vries was at dinner with Van Twiller, an English ship passed in between the Narrows and came to anchor be-

[1] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 1 : 31, 32; De Vries, "Voyages," pp. 11–13.

fore the fort. A boat put off for the shore, and the vessel's errand was soon told. Her name was the William, sent out by a company of London merchants to carry on a trade in furs upon the "Hudson's River." There was significance, and indeed defiance, in that very name; therein lay hid a claim, which was also unsparingly asserted in so many words, that Hudson's nationality gave to England all the rights

derived from his discovery. The person sent to communicate this mission and to assert these rights, in the present instance, was none other than Jacob Eelkens. Honorably identified as he had been with the beginning of the history of New Netherland, he appears now in a less favorable light. Shortly before the arrival of the ship New Netherland, in 1623, with the first Walloon families, Eelkens had seized the person of Seguin, or Sequin, an Indian chief, on one of his trading expeditions, in the course of which he had penetrated to the vicinity of the Connecticut. He demanded an exorbitant ransom of over a hundred fathoms of wampum for the release of Seguin. As a consequence, the Indians of that region became suspicious of the Dutch, a long time intervened before confidence was restored, and the fur trade suffered greatly. Hence Eelkens, who had so long commanded at Fort Nassau, was dismissed from the service of the West India Company before Fort Orange was substituted for the former. The English, coveting a foothold in the territories about the Hudson, were not slow to avail themselves of the undoubted capacity and experience possessed by the disgraced Indian trader, while they rightly counted on his disaffection towards his previous employers as an important element in securing their ends. He stoutly maintained the right of the William to proceed up the river, and quoted the ideas of his new masters in regard to the English title and proprietorship based on Hudson's exploration. Van Twiller with as much determination repudiated those claims, and refused permission to the William to proceed. The river was not the "Hudson's River," but the "Mauritius"; all the surrounding regions owed allegiance to no other potentate than their High Mightinesses and the Prince of Orange as their Stadholder. In practical support of that declaration the Commander-in-chief of Fort Amsterdam ordered the Orange colors, or the Orange, White, and Blue of the West India Company, to be unfurled from the flagstaff of the fort and three shots to be fired in honor of the prince. Eelkens was not at all overawed by this display of authority; returning to his ship, the English ensign was run to the masthead, and three shots in defiance of Van Twiller and in honor of King Charles boomed over the water; while at the same time the William weighed her anchor and sailed rapidly up the river.


SHORT HISTORICAL
AND
Journal notes
Of several Voyages made in the four parts of the World, namely, EUROPE, AFRICA, ASIA, and AMERICA,
By D
DAVID PIETERSZ.
de VRIES, Ordnance-Master of the Most Noble Lords, the Committed Council of the States of West Friesland and the North Quarter
Wherein are described what Battles he has had by Water: Each Country its Animals, Birds, kind of Fishes and Savage Men,—counterfeited to the Life,—and the Woods and Rivers with their Products.
HOORN
For *David Pietersz. de Vries*, Ordnance-Master of the North Quarter
At Alckmaer, by *Symon Cornelisz. Brekegeest* Anno 1655

Were it not that the truthful De Vries has recorded the incident that follows, and of which he was himself a witness, it would be impossible to give it credence. Visions of Walter the Doubter enveloped in clouds of tobacco-smoke, and weighing in either hand the books containing disputed accounts in order to properly balance them, seem to rise up before us, and Irving's ludicrous caricature almost commends itself as the sober truth. Van Twiller's rage at seeing Eelkens and the William so insolently defying his authority was unbounded. He therefore called upon all loyal denizens of Fort Amsterdam to assemble before the walls of the fort on the river bank. Then ordering a cask of wine to be brought, he exhorted all those who loved the Prince and the Fatherland to drain a bumper to their glory. An appeal of this character to patriotism was not easily lost upon the large assemblage, and with their eyes upon the distant ship they enthusiastically drank to its confusion and to the success of the Prince of Orange. But this having no appreciable effect upon the William, De Vries[1] suggested to the Director-General a more practical measure of restraint. The man-of-war which had conveyed Van Twiller to his seat of government was as yet in port, and a force of one hundred soldiers was at his command. Why not despatch the Salt-Mountain upon the errand of arrest? This obvious expedient dawned but slowly upon the dull mind of the Commander-in-chief, for it was not till several days afterwards that an expedition was organized to carry out the project. This, however, did not include the man-of-war; "a pinnace, a caravel, and a hoy," conveying a part of the troops, were sent up the river to arrest Eelkens and bring back the English ship.[2] The former commissary had already established himself upon an island in the river near Fort Orange, and was trading successfully with the Indians. His previous intercourse with them was remembered, and his facility in dealing with them was now of great service to his English employers. The settlers at Fort Orange sought to interfere with his transactions, but they did so by beating the Indians who came to trade, instead of attacking Eelkens and his party. A large quantity of furs had already been collected when the soldiers arrived from Fort Amsterdam. They soon compelled Eelkens to desist, forced the English sailors to carry the peltries on board the William, and convoyed the latter to Manhattan Island. Here Eelkens was made to give up her cargo, and, with his crew, was sent back empty-handed to England.[3]

1 De Vries told Van Twiller that he would have made Eelkens obey "by the persuasion of some *iron beans* sent him from our guns, and would not have allowed him to go up the river. I told him," he adds, "that we did not put up with these things in the East Indies. There we taught them how to behave!" De Vries had made several voyages to the Dutch East Indian Islands, and the encroachments of the English there had caused them serious trouble.

2 De Vries, Voyages, pp: 57–59.

3 O'Callahan, New Netherland, 1:143–146; Brodhead, New-York, 1 : 229–231. Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 1 : 72–81.

This incident only served to open afresh the dispute as to the title to New Netherland. The owners of the William complained to the English Government of the treatment she had received, and a claim for damages was transmitted to Holland by the Dutch ambassadors, and referred by the States-General to the West India Company. The latter defended the title of the Republic and refuted by careful argument that of the English, the question of damages depending upon this alone. Yet the Company had ably performed this same fruitless task scarcely more than a year before, when the English had, on the strength of their claim to New Netherland, ventured upon a much more serious violation of international comity than that of which they now complained against the Dutch. The ship Union, conveying Director Minuit to Holland, was driven by stress of weather to seek refuge in the harbor of Plymouth. She was at once seized upon by the English authorities as coming from a region covered by grants of the crown to English subjects.

Minuit hastened to London to inform the Dutch ambassadors of the outrage, and these appealed for redress directly to the King. Little sympathy was to be expected in such a quarter; insisting upon royal prerogative to his own ruin in England, Charles I. was not inclined to yield any part of his sovereignty over America. The matter was referred for decision to the Privy Council, with the result that the ministers but reiterated and emphasized a claim so frequently advanced before. But in anticipation of this the Dutch ambassadors had urged upon the States-General the necessity of a clear statement of the Dutch title, which was accordingly prepared by the West India Company. This paper showed that there was no settlement by the English, nor any kind of occupation near the territories claimed, till 1620; while the Dutch had been trading without interruption from 1610 to the present year, and had built forts there. Again, coming to the question of grants, there had always been an extensive region between 38° and 41° north latitude, which had been distinctly left open, and New Netherland lay within these

geographical limits. But lastly, and more conclusive than all, they advanced the argument "that inasmuch as the inhabitants of those countries [the Indians] are freemen, and neither his Britannic Majesty's nor your High Mightinesses' subjects, they are free to trade with whomsoever they please." They were for this reason also perfectly at liberty to sell their land as they had done to the Dutch, and to convey title thereto by such sale. Further it was contended "that his Majesty may likewise in all justice grant his subjects by charter the right to trade with any people, to the exclusion of all others, his subjects, as your High Mightinesses have a right to do by yours. But that it is directly contrary to all right and reason for one potentate to prevent the subjects of another to trade in countries whereof his people have not taken, nor obtained actual possession from the right owners, either by contract or purchase."[1] It was contending, however, with men who had decided to press their title against the Hollanders. The Union was indeed released, because Charles wished to provoke no foreign quarrels in the midst of his parliamentary contentions. But it was done unwillingly, and with the deliberate menace that the act of restoration was no warrant against similar interference in the future. And therefore the case of the William was vigorously pressed as a complaint against the Dutch. In addition to repeating former arguments, the West India Company sought to arrive at a practical and final solution of the question by the appointment of a commission to fix upon the exact boundaries between New England and New Netherland. In the expectation that this would be accomplished, they directed Van Twiller to buy large tracts of land on the Connecticut, for although this river had been discovered by a Dutchman, it was deemed safer now to fortify the title of discovery by one of purchase. Therefore, in compliance with the Company's orders, he sent an agent to the Connecticut River, in the course of the summer of 1633, to arrange a purchase of land from the Indian owners. A large tract situated about sixty miles from Long Island Sound, including the site of the present city of Hartford, was thus secured, and another at its mouth, called Kieviet's Hoeck by the Dutch and Saybrook Point by the English. A redoubt, to which was given the name of "Good Hope," was built near the site of Hartford, and the arms of the States-General affixed to a tree at Kieviet's Hoeck. But it seemed as if these honorable measures to secure formal possession only provoked the English colonists instead of acting as a restraint upon their encroachments.

From the relations so pleasantly established under Director Minuit, and on account of the debt of gratitude which they acknowledged they owed to Holland, it is surprising to find the New Plymouth peo-

[1] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 1:52.

ple among the leaders in these aggressions upon Dutch territory in America. A small vessel of theirs having returned from a trading voyage to Manhattan shortly after the Connecticut purchases had been made, it was learned what had taken place. Governor Winslow and William Bradford at once proceeded to Boston to see what the two Colonies combined could do to circumvent the Dutch, proposing among other things to erect a trading-house upon the very land which the latter had purchased; but Governor Winthrop refused to engage in the scheme. He felt uncertain whether the patent of Massachusetts permitted an extension of trade to the Connecticut, and he knew that the territory had been conveyed by royal grant to the Earl of Warwick. In view of this, while taking no active part against Van Twiller, he addressed a letter to him. "The King of England," the Puritan governor wrote, "had granted the river and country of Connecticut to his own subjects." A courteous reply was returned on the part of the Director, bidding the English colonists to forbear entering into disputes about territory, before the British and the Dutch Governments should arrive at some understanding regarding boundaries; and though no Puritan himself, he inculcated the Christian duty of living together "as good neighbors in these heathenish countries." The commentary of the Pilgrims of New Plymouth upon this exhortation was an immediate preparation for occupying the Dutch territories. A house was constructed and placed in sections upon a large boat, and a number of men under the command of William Holmes were ordered to convey the boat to a position above Fort Good Hope. As the expedition passed the fort they were challenged by the Dutch garrison, and the two pieces of ordnance upon the walls were leveled against the intruders. The English kept on their way, however, and the threat was not fulfilled, as it was forbidden to the West Indian Company to employ its forces against the representatives of a nation with whom the Republic was at peace. Van Twiller, however, when he learned of the circumstance addressed a formal protest to Holmes, which was as little heeded as the challenge from the fort. The house was placed some miles above Good Hope, and thus was founded the town of Windsor, in Connecticut.[1] The example of the Plymouth

[1] Brodhead, New-York, 1: 241.

colonists was not lost upon those of Massachusetts, in spite of Governor Winthrop's previous self-restraint. An exploring party having reported upon the excellence of the territory about the Connecticut, families from Watertown, Roxbury, Dorchester, and Newtown, exhorted to the enterprise by sermons of their clergy, crossed the intervening wilderness and settled on the banks of the river. Later, John Winthrop, the governor's son, led a party to the mouth of the Connecticut, tore down the arms of the States-General at Kieviet's Hoeck, and founded Saybrook. Van Twiller was in a difficult situation; he could not use force against Englishmen without danger of compromising the West India Company; yet these people were taking advantage of his helplessness, justifying their conduct on the ground of illegal grants by a monarch who in other respects was already discrowned in their eyes, deserving no obedience. The Director appealed to the Assembly of the XIX, and advised them to obtain permission from the States-General to employ their troops and ships against the English, but such permission was never transmitted to him, and doubtless was not even applied for. In view of all these circumstances, therefore, one act of Van Twiller's stands out in strong contrast to whatever features of a less favorable kind may be discovered in his character. When, a few years later, the colony at Saybrook was massacred by the Pequods, and two English girls were carried away captives, the Director at once sent an expedition to recover them. By the promptness and address of the Dutch the captives were restored to their mourning countrymen.[1]

Upon the side of the South River, or Delaware, Director Van Twiller was also annoyed by English aggression. A party from Virginia under George Holmes took possession of the abandoned Fort Nassau. But one of their number, Thomas Hall, an indentured servant of Holmes, took the opportunity to escape, and, finding his way to Fort Amsterdam, conveyed the news of this encroachment to the Colonial Government. Van Twiller sent an armed boat to the spot, with a number of soldiers, who, meeting with no resistance, captured the whole party and brought them to Manhattan Island. Without further punishment the Director sent them back to Virginia in charge of De Vries, who had come on a second visit to New Netherland. But the names of George Holmes and Thomas Hall are found afterwards among the settlers on Manhattan, and they were, perhaps, with Augustine Herrman, the first to introduce there the cultivation of tobacco.

Thus, without omitting important details, a brief sketch has been given of the troubles with the English. As in the case of the Patroonships, this part of the subject takes us in reality away from the immediate vicinity of New-York City, and does not properly belong to its history. But the question as to the Dutch title is one of impor-

[1] Brodhead, New-York, 1: 270, 271.

tance here as elsewhere in New Netherland. Lawsuits involving important financial and real-estate interests dependent upon that very question have been conducted within recent years, and may yet arise. The West India Company was frequently called on to enter into a defense of that title, and with equal persistence the English statesmen denied it. And still historians honestly differ on the subject and are apt to advance views colored by their predilections. It is indubitable that patents from the hand of English kings covered, or almost covered, the territory intervening between their northern and southern colonies. But simple discovery or mere grants could not give title to a territory without occupation. What Queen Elizabeth maintained against Spanish claims: "Præscriptio sine possessione haud valeat," might have been urged with equal force by the Dutch against her successors. Prescription without occupation gave no valid claim. According to Vattel, a title given by discovery is "commonly respected, provided it was soon after followed by a real possession." Besides, in the patents both of James I. and Charles I., there was a distinct proviso which ought to have forever debarred their subjects from urging a claim to New Netherland. The New England charter of 1620 "contained an exception in favor of the possession of any Christian prince or state. The Hollanders in 1620 had the possession."[1] Again the charter of 1629, incorporating the "governor and company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," the original of which is preserved in the State House at Boston, contains this clause: "Provided, always, that if the said lands, etc., were, at the time of the granting of the said former letters patent, dated the third day of November, in the eighteenth year of our said dear father's reign aforesaid (1620), actually possessed or inhabited by any other Christian prince or state, that then this present grant shall not extend to any such parts or parcels thereof, so formerly inhabited."[2] Why, then, should there have been any question as to the title of the Dutch to New Netherland? Reason, right, and express provision supported them; the law of common sense, of specific charters, and of international usage were all on their side. English statesmen, and churchmen such as Archbishop Laud, might blind themselves to questions of right or wrong in the pursuit of their ends, but such moral dialecticians as Calvinistic Puritans should have been more careful to avoid doing injustice to a neighbor. It is easy to appreciate the indignation of a Dutch historian of the present century, when he writes: "It might have been expected that, in recognition of the Dutch hospitality which they had enjoyed in Leyden, Amsterdam, and other cities in Holland and Zeeland, during so long a period, they would have left the Dutch colonies in undisturbed possession. It is almost incred-

[1] Moulton, New-York, pt. 2: 386.

[2] Brodhead, New-York, 1: 189, note.

ible that people so scrupulous in matters of conscience could have been so ungenerous towards their Dutch neighbors and brethren in the faith and paid so little regard to their previous occupation."[1]

In the year 1622 the colony on the James River was devastated by an Indian massacre and an Indian war; in 1636 the Pequods fell upon the English settlers along the Connecticut, and a destructive war was waged against them by the Puritans. An Indian war was therefore a thing to be looked for in New Netherland. The treaty of Tawassgunshee stood as a perpetual and irrefragable barrier against such a calamity in the section along the upper Hudson. By an ill-judged interference with a dispute between the Mohawks and the Mohicans a few Dutchmen under Kriekenbeeck had indeed lost their lives there, but it reflected no dishonor whatever upon the Mohawks, who were a party to the peace of 1618. The Indians near the mouth of the Hudson, however, took no part in the council on the Tawasentha: indeed they were distinctly hostile to the nations who had entered into it. And the war that seemed inevitable at length began, in all the horrors that characterized it in other portions of the country, under the administration of Director Kieft. But the originating cause dated back sixteen years, and is to be traced to an incident that took place almost immediately after Peter Minuit's arrival, while occasional and isolated cases of trouble with the Indians marked also the period of Van Twiller's incumbency.

In 1626, when the fort was being constructed, and the farm-laborers were set at work upon the virgin soil, three men in the employ of Director Minuit — all, according to some writers, negroes — were one day plowing and clearing the land bordering on the pond or stream called the "Kolk," or Collect.[2] While they were thus busy an Indian, accompanied by his nephew, about twelve years of age, came to this secluded spot, carrying some beaver-skins to the fort. The cupidity of the laborers was excited by the sight of the valuable peltry, and they forthwith set upon the defenseless natives. The boy escaped, but his companion was slain. No punishment was meted out to the murderers, for it is doubtful if the outrage ever came to the knowledge of the colonial authorities. But the nephew of the murdered man, true to his Indian nature and traditions, vowed vengeance, and fulfilled his vow sixteen years later by a murder which became the signal for a general Indian War. It was also during Minuit's term that the

[1] Lambrechtsen, "Korte Beschryving van Nieuw Nederland," p. 43 (Ed. 1818).

[2] "Kolk," in Dutch means a whirlpool; illiterate persons would pronounce it as if spelled "Kollek," even as to-day they say "Delleft" for Delft. This would explain the Anglicizing of the name to Collect. If the name were derived from the shells on the banks of the stream, "Kalk-hoeck," (Chalk Point) the same peculiarity would obtain as to the pronunciation; and the Dutch ă would phonetically be exactly reproduced by ŏ. This pond was in the neighborhood of the depression which is to be seen to-day in Center Street below Reade and Duane Streets, and near the Tombs Prison, whose damp quarters still testify to the presence of the waters beneath the soil.

massacre occurred at Swanendael, to which reference has been made. Just as De Vries was leaving Holland in order to conduct a second party of settlers to that colony, the news came that the first colonists had all been murdered by the Indians. When he reached the scene of this calamity the details of it were told him by a friendly native. Gillis Hoosset, a name to be found in the original document conveying the tract of land near Fort Orange to Van Rensselaer, and who was instrumental in inducing the aboriginal owners to part with their property, had been placed in charge of affairs at Swanendael on the Delaware. As an evidence of proprietorship the arms of the States-General, displayed on a piece of tin, were affixed to a tree. The shining metal attracted the attention of the Indians, and one of them made bold to take down the tin plate, and converted it into a tobacco pipe. Hoosset, conveying by means of signs the impropriety of this act, was understood by the natives to express a much more violent resentment than he really felt; they imagined that he was not to be pacified except by the death of the offender. But his execution roused the vengeance of the tribe to which he belonged, and it was visited upon the strangers who were supposed to have demanded the sacrifice of their relative. While the colonists to the number of thirty were at work in the fields and woods at some distance from one another, the Indians fell upon and despatched them all. Another party surprised Hoosset and a sick man who had remained in the house, and killed them also. De Vries upon his arrival refrained from measures of retaliation, inasmuch as there had been so much misunderstanding in the unhappy case and the blame was hard to fix;[1] and there is no doubt that his moderation gained him that esteem and confidence among the Indians which was of such great service to the colonists during the subsequent Indian Wars under Director Kieft. Whether there still lingered some resentment in the breasts of the savages on account of these occurrences, it is difficult to say. But it would seem that something of this kind might be true, because a war with the Raritans broke out in 1633, which can be referred to no satisfactory cause by any authority on the subject. It continued for nearly a year, and was then brought to a close by an advantageous peace, which reflected much credit on Van Twiller's government.[2] As if the Director had not trouble enough with the English on the Connecticut, a brief war was precipitated with the Pequods there. An English sea-captain named Stone, whom we meet with in De Vries' accounts of his voyages to America, and to whom he sustained very friendly relations, in sailing up the river was attacked and murdered by the Pequods. Soon after this they likewise made a murderous assault upon some Indians who had come to trade

[1] De Vries, Voyages, pp. 33, 34.
[2] O'Callahan, New Netherland, 1: 157, 167; Brodhead, New-York, 1: 245.

with the Dutch at Fort Good Hope. The Commander of the fort, who is sometimes charged with pusillanimity in his dealings with the English, whom he was forbidden by the terms of the West India Company's charter from attacking, very promptly proceeded to punish the turbulent Indians. He succeeded in capturing the Pequod chief at whose instance the recent outrages had been committed, and felt justified in putting him to death. A war was the result, in which the savages sought to engage the English of Massachusetts Bay on their side, by offering to convey certain lands on the Connecticut in consideration for a friendly alliance. It is not pleasant to be compelled to record the fact that the Puritans yielded to the temptation. Without distinctly promising aid in war, they treated for large territories on the boundary river, as if oblivious to the fact that the Dutch had brought the conflict upon themselves partly in generous retaliation for the murder of an Englishman.[1]

On Manhattan Island itself the colonists were not disturbed by any violent conduct on the part of the aborigines. The relations were as yet friendly, for no one knew what hatred was slumbering in the breast of the young Indian of the Weckquaesgeck tribe, who was meditating revenge for the murder of his kinsman. Yet it cannot be said that the newcomers had any reason to be very favorably impressed with their savage neighbors. They found them to be exceedingly troublesome owing to their habitual thievishness. As with the Spartans of old, it was deemed by them rather honorable than otherwise to be adepts at theft. All endeavors to improve their condition either in body, mind, or soul were met by a stolid indifference and a real or assumed stupidity that were perfectly impenetrable. They were "strangers to all decency, yea, uncivil and stupid as posts." This is the record of an eye-witness, with no theories of Indian depravity to uphold, who was deeply solicitous for their good and

1 Winthrop, "History of New England," 1: 148, 386 (ed. 1825); Brodhead, New-York, 1: 242.

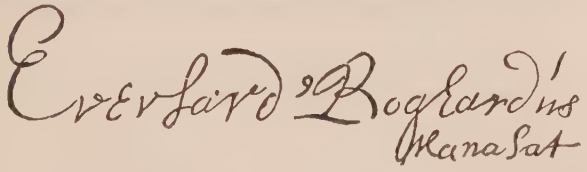
labored to instruct them in heavenly things. He found it of no avail, however, and at last confined his attention principally to the children. Yet he saw that these could only be permanently benefited by separation from their parents and other savage associates—a thing which proved impracticable by reason of the chief redeeming trait of the Indian nature, an extreme fondness for their children. "The parents are never contented, but take them away stealthily or induce them to run away themselves." Nor was there much chance of progress in the cordiality or thoroughness of the intercourse between the European settlers and the Indians, for the latter studiously prevented the Dutch from learning their language. This was difficult enough in itself, but the intelligent observer whose words are quoted was of the opinion "that they rather design to conceal their language from us than to properly communicate it, except in things which happen in daily trade; saying it is sufficient for us to understand them in those; and then they speak only half their reasons, with shortened words; so that even those who can best of all speak with the Indians, and get along well in trade, are nevertheless wholly in the dark and bewildered when they hear the Indians speaking with each other."[1] Such a course did not promise well for an increase of friendliness, and would only embitter whatever causes of mutual dissatisfaction might arise between the races brought into such close proximity. The forebodings of war were present even in the period of peace.

The tide in the affairs of the West India Company was still leading on to fortune when Director Van Twiller was sent to govern in its name in New Netherland, and hence he was given unlimited authority in the matter of public improvements. Fort Amsterdam not having been completed up to the time of his arrival, the work was now pushed with vigor, so that in 1635 the structure was finished. It formed a quadrangle about three hundred feet long by two hundred and fifty wide, and occupied the ground bounded by the present Bowling Green and Whitehall, Stone, and State streets. Though it is recorded that "mountain-stone," *i. e.*, quarry stone, was used in the construction of the walls, it is more than likely that this referred only to the four angles, which were salient, while the intermediate curtains were banks of earth. A barracks for the newly arrived soldiers was built within the walls, on the west side, while on the opposite or east arose the Governor's mansion, and next to this, to the south, the church was erected in Kieft's time. The principal gate faced to the north, opening upon the Bowling Green, and was guarded by a small redoubt called a horn, which may therefore have stood upon the very spot of the present circular park. The expenses of completion, aside

[1] Letter of Rev. Jonas Michaelius. Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y. 2: 766, 767. (Appendix.)

from what the structure may have cost before, are placed at over four thousand guilders.

A more modest expenditure, with results correspondingly humble, was made for the erection of a place of worship. In the same ship with Director Van Twiller arrived the Rev. Everardus Bogardus,[1] who, until the discovery of the Michaelius letter in 1858, was believed to have been the first clergyman settled on Manhattan Island.



We now know that he was preceded by a period of five years by the author of that interesting document. Yet, even before the arrival of Michaelius, there had come over from the fatherland in the ship with Minuit two persons of a semi-clerical character, Sebastian Jansen Krol, or Crol, and John Huyghen, who, as lay readers, were to supply the place of a regular pastor temporarily. These, in the Dutch ecclesiastical system, were called "Krankenbezoeckers," or Visitors (not Consolers) of the Sick. In the loft above the horsemill they led the singing of the congregation, read the creed, the Scriptures, and perhaps occasionally a printed homily. When Michaelius came in 1628, the horsemill still remained in requisition, but now something like regular church government began. Sebastian Crol had been transferred to Fort Orange, to act as Commissary,[2] but John Huyghen remained and was made Elder, while the Director himself, who had been a deacon in Wesel, was promoted to the Eldership. The first "Consistory"[3] being thus constituted, it was possible to hold a Communion-service, at which fifty persons partook of the sacrament. Domine Michaelius preached to the people, the majority of whom were Walloons and French refugees, in the Dutch language, "which few among them could not understand," he writes;[4] yet as an amiable concession to those few, knowing how much more precious religious truth is when expressed in the mother-tongue, he preached occasionally in French, with a written sermon before him as he was unable to ex-

[1] In the same ship with Domine Bogardus came also the first schoolmaster, Adam Roelandsen. Some writers make merry over the fact that, failing in his vocation, "he took in washing." Whether he failed in his calling as teacher we do not know, but that he took in washing was no necessary indication of this, nor was it an incongruous or unmanly vocation among the Dutch. The custom then, as now, was to accumulate articles in household use for six months or more, and then send to the laundries, or "Bleeckeryen" (bleacheries), which were conducted entirely by men, and were very extensive establishments. The great stores of linen that went as a dowry with every daughter of a well-to-do family are explained by this prevalent usage, for such were necessary if the wash was attended to every half year instead of every Monday. Roelandsen may have superintended or owned such an establishment, and could have managed this with a sufficient number of hands at the same time that he attended to the duties of a teacher.

[2] His name accordingly stands first on the document containing the Van Rensselaer contract, the fac-simile of which appears on a previous page.

[3] The name to this day given to the Board of Elders and Deacons of the Reformed (Dutch) Church in America, the lineal descendants from this primitive organization.

[4] Mr. Murphy has made a singular mistake in translating this passage. He puts it: "of which they understand very little."

temporize in a foreign language. It is not known how long Michaelius had been gone when Bogardus came; but the same rude loft served for the latter's ministrations in the beginning. Before the year 1633 was past, however, a separate church building had been erected, and also a parsonage. The church was a very plain structure, which De Vries characterized nine years later as "a mean barn," compared with the churches he had seen in New England.[1] It stood in Broad street, at the junction of Pearl and Bridge — and the space of an ordinary lot separating the two streets it is easy to identify the exact location; the parsonage being at some distance from it, and situated on Whitehall street, near Bridge, facing the eastern wall of the fort. Although a more worthy successor to the first church edifice was built within the fort in 1642, the "Old Church" was not sold till 1656, and it was used for business purposes for a century later.[2]

A DUTCH WINDMILL.

Meanwhile diligent attention had been given to the development of the resources of Manhattan Island. Very soon after its purchase a large portion was systematically marked off into six separate farms, or bouweries,[3] which were called the Company's and designated by numbers. Numbers one, three, and five lay on the west side, and two, four, and six on the east side. A tract of land extending to Wall street was known as the Company's garden; beyond this stretched farm number one, as far as Hudson street. Number two was situated east of Broadway, number three occupied the site of the subsequent village of Greenwich, while number four included the "plain of Manhattan," later the Commons and the City Hall Park. Minuit had made some experiments in agriculture, notably with canary seed, a sample of which was sent to Holland in the Arms of Amsterdam. But with Van Twiller began the cultivation of tobacco, which proved a great success, so that the New Netherland product was much sought after in Holland and obtained as satisfactory prices as that from Virginia. It was the introduction of this culture by George Holmes which so far atoned for his

[1] Voyages, N. Y. Hist. Soc. Col., Second Series, 3, pt. 1 : 101.

[2] O'Callahan, New Netherland, 1 : 155, note; Brodhead, New-York, 1 : 243; Valentine, "History of the City of New-York," p. 29. To-day a liquor saloon occupies this historic spot.

[3] This ancient name for a farm in Dutch literally signifies "cultivated ground."

leading a party to encroach on the Delaware, that in consideration of their valuable experience he and his runaway servant, Thomas Hall, were given grants of land on Manhattan, and both became reputable freeholders occupying prominent places in early colonial history. The increasing products of the soil necessitated the erection of mills. Minuit's horsemill was supplemented by wind-mills during his time, especially for sawing purposes, when he was building his great ship. A sawmill was erected on Nooten or Governor's Island by Van Twiller; a mill stood on the southeast bastion of the fort, and one on the high ground of farm number one, just above the rise which lifts Broadway above the level of Bowling Green.[1] Trade also made considerable strides during the earlier years of Van Twiller's term; the Patroon charter was modified so that the fur trade was less jealously restricted. As a consequence official records show that while in 1633 there were exported 8,800 beaver-skins and 1383 otter-skins, yielding 91,375 florins ($36,550), the exports in 1635 reached the large number of 14,891 beavers and 1413 otters, selling for 134,925 florins ($53,770).[2] And Manhattan Island, or Fort Amsterdam, received a great advantage from this trade, for it was made the beneficiary of a system that was simply a revival of a custom of feudalism, namely, the privilege of "staple-right." When Count Dirk seated himself at Dordrecht, and thus initiated the history of Holland, he exacted the payment of a toll from all vessels going past his town, up or down the numerous branches of the Maas at whose confluence Dordrecht was situated. Those who refused, or were unable to pay this, were compelled to discharge their cargoes, piling them in heaps ("stapelen") upon the shore in order to dispose of them by sale. The latter proving often more convenient or profitable, the traders along the river learned to congregate at Dordrecht as a market, and the commercial prosperity of the Count's capital became assured. This "stapel-recht," or staple-right, was now extended to Manhattan Island, the trade carried on in all the surrounding regions, and along the coast from Florida to Newfoundland, being thus made to contribute towards the advancement of the prosperity of the Company's Colony around Fort Amsterdam. Yet in spite of this and other devices, and undoubted commercial activity, giving a semblance of prosperity, the expectations of the West India Company with regard to their American province were disappointed. The blame was thrown mainly on its climate, which was, indeed, rather inconsistent. For although situated in a latitude which would warrant a temperature such as made France and Spain the home of the luxurious vine, and of fruits such as the peach and apricot and orange, there was not the remotest reproduction of such

1 Moulton, New-York, pp. 427, 428, "General note for 1632–1633."
2 De Laet, "West Indische Compagnie," appendix, p. 29.

conditions in New Netherland. It was even colder there at times than on the bleak plains of the United Provinces themselves. "For this reason then," the Assembly of XIX assured the States-General in June, 1633, "the people conveyed thither by us have as yet been able to discover only scanty means of subsistence, and have been no advantage but a drawback to the Company. The trade there in peltries is indeed very profitable, but one year with another only fifty thousand guilders [$20,000] at most can be brought home."[1] A paltry sum this, by the side of the five millions of dollars which Admiral Heyn "brought home" as the result of a few months' cruise!

THE CHURCH AT FLATLANDS.

Four years of Van Twiller's administration had not given the Company any reason to change their opinion regarding the unprofitableness of New Netherland as a commercial venture. And although this was a shorter term than that of any of the other Directors, it was resolved, in 1637, to recall him. There appeared to be good cause for adopting this measure, for he had not developed very acceptable characteristics as the governor of a Province. About a year after Van Twiller's arrival there occurred a quarrel between him and Domine Bogardus. In the early days of the colony, when but few men of standing or education could be found willing to cross the Atlantic, the clergyman, it would seem, was given a share in the counsels of the Colonial Government. There is reason to believe that Michaelius was thus situated, and with the Director an Elder in his church, and a person entirely fitted for such a position, there was perfect harmony. Unfortunately both minister and Director were of quite different temperaments under the next administration. From some cause, probably originating in the Council, a contention arose, and in the course of it exceedingly bitter language was exchanged. From all that appears in the conduct of Domine Bogardus subsequently, he was a person of a violent temper, and enemies accused him of too great fondness for wine. In this respect Van Twiller was more than his match, and it seems to be no injustice to him to conclude that his morality was none of the purest. So fierce became the unhappy controversy between these prominent persons, that it was made a basis of complaint against the Director in Holland. Other evidences of

[1] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 1: 65.

personal unfitness for his position accumulated as time went on. The pages of De Vries' volume contain many accounts of drunken quarrels, originating in orgies which the Director either himself promoted, or in which at least he took part. It was inevitable that his administration of the colony's affairs should be unfavorably affected, much to the injury of the interests of the West India Company. And to make matters still worse, while the Company's farms yielded no satisfactory returns, on the other hand those which had come into the possession of Van Twiller and his partners were signally prosperous. These men, evidently profiting by their advantageous situation as the agents of the Company, had liberally provided themselves with extensive grants of land in the vicinity of Manhattan Island. The Director secured for himself the island of Pagganck, or Nut Island, since called Governor's from this very circumstance; while several islands in the Hell-gate, now East River, were also added to his estates. In 1636 Van Twiller, with Andrew Hudde, one of the Council, Wolfert Gerritsen, probably a brother or other near relative of Councilor Martin Gerritsen, and Jacob Van Corlaer, or Curler, the trumpeter, obtained possession of a tract of fifteen thousand acres in extent, including the present town of Flatlands on Long Island. It was soon after called New Amersfoort by another settler, who had come from that historic town situated in the province of Utrecht and distinguished as having been the birthplace of Barneveld. The grant, although the title was secured from the Indians by purchase, was not made valid by the endorsement of the Company, who were not even notified of it. These irregularities of personal and official conduct at last provoked the opposition of the most respectable member of the colonial government, Lubbertus Van Dincklagen, who had succeeded Conrad Notelman as Schout-fiscal, and who was possessed of legal training. But his protest only drew down the wrath of Van Twiller upon his head; he was deprived of his salary, in arrears for some time, and finally dismissed and sent back to Holland. This last proceeding on the part of the Director, however, was suicidal to his official career, for the capable Schout at once lodged a complaint against his superior before the States-General. On being referred to the Assembly of the XIX it was at first quietly ignored, but the complaint was too well supported by documentary and other evidence to be disposed of in this manner. Dincklagen importuned the States-General for a settlement of his claims, and the West India Company were summoned to refute his charges. As this could not be done, they were forced to dismiss their unworthy officer from the Directorship of New Netherland. The records of the States-General indicate

that the directors had promptly sent their letter of recall; for on September 2, 1637, application was made to confirm the appointment and sign the commission of his successor, William Kieft.[1]

Thus ended the Administration of Walter Van Twiller; but, unaffected by the disgrace of his removal, he remained in the province for many years afterwards. With a cynical disregard of men's opinion as to the manner of their acquisition he devoted himself to the task of improving his extensive lands, and to the renting of his herds of cattle, which were in a flourishing condition and numerous, while the occupants of the Company's farms found them sadly deficient in stock. After Patroon Kiliaen Van Rensselaer's death, Van Twiller appears as one of the trustees or guardians of his sons during their minority; but there is no record of his return to Holland, although it is known that he died in his native land during the winter of 1656–57. Taking into consideration the perplexing circumstances in which the encroachments of the English on the Connecticut placed him, his failure to dislodge them is not greatly to his discredit. When they defied his protests, and were prepared to resist a resort to force, the provisions of the Company's charter forbade his employment of violent measures against the subjects of a friendly power. The attempt of the Virginians on the Delaware was only frustrated because they had the decency to desist when a serious effort was made to remove them from territory upon which they knew they were trespassing. Van Twiller's policy towards the Indians was firm and vigorous; his conclusion of a peace with the Raritans is to be highly commended, and he certainly showed no cowardice in his dealings with the Pequods. Indeed, in consideration of the risks involved and actual war provoked by his firm attitude towards this tribe in the matter of the redemption of the two English girls, and his punishment of them for the murder of Captain Stone, Van Twiller's noble return of good for evil ought never to be forgotten, and reflects the more discredit upon those whom he thus generously treated. It is as one turns from these external relations to his public functions and private character at home, that his undignified conduct and the cupidity which led him to take advantage of his official position for private ends make Director Walter Van Twiller appear in a reprehensible light. These have not unjustly caused his name to appear in history clouded with dishonor.

[1] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 1: 101-104.

CHAPTER VI

THE ADMINISTRATION OF WILLIAM KIEFT
1638–1647

ON the 28th day of March, 1638, the Haering, a man-of-war belonging to the West India Company, of two hundred and eighty tons and mounting twenty cannon, announced, by salute, her approach up the Bay. The little fort gave due response from one of its ancient culverins, and, with eager welcome from the dignitaries and people of New Amsterdam, there landed from a small boat, on the floating dock at the foot of the inlet, at present Broad street, "Willem" or William Kieft, Director-General of New Netherland.

It had been, for some time, apparent to the directors of the Company that the want of energy and experience of Van Twiller, and his general incapacity for the administration of so important and difficult a post as the Directorship of New Netherland, made a change in the Executive essential to both the interests of the Dutch Colony and of the Company. A man of different stamp was selected. Although the new Director had been a bankrupt in his commercial transactions and labored under a charge (made by his enemies) of having appropriated certain monies which were entrusted to him for ransoming Christian captives from the Turks, his character, as a person of determination and activity, recommended him to the directors of the Company, and to the States-General, as a fit man for the place.

The new Director, desiring to act on his own responsibility, and not wishing to be encumbered with those who might oppose his policy, restricted his Council to one person, John de la Montagne, a man of intelligence and decision of character, who had been educated as a physician, and, as a Protestant refugee from France, had emigrated to Holland. The Director retained two votes in the Council, while La Montagne had but one; an advisory board was summoned in times of danger, but from the constitution of the Council it is evident that Kieft was practically absolute; and all at-

tempts at appeal from his decisions were regarded with suspicion, and often visited with punishment. The personnel of the government was completed by the appointment, as Provincial Secretary, of Cornelius Van Tienhoven, an able, energetic official, formerly "Koopman" or chief commissary and bookkeeper of the Company's affairs, and of Ulrich Lupold, as "Schout-fiscal," or prosecuting and executive officer, to compel the execution of the laws of the Company and the ordinances and regulations of the Council. He was subsequently, in 1639, replaced by Cornelius Van der Huygens, who was often intoxicated and always subservient to the others.

The appearance of the little capital town of the province was discouraging, and not such as to give the new Director a favorable idea of its past or future prosperity. Fort Amsterdam was in a dilapidated condition, and the guns were for the most part dismantled; the public buildings were in need of repair, and all but one of the windmills were out of order; the Company's bouweries were untenanted, and the cattle belonging to them had been scattered and appropriated, perhaps to a great extent by Van Twiller himself, whose farms at least were well stocked; and much other property of the Company had been taken without authority.

It was difficult for the directors of the West India Company in Holland to give very particular attention to the fortunes of the New Netherland Colony, or to its possessions there. In fact, they began to consider it rather a troublesome portion of the territories under their administration, which included, at this time, Curaçoa, some of the Cape de Verde islands, a great part of Brazil, Tobago, Senegal, Sierra Leone, the regions of Guiana about the Essequibo, Fernando, and other localities in Africa and South America, with power to exclusively traffic with and colonize a great part of the African coast, and all the eastern and western coast of North America.

While Van Twiller had been busy enriching himself[1] (he continued to do so, even after the arrival of his successor), the public interests had evidently suffered greatly under his administration, and the new Director soon found that great abuses had entered into public affairs. The Company's employees had been trading in furs on their own account, instead of attending to their duties and observing the prescribed regulations; smuggling was common, guns and ammunition had been furnished to the Indians, the town was in a disorderly state, through the insurbordination of soldiers, and the rioting of sailors and denizens; drunkenness, theft, fighting and immoralities generally prevailed, and mutiny and homicides were frequent. Against

[1] An inventory of his property taken showed that he owned two islands in the Helle-gat, Nooten (formerly Pagganck) island, a bouwery, a tobacco plantation, and a dwelling house; also cattle which he let out, distributed at Fort Good Hope, Fort Nassau, and in parts of Manhattan; he had also commenced the establishment of a colony at Staten Island.

all these irregularities and crimes the Director immediately enacted severe ordinances; a regular guard or police was maintained, and there was every indication that he would administer his office, not only with good judgment, but with a strong hand.

There arose, now, in the minds of the States-General grave apprehension of future trouble with the New England settlements, and with those of the Swedes, as it was likely that political complications might arise therefrom with their home governments. Since 1630, there was a downward tendency of the fortunes of the West India Company; the rich galleons of Spain no longer supplied wealth to its coffers, and the subsidies promised in its charter were largely in arrear; and so incapable appeared the Company of successfully maintaining even its territory along the North River, that a project was set on foot by the States-General to take control, for political purposes, of the entire Province of New Netherland, and to obtain the relinquishment by the Company of its rights therein. To this application, the Company, having a valuable independent charter, refused to accede.[1] The condition of the Province, however, was so unsatisfactory at this time that it was deemed necessary to make some changes of policy, so as to invite a greater immigration. The Amsterdam Chamber, consequently, established a new system; and, by an ordinance of 1638, yielded in part its monopoly of trade, and sent special orders to the Director to make liberal arrangements with such new colonists as might arrive and desire to acquire land. These concessions were attended with excellent results, and new settlers arrived in great numbers, not only from Europe, but from Virginia and New England.

Among others who arrived (in December, 1638) was David Pietersen De Vries, formerly an officer in the Dutch service, who had visited the colony three times before. He was a native of Hoorn, a man of superior practical knowledge and sagacity, and an experienced soldier and

TRANSLATION OF FAC-SIMILE.

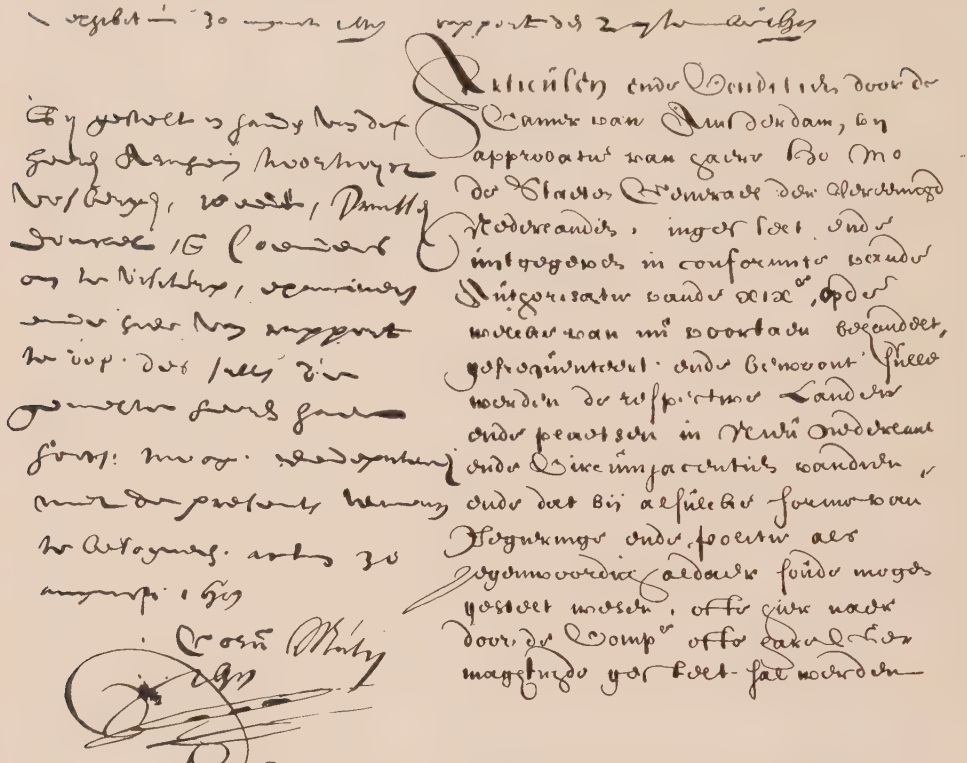
[1] As some recognition of the justness of the complaints against the Company, the Managers directed some articles to be drawn up, for the "Colonization and Trade of New Netherland." The task was performed by De Laet, the historian, and this fact constitutes their chief value to the antiquarian; for the articles themselves were deemed impracticable by the States-General, and therefore rejected by them. The original document is preserved in the Royal Archives at The Hague, and a fac-simile reproduction of the first page is given in the text. The matter contained therein reads as follows (see also Doc. rel. Col. His. N. Y., 1 : 110) :

Exhibited August 30, 1638, Report September 2, 1638.

Articles and Conditions instituted and delivered by the Chamber of Amsterdam with approbation of their High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Netherlands, in conformity with the Authority of the XIX, in accordance with which the respective Lands and places in New Netherland, and the vicinity thereof, shall henceforth be treated, trafficked with, and inhabited, and this under such form of Government and police as at the present may be established there, or hereafter shall be established by the Company or its deputies. (Endorsed on the left hand corner as follows :) Referred to Messrs. Arnhem, Noortwyn, Noortwyck, Vosbergen, Weede, Priussen, Donkel and Coenders to view, examine, and report thereon. Their High Mightinesses' deputies shall be empowered to proceed forthwith.

Done August 30, 1638. (Sig.) Corn'. Musch, 1638.

1. The Company hereby retains for itself and such officers as it shall charge with the execution thereof, all High and Low Jurisdiction, together with



DE LAET'S ARTICLES OF COLONIZATION AND TRADE. FIRST PAGE.

the exercise of this and other matters that belong to public affairs; in order that its governors, officers, and all others employed by it may administer, regulate, manage, and execute the same, under obedience to their High Mightinesses, according to instructions to be given from time to time, without that any one shall be allowed to oppose himself thereto, directly or indirectly, on pain of being corrected therefor, according to the case in hand, as violators and disturbers of the public peace.

navigator. The narrative of his various voyages is invaluable as an authority on New Netherland affairs, and gives a graphic account of the province during a large part of the administration both of Van Twiller and of Kieft. De Vries immediately transported the people he had brought with him to Staten Island, and began a small colony there, and soon afterwards settled on Manhattan Island, about two Dutch miles above the fort. Two other personages, who were to take active part in the affairs of the settlement, also arrived at New Amsterdam in the year 1639: Joachim Pietersen Kuyter, a man of military experience and of active character, and Cornelius Melyn, who came on a visit of inspection in a vessel bringing a cargo of cattle.

Prosperity now seemed assured to New Netherland, and numerous grants to settlers were made, not only on the island, but in surrounding districts. The Company's bouweries were put in order, stocked with cattle and leased; and more than thirty farms came under active cultivation. Andreas Hudde received a grant of a hundred morgens at the northeast end of the island, as did also Van Twiller, on the North River strand, at Sapohanican.[1] Hudde was to pay one-tenth of the increase of the stock, at the end of ten years, and a pair of capons, annually. In May, 1638, Abraham Isaacksen Planck received a grant for Paulus Hoeck, east of Ahasimus, on the western side of the North River. Among other leases of the Company's bouweries was one to the insatiable Van Twiller, in 1639, who was busy, at this time, in superintending the letting out of his goats and cows. The Company's farm at Pavonia was let to John Evertsen Bout. The Secretary, Van Tienhoven, leased a bouwery opposite La Montagne's plantation of Vredendael;[2] and we find, in the records, many other leases and deeds of outlying farms and plantations. Among others, a tract was granted to the Englishmen George Holmes and Thomas Hall, tobacco planters, extending from Deutel (now Turtle) Bay[3] to the "Hill of Schepmoes"; a large tract was also conveyed to John Jansen Van Salee near Coneyn, now known as Coney, Island.

In the mean while, the English colonists were looking with envious eyes upon the fertile regions of the Connecticut Valley, and they adopted measures for dispossessing the Dutch of their lands, not only on the Connecticut, but to the east of the lower portion of the North River. A settlement had been planted, in 1638, at a place called the Roodenberg, or Red Hill; and the foundation of the colony of New Haven was laid. De Vries states, in his account, that, in June, 1639, he anchored at New Haven, where, to his surprise, he found about three hundred houses built and a fine church. Hartford was already a flourishing settlement. Other English emigrants soon after

1 Subsequently called, until recently, Greenwich Village. 2 Between Eighth avenue and Harlem River.
3 About the foot of Forty-fifth street, East River.

established themselves in the region about what is now known as Norwalk, Stamford and Greenwich, interfering with the lands appertaining to the Dutch settlement at Fort Good Hope, on the Fresh Water or Connecticut River, and which had been purchased of the Indians in 1632–33, as well as the lands at the mouth of the river.

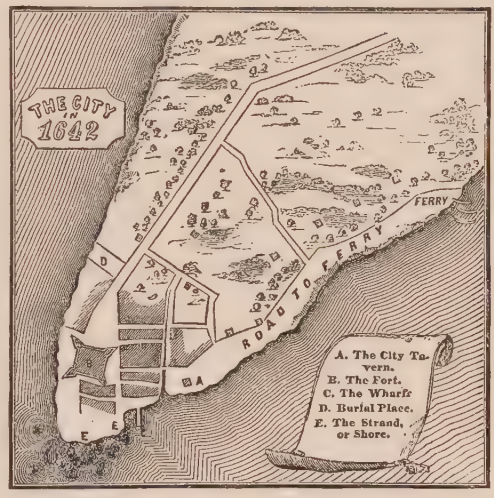
On account of these continual encroachments, the Director thought it expedient, at this time, to fortify the title of the Company to lands on the East River, by purchasing from the aborigines all the mainland and the outlying islands extending northeast of the Great Kill, or Harlem River, as far as the inlet at Norwalk. About this time, also, the Director made extensive purchases from the Carnarsee tribe of land on the western part of Long Island, embracing parts of the modern Counties of Kings and Queens.

English settlers, in the mean time, had made extensive purchases at the eastern portion of Long Island, and sought to take possession of a portion of the island to the west, which had been granted to the Dutch by the Indians. Against these proceedings the Director took active measures, and sent a small military expedition, which soon drove away, without bloodshed, the English trespassers, and maintained the sovereignty of the Company over their Long Island possessions. It is to be remarked that Kieft, in his instructions, ordered, "Above all things, take care that no blood be shed." In this instance, at least, he showed prudence and humanity. The English occupation at the eastern part of the island still continued, however, and the towns of Southampton and Southold commenced their career.

In July, 1640, some Raritan Indians were falsely accused of taking certain property on Staten Island, and of attacking a trading yacht. Without investigation, and with his usual disregard of consequences, the Director sent an expedition against them, which wantonly and barbarously killed several and ravaged the fields of the tribe. The soldiers seem to have acted in disobedience to the orders of their chief, Van Tienhoven, but Kieft was held responsible for the wrong done; and it was the foundation of a hostile feeling among the savages that, in a short time, culminated in the terrible Indian wars that ensued, and which not only caused great loss of life and property to settlers in and about the island of Manhattan, but affected the prosperity of the colony and so retarded its progress that New Amsterdam was in no condition to offer resistance to the invading forces of the Duke of York, in the year 1664.

The measures of the local government towards the savages can not be said to have been those of conciliation or of prudence. At first the Indians had been treated fairly and kindly by the traders, but when they began to exercise fraud and treachery confidence in the whites became impaired. Liquor, also, was frequently sold to them,

although both their chiefs and the Director made efforts to stop this dangerous traffic. Another of the occurrences that now precipitated hostile feeling between the Dutch and the aborigines was an unprovoked attack, by some Raritan Indians, on De Vries' plantation, on Staten Island, in which four of the settlers were killed. This occurred in September, 1641. Thereupon the Director imprudently offered a reward for the head of any one of the Raritans that might be brought to the fort; this, of course, was a declaration of war against the whole tribe. Another tribe had also become hostile, through the following occurrence. A wheelwright, named Claes Smits, or Switz, who occupied a small house at Deutel Bay, a remote region on the East River, was murdered in cold blood by the Weckquaesgeck savage who had long meditated a bloody revenge against the Dutch, on account of the killing of his uncle, some sixteen years previously, near the Fresh Water pond, as related in an earlier chapter. As the Weckquaesgecks refused to deliver the murderer, it was proposed to declare open hostilities against them. This tribe occupied the eastern bank of the North River, north of Manhattan Island, and extending through the valley of the Nepera (or Saw Mill) creek.



THE EARLIEST MAP OF THE CITY.

Before active measures were taken, however, the Director resolved to take counsel with prominent members of the community, to avoid assuming the sole responsibility for the result. He, accordingly, sent out the following notice dated on the 23d of August, 1641: "The Director-General of New Netherland informs, herewith, all heads or masters of families, living in this vicinity, that he wishes them to come to Fort Amsterdam, on Thursday, the 29th of August, for the consideration of some important and necessary matters."

The result of the meeting was that twelve men were selected by the assemblage for consideration of the punishment to be inflicted on the tribe, if the murderer were not surrendered, and the manner in which it was to be carried out. De Vries was chosen President of the body. Among the others are found the names of Jan Jansen Damen, a prosperous farmer; Maryn Adriaensen, who afterwards attempted to assassinate the Director; Joachim Pietersen Kuyter, already referred to; Joris or George Rapalje, one of the original Walloon colonists, and

Abraham Isaacsen Planck, the farmer from Paulus Hoeck. The Council was of opinion that further attempts should be made to obtain possession of the murderer; but in case of failure to secure him, that the settlement of the Weckquaesgecks should be destroyed, not, however, before the Indian hunting expeditions began. It was recommended, also, that the Director ought to lead the van in case of active war; and that the freemen and soldiers be supplied with coats of mail. De Vries, although the principal sufferer from Indian attacks, was of opinion that the community was not then in a condition for open war with the powerful tribes in the vicinity; besides that, the Amsterdam Chamber was opposed to all hostilities with the Indians; and such, in fact, were the views of the twelve men, who were in favor, at least, of delaying an open rupture.

Although the prudent counsels of the twelve men had postponed any hostile action for the present, the Director had not dismissed from his mind the claim against the Weckquaesgecks for the murder of Smits. The time was not then propitious for an expedition, which, however, with the reluctant consent of the twelve, he was authorized to undertake. These twelve men, all persons of some consequence in the community, and having had some experience of the arbitrary manner in which the Director was inclined to rule, there being, in fact, no practical limit to his authority, now thought it an appropriate time to make a formal representation to him, to the effect that the people of the colony should have a permanent representation in the administration, at least, of municipal affairs, based upon the burgher rights of the Fatherland. They claimed an increase in the permanent Council, so that the number should be at least five; and that four out of the twelve men to be elected by the citizens should be assigned places in the Council, who were to take part in judicial as well as civil proceedings. Other important demands were also made. Under the popular pressure, the Director conceded the right that the commonalty might select the four men desired to be associated in the Council, to act in judicial matters; and that, at certain specified times, they should be called upon to advise upon public affairs. It was conceded, also, that the inhabitants might, in future, trade with friendly colonies, upon paying certain imposts to the Company; and, for the purpose of protecting the cattle trade, the New England colonies were to be prohibited from selling cows and goats in the colony. These concessions were carried into execution to a limited extent only, for the Director soon resumed his arbitrary powers, dismissing the twelve men, whose presence he found embarrassing to his absolute rule, and forbidding the calling of any assembly of the people, without his express order, as leading "to dangerous consequences and to the great injury both of the country and of our authority."

During the years 1641 and 1642, many important grants were made both on Manhattan Island and in the vicinity for farming purposes, showing the prosperous condition of the colony and an increasing population. In patents, among the most noteworthy was a grant in August, 1641, of land on Newark Bay (Achter Cul), including the valley of the Hackingsack River. It extended north towards Vriesendael, the plantation of De Vries. The patent was to Myndert Van der Horst, who established a bouwery and a small redoubt on the land granted. Cornelius Melyn, who had been absent in Holland, returned in August, 1641, and although De Vries was in possession of part of the island, and also Kieft, who had a distillery there, Melyn was allowed to establish a plantation on Staten Island near the Narrows; and subsequently received, under directions from the West India Company, a patent, as Patroon, over the whole island, excepting a portion reserved for the plantation of De Vries. Many small plots of ground for residences were also, during the above years, granted below the present Wall street. The plots were generally described as about fifty or one hundred and fifty feet[1] in width.

The long-projected expedition against the Weckquaesgeecks[2] was now, in March, 1642, sent out; it consisted of eighty men under the command of Ensign Van Dyck, an officer of the fort, the Director prudently refraining from heading the forces. The expedition crossed the Harlem River and entered the Westchester region, with orders to punish the savages with fire and sword, but, owing to a mistake in the route and the darkness of the night, the settlement of the Indians was not reached, and the ensign ordered a retreat to New Amsterdam. The savages, however, were intimidated by these martial measures, and offered to surrender the murderer, which was never done. Peace, however, was concluded, and formally signed at the house of Jonas Bronck, the prosperous colonist on the Bronx river. The attempted imposition of a tribute upon the tribes in the vicinity of Manhattan, however, and the fact that the cattle of the settlers were not restrained from trampling upon the crops of the savages were still sources of discontent. A new occurrence served as a spark in bringing this hostile feeling once more into active play.

A Hackingsack Indian, under some small grievance, had deliberately shot a Dutch colonist, who was at work at Van der Horst's plantation, near the Hackingsack and North Rivers. Although the chiefs of the tribe to which the savage belonged offered to come to the fort and make compensation in the shape of blood money, the Director demanded, as the sole reparation, that the murderer should be delivered

1 A Dutch foot was about 93-100 of an English foot. 2 This is sometimes written "Weckquesqueeks."

at the fort. The reply was that he had absconded and taken refuge with the Tankitekes, and that such occurrences only happened through the whites selling liquor to the Indians. The Director immediately made demand on Pacham, Chief of the Tankitekes, for the delivery of the murderer; but a scoffing answer was returned.

A body of the formidable Iroquois had, in the meantime, appeared from their castles in the north, to collect tribute from the Westchester and River tribes, and drove before them a host of terrified Indian fugitives, who took refuge, some on De Vries' plantation at Vriesendael, some among the Hackingsacks on the west side of the river, and others on different parts of Manhattan Island, particularly at the plantation called Corlaer's or Curler's Hoeck, on the East River. The Director, instead of conciliating and protecting these savages who had taken refuge in his territory — a policy which would have commended itself to a man of better judgment — determined to inflict punishment for the murder of Smits and of Van Voorst, the workman at Pavonia, and to make the savages "wipe their chops," as he with characteristic coarseness expressed it, for their tumultuous conduct and refusal to pay the tribute he had imposed. Some of the wiser members of the community, among them De Vries and Domine Bogardus, were urgent in their opposition to hostilities, but three of the former twelve men, Damen, Planck, and Adriaensen, were as urgent in their efforts to begin them, and signed a petition to that effect, apparently in the name of the whole body. Kieft required no persuasion, and remonstrance from the community was of no avail; he accordingly prepared a military expedition, without giving any sufficient warning to the various outlying settlers. "Let this work alone," again urged De Vries; "you want to break the Indians' mouths, but it is our own people you are going to murder; nobody in the country knows anything of it, my people will be murdered again, and everything destroyed." It was determined, however, to send a part of the force to Pavonia, and another to drive away those Indians who, in their distress, had taken refuge at Corlaer's Hoeck. The marching orders for the expedition to Pavonia were as follows: "Sergeant Rodolf is authorized and commanded to take under his command a troop of soldiers and lead them to Pavonia, and drive away and destroy the savages being behind John Evertsens; but to spare, as much as it is possible, their wives and children, and to take the savages prisoners. Done, February 25, 1643."

The expedition which proceeded to the Jersey shore made a murderous midnight attack upon a body of the refugee Tapaens, unsuspicious of any danger from the whites, and relentlessly slaughtered, mostly in their sleep, over eighty men, women, and children, with attendant circumstances of wanton cruelty. The shrieks of the

victims were heard even at the fort. The other expedition attacked the unfortunate cowering refugees at Corlaer's Hoeck, who were surprised in their sleep; and at least forty of them were destroyed—neither women nor infants being spared. These occurrences happened on the nights of the 27th and 28th of February.[1]

There was much exultation at Fort Amsterdam on the return of the two expeditions, with their prisoners and trophies; rewards were conferred on the soldiers and congratulations exchanged for a work in which heroism bore no part. The dark side of the future was concealed; and a Nemesis stood near, who was to smite the land with desolation and blood for deeds as barbarous and unjust as they were impolitic. To add to the enmity of the Indians, now spreading wildly throughout the land, a foray was made, without the Director's authorization, by certain of the inhabitants of New Amersfoort, on Long Island, against the Marechkawiecks, a peaceable tribe, living near the present Brooklyn, several of whom were killed in trying to defend their property.

By these various atrocities all the savages in the neighborhood of New Amsterdam were aroused to bitter enmity, and became united against their common foe. Upwards of eleven tribes were soon in combination for the destruction of the whites, both at New Amsterdam and its vicinity. Settlements were attacked and devastated, cattle and crops were destroyed, houses burned, and the families on the farms were slaughtered without mercy, or carried into captivity; and every plantation in New Netherland was exposed to destruction. The affrighted people fled to the fort for safety, and many abandoned the colony for the Fatherland. Roger Williams, who was in New Amsterdam at the time, taking ship for Europe, was a witness to the desolation and havoc that prevailed. "Before we weighed anchor," he records, "mine eyes saw the flames at their towns, and the flights and hurries of men, women, and children, and the present removal of all that could for Holland." In a short time only three bouweries remained entire on the island Manhattan, and two on Staten Island. De Vries relates that the savages burned his farm, cattle, corn, barn, tobacco house and all the tobacco, and attacked his people, who took refuge in the house, which was made with embrasures, where they defended themselves. They were saved from destruction by a friendly Indian, whom De Vries had formerly protected, and his house and brewery were spared. All the male colonists at Manhattan were now enrolled as soldiers, under pay, and peace was sought to be made with the Long Island Indians, but it was at first scornfully rejected. Later, however (March, 1643), they showed a disposition towards peace, and sent delegates to the fort. They had acted heretofore in hostility,

[1] Brodhead in his "History of New-York" makes this the night of the 25th and 26th of February.

because some of their tribe had been slaughtered at Corlaer's Hoeck, and others at Amersfoort. The courageous De Vries, who always had the goodwill and confidence of the Indians, and one Jacob Olfertsen volunteered to go to one of their settlements to treat with them, although it was a hazardous duty. De Vries and Olfertsen proceeded to a place called Rech-quaakie (Rockaway). After being hospitably entertained and lodged for the night, De Vries and his companion proceeded, at break of day, with the Indians to a neighboring wood, where the council began its session. At the head of the assemblage sat Pennawitz, the chief of the Carnarsees, with sixteen of his principal Sachems; while several hundred sulky warriors stood in a circle, looking with little favor upon the bold delegates who had come from the fort.

KIEFT'S MODE OF PUNISHMENT.[1]

There was, at first, a gloomy silence. Then Pennawitz began a rehearsal of the wrongs the Indians had received at the hands of the Dutch; and, at the end of every charge, laid down, for emphasis and enumeration, a little stick. Finally, De Vries, growing impatient at the number of charges and sticks, which seemed to act as irritants upon the savages, proposed to them that delegates from their number should go to the fort, where they would receive presents and make a peace. The Indians naturally hesitated about going to New Amsterdam and placing themselves in the hands of their enemies; but, finally, in the words of De Vries, "One of the chiefs, who knew me, said, 'We will go on the faith of your word, for the Indians have never found you to be as they have other Swannekens'; finally, twenty of us went, sitting in a canoe or hollow tree, which is their boat; and the edge was not a hand's breadth above the water. Arrived at the fort, William Kieft came and made peace with the Indians and

[1] This is copied from one of Charles Robert Leslie's paintings, made to illustrate the English edition of "Knickerbocker's New-York," issued in 1823. EDITOR.

gave them some presents. He requested them to bring those chiefs to the fort who had lost so many Indians, as he wished also to make peace with them and to give them presents. Then some of them went, and brought the Indians of Ackinsack and Tapaen and the vicinity, and the chiefs came forward, to whom he made presents, but they were not well content with them. They told me that he could have made peace by his presents, so that those days would never again be spoken of; but now it might fall out that the infants upon the small boards would be remembered. They then went away, grumbling at their presents." The terms of the peace were that all injuries mutually received should be considered forgiven, and no further molestation should be made on either side; and the Indians were to give notice of any plots by other savages not represented in the treaty.

But the troubles of the Province with the aborigines had not ceased. There was still rancor against the Dutch, and a lingering, brooding discontent that presaged harm, and kept the Colony in a continual state of alarm. Pacham, the treacherous chief of the Tankitekes, was ceaseless in his efforts to stir up the river tribes to a renewal of hostilities. A few months after the peace, a friendly chief, who came to the fort to warn De Vries, told the latter that he was "very sad," inasmuch as the young men of his tribe wanted to make war against the Dutch. He said, on being asked to influence his tribe to suppress the malcontents — "that it could not be done, as there were so many. Had he, the Governor, paid richly for the murders it would have been forgotten. He himself would do his best to keep them quiet." He evidently met with little success.

The first act of renewed hostilities was committed, in August, 1643, on the part of the Tankiteke and Wappinger tribes, the latter located near the Highlands of the North River; and consisted in an attack, instigated by Pacham, on some boats laden with beaver-skins, descending the river from Fort Orange; in which attack over twelve of the Dutch were killed. Kieft, under the impending crisis, called again upon the community for advice; and eight men were selected to act in conference with him. Among these were Joachim Pietersen Kuyter, Jan Jansen Damen, Thomas Hall and Isaac Allerton, the English tobacco-planters, Cornelius Melyn, the patroon of Staten Island, and Gerrit Wolfertsen. The others refused to act with Damen, and Jan Evertsen Bout was selected to replace him. The decision of the Council and the eight men was that peace was to be maintained with the Long Island Indians; but war was promptly declared against the river tribes. The colonists and the Company's employees were thereupon armed and drilled and, also, English settlers and soldiers under Captain John Underhill, to the number of fifty, who were to receive pay and to take an oath of fealty to the States-

General and to the local government. The selection of Underhill as leader was a wise one; he was an expert Indian fighter, experienced in the wars of the New Englanders against the Pequods, in 1637, and was a man of marked resolution and courage.

The always troublesome Weckquaesgecks now joined the hostile upper tribes, and began their operations by attacking the unsuspecting English settlers who had received grants on the Bronx River and Pelham Bay. Anne Hutchinson and a portion of her family were treacherously killed; the Throgmorton and Cornell plantations were devastated, and many members of those families fell beneath the blows of the savages. Several of the Long Island tribes, also, attacked the settlements at Gravesend and Mespat; the first of which was successfully defended by the English refugees there, Lady Deborah Moody and her associates; but Francis Doughty, the English clergyman, and his people, who were located at Mespat, were driven from their settlement, with loss of life, and their plantation and houses were burned. Other settlements on Long Island were devastated, and the inhabitants fled in terror before the savage invaders. The Nevesincks, located near the Atlantic and Raritan Bay, south of the Raritans, joined in the uprising, and commenced devastations and murderous attacks, while the discontented Hackingsacks, in September, 1643, attacked Van der Horst's colony, at Achter-Cul, and Stoffelsen's plantation at Pavonia. They treacherously approached the latter place, and those left there to defend it, having imprudently laid aside their arms, were slain. As the incursions of the Indians grew bolder, and houses and farms were successively attacked, the affrighted colonists from the outlying plantations took refuge in huts about the crumbling fort. An army of fifteen hundred men out of seven allied hostile tribes, supplied with guns and ammunition, was preparing to attack it, their scouting parties boldly approaching; firing, at times, on the outposts, and killing sentinels. It was time for the citizens of New Amsterdam to arouse themselves, and fight for their lives and property, which were now in greater peril than ever before. Their little army consisted of about fifty or sixty soldiers of the garrison, the English contingent, and about two hundred armed freemen. The New Haven colonists, on being applied to for assistance, refused it, although they proffered provisions, if required.

The wise De Vries (September, 1643), discouraged by his numerous losses, now returned to Holland, by way of Virginia; and he relates that, on leaving, he thus expressed himself to the Director: "I doubt not that vengeance for the innocent blood you have shed in your murderings, sooner or later, will be visited on your head." An urgent appeal was about the same time addressed by the eight men to the Directors of the West India Company and to the States-General, nar-

rating the perilous condition of the Province, and the ruin and desolation with which it was still further threatened. There appearing, however, no signs of assistance from abroad, Dutch courage now rose to the needs of the situation, and showed the settlers to be worthy sons of those who had triumphantly battled with the trained legions of Spain and her Italian mercenaries. The town had been put under severe martial law, and stringent ordinances were promulgated in order to maintain order and discipline. Whoever profaned the name of God at the guard-house, abused a companion on duty, or neglected his turn of service, was to pay a fine; and "whoever discharged his gun without order of the Corporal when reveille is sounded" was to be fined a florin. The town, however, continued in a state of disorder incident to a time of war; and thefts, robberies, and surreptitious killing of cattle became frequent. The Fiscal was brought before the Council and accused of having, in his cups, called the Director a rascal, thief, and drunkard; and was sternly ordered to discharge his duties more carefully, and told that he would be assisted by the Director, Council, and soldiers, and all the negroes under his command. The authorities, moreover, put forth earnest and energetic efforts to crush the uprising, and executed immediate offensive action against their savage foes. Councilor La Montagne and, under him, Joachim Pietersen Kuyter with forty citizens, and English soldiers under Lieutenant Baxter, made an excursion to Staten Island, and brought back to the fort a large quantity of corn, then sadly needed. An expedition was also sent, in January, 1644, against the Connecticut Indians, they having made an attack on the English settlers at Greenwich, who, under the direction of one Captain Patrick, had placed themselves under Dutch protection. The expedition went by water, and after some delay, a detachment surprised and attacked an Indian village, and killed a score of warriors. Another party, under Lieutenant Baxter and Sergeant Cock, marched to the castles of the Weckquaesgecks, in the Westchester region, destroyed two of their castles, fortified a third, ravaged the crops, and after killing many of the savages, returned to Fort Amsterdam, carrying several prisoners with them in triumph.

In November a force of one hundred and twenty men, composed of the regulars under Cock and armed citizens led by Kuyter, under the general command of the indefatigable Montagne, was sent against the Carnarsee Indians on Long Island, who were suspected of treachery, and of meditating hostilities against certain English settlers, who, under Fordham, Ogden, and Lawrence, had been established on the plains and bay at Heemstede under a recent patent. La Montagne and Underhill, which latter commanded the English, in separate detachments, attacked two villages, one at Mespat, and one hundred

and twenty savages were slain; two of the prisoners were afterwards killed at the fort under circumstances of great barbarity. A forced levy on the cargo of a ship from Holland bound for Rensselaerswyck, and having on board guns and ammunition not on its manifest, had supplied the troops with much-needed clothing and military supplies, and enabled the Director to send out his attacking parties.

Captain Underhill and Ensign Van Dyck were now despatched, in midwinter (1644), on an expedition against the Connecticut Indians, and accomplished the most important undertaking of the war. Landing at Greenwich from three yachts, the expedition made a difficult and perilous march through a wilderness, impeded by snow and the rocks over which the men were obliged to crawl, and arriving at night at a stronghold of the savages, boldly charged them, sword in hand. The Indians, gathered in large numbers prepared for attack, offered a desperate resistance, and repeatedly made sallies against the Dutch forces from behind their palisades. Nearly two hundred warriors were killed in the encounter, and their village having been fired by Underhill's orders, upwards of three hundred more of the savages were shot down or driven back into the flames. The next morning the victors marched back over the toilsome route, and passing through Stamford, after a journey of two days and a night in reaching that place, returned to Fort Amsterdam, where they were received with triumphant rejoicing, and the Director issued a proclamation of Thanksgiving for the victory, which, at that critical time, was of great importance to the Colony.

The punishment inflicted upon the Indians by the Dutch settlers and soldiers and their English auxiliaries made a strong impression on the red men; and the time for sowing their crops having arrived, overtures for peace were made by some of the hostile tribes. In the spring of 1644, Mongockonone and Papenaharrow, Sachems of the Weckquaesgecks, and Marmaranck, Chief of the Crotons, came to the fort and entered into terms of peace for their tribes, and chiefs of the Wappingers or Wappinecks, and tribes north of Greenwich and Stamford, came also. It was agreed that Pacham, the troublesome chief of the Tankitekes, should be surrendered. Then the Mattinnecocks on Long Island submitted, and promised that the tribes in their vicinity should be restrained in future from any attacks on the settlers. As parties of the savages still continued their visitation on the island and made occasional forays, even in the vicinity of the fort, a range of palisades was constructed across the island, nearly in a line with the present Wall street, within which the cattle remaining in the settlement were pastured.

The eight men were now again commanded to take counsel upon the condition of affairs, which was yet far from peaceable, as the

savages that were still hostile were committing depredations and threatening attack on outlying settlements. No aid had been received from Holland, and the Colonial Government having no funds to meet the expense of the English soldiers, the Director, in opposition to the protest of the eight men, and to the discontent of the community, in June, 1644, laid an excise duty on liquors and beaver-skins, in order to raise a revenue. The remonstrance against the impost was treated with disdain by Kieft, who remarked, "I have more power here than the Company itself; therefore, I may do and allow, in this country, what I please. I am my own master; for I have my commission not from the Company, but from the States-General." Some assistance finally came to the distressed colony in the summer, in the shape of a body of one hundred and thirty soldiers, who had been driven from the Company's settlement at Brazil, by the Portuguese,[1] and were sent to New Amsterdam by Peter Stuyvesant, the Company's director at Curaçoa. It was thereupon determined that the English auxiliaries should be honorably dismissed from further service, and that the Dutch soldiers should remain, for the present, at New Amsterdam, and be billeted upon the inhabitants, and that the expense of clothing them was to be paid from the excise monies.

Although the eight men, encouraged by the additional force, were of opinion that the war against the remaining hostile savages should be immediately prosecuted with vigor, there was unaccountable delay; owing most probably to dissensions between the Director and the democratic council of eight, who were now in pronounced antagonism. The savages, seeing no further efforts were made against them, became again insolent and aggressive; and parties, roving day and night over the island of Manhattan, practically confined the inhabitants within the palisades and fort; and no expedition was undertaken, except one of slight importance towards the North, in which a few Indians were slain.

The continuance of the troubles at New Amsterdam, which was claimed to be the result of the Director's inability to cope with the situation, or, as some of his enemies spitefully hinted, of connivance with the savages, and his arbitrary action in general, particularly as to the new excise, made such an impression on the community and so influenced the eight men that they, led by Melyn, forwarded in October, 1644, a memorial to the States-General for his recall, and after narrating the Indian massacres, petitioned, at the same time, for a system of government like that appertaining to the municipalities in Holland. Melyn also sent a letter giving his partial version of affairs. The language of the memorial of the eight men presented a gloomy

[1] In 1641 the Portuguese shook off the Spanish yoke, and were able to give attention to their possessions in Brazil; and every effort was made to dispossess the Dutch.

picture of the state of the Province; it recites the former peaceable condition and friendly disposition of the Indians, under the administration of Van Twiller. "These," it proceeds to state, "hath the Director, by various uncalled-for proceedings, from time to time, so estranged from us and so embittered against the Netherlands nation, that we do not believe that anything will bring them and peace back, unless that the Lord God, who bends all men's hearts to his will, propitiate their people; so that the ancient sage hath well observed, any man can create turmoil and set the people one against the other, but to establish harmony again is in the power of God alone." The memorial proceeds to state that a temporary and illusory peace had been patched up, but that the savages were continually aggressive and attacked settlers, "at times, within a thousand feet of the Fort, and that the Company's farms are in danger of being burnt; that nothing has been done recently, even since the arrival of the immigrants and soldiers from Brazil, and that everything is going to ruin." "Honored Lords," they conclude, "this is what we have, in the sorrow of our hearts, complained of; that one man who has been sent out, sworn and instructed by his lords and masters to whom he is responsible, should dispose here of our lives and properties, at his will and pleasure, in a manner so arbitrary that a king dare not legally do the like." They request that a new Governor may be sent out and magistrates appointed, or that they all, with their wives and families, be allowed to return to Holland.

In the mean while, the memorials of August, 1643, which had been sent over both to the States-General and to the directors of the Company, had reached Holland, causing grave concern and leading to earnest discussion of the affairs of the Province. The States-General called the attention of the College of XIX., which had the particular direction of the affairs of New Netherland, to its disturbed condition. The response was that the bankrupt condition of the Company rendered it unable to send any relief, and that "the long-looked-for profits from thence had not come." They asked for a subsidy of a million of guilders in order to place the Colony in a safe and prosperous condition.

Before any action was taken, the recent memorials of Melyn and of the eight men, of October, 1644, arrived and made a strong impression on the directors, and the whole subject was referred to the Amsterdam chamber, for its further investigation and report. The directors of the Company came to the conclusion that the state of the colony was such, and Kieft's incapability so manifest, that either a new director should be sent over, or the colonists be transported to Holland and the Colony abandoned. It was, in the end, determined to recall Kieft, and to appoint, provisionally, Lubbertus

Van Dincklagen in his place. The Chamber of Accounts, to whom the affairs of the Province were referred for a particular investigation, reported, after a long review of the history of the Colony, that its then ruinous condition was due immediately to the unnecessary Indian wars promoted by Kieft, the separation of the colonists, and the imposition of tribute on the Indians; and concluded that, although the Colony, instead of being a source of profit, had caused the Company, from 1626 to 1644 inclusive, a net loss of over five hundred and fifty thousand guilders, the Company could not, decently or consistently, abandon it. The bureau made certain recommendations for the future government of the Province; among other things they opposed the views of Kieft to the effect that a body of soldiers should be sent and the hostile Indians exterminated, but that the opinion of the commonalty should be adopted and the savages appeased. It would also be proper, the report stated, "to order hither the Director and Council, who are responsible for the bloody exploit of the 28th of February, 1643, to justify and vindicate their administration before the noble Assembly of the XIX." It was further recommended that the fort was in such a state that it should be rebuilt of stone.

DUTCH COURTSHIP.[1]

The condition of the Colony of New Netherland, in the spring of 1645, was far from prosperous. Instead of fulfilling the promise of development and increase indicated at the commencement of the administration, the settlement of the island had been retarded, the population had declined, immigration had almost ceased, trade had been suspended, farms had been abandoned, cattle destroyed, and the people were discontented and mutinous. All the evils resulting from five years of war, with an interval of only a few months of peace, had been experienced by the unfortunate Colony. During the last two

[1] From a painting made by Irving's friend, Charles Robert Leslie, to illustrate "Knickerbocker's History of New-York." EDITOR.

years it was estimated that over sixteen hundred Indians had been killed; and not much above one hundred white men remained on the Island of Manhattan. Some had gone to Fort Orange; many had returned to Holland. All the settlements on the west side of the North River had been destroyed — the Westchester region had been abandoned, and devastated plantations testified to the ruin there; and the whole Dutch territory of Long Island bore evidence of the assaults of the ruthless and implacable savages.

But peace was now again to smile upon distracted New Netherland. The Indians were in trouble from the neglect of their annual crops; and a treaty was made, in May, 1645, with some of the neighboring savages of Long Island. On this there was great rejoicing, and at the firing of a salute from three of the dangerous pieces of ordnance at the fort, one of them, a six-pounder, bursting, seriously wounded one of the gunners. Many of the more distant Indians on Long Island soon after came to terms, through the aid of the Mockgonecocks, a friendly tribe. Then the Director, in July, 1645, went with his faithful Councilor, La Montagne, up the river, to Fort Orange; and arrangements for peace were made with the hostile nation of the Mahicans, and other tribes of the neighborhood of the upper river. Peace was also concluded with the tribes in the vicinity of the Island of Manhattan; and as the terms of the pacification were submitted to the public, the joy was great and the approval general. The only man who wanted to continue the war was Hendrick, the tailor, who was a turbulent character and always in opposition.[1] The Council, feeling themselves too weak to cope with the situation, had, in the preceding May, called Captain John De Vries, Ensign Gysbert de Leeuw, and Commissaries Oloff Stevensen and Gysbert Opdyck, as adjuncts to maintain order and promote the peace. To prevent any quarreling with the savages an additional ordinance was passed forbidding all sales of liquor to the Indians under the penalty of a heavy fine. Armed sentries were still posted about the town, and a provost marshal with his guard patrolled the thoroughfares.

On the 25th of August, 1645, Sachems from the various tribes and the magnates of the colony, sitting in the open air within the crumbling walls of the fort, ratified the terms of the general pacification. Among the Sachems present were those of the Hackingsacks and Tapaans, Aepjen, Chief of the Mahicans, delegates for the Weckquaesgecks and Sint Sings, the Kicktawanks, the Wappinecks, the Nayacks, and other river tribes. There, too, were Mohawk ambassadors, with their own interpreter, giving assent for the great Iro-

[1] The records show that in May, 1643, Samuel Chandelaer deposed that he heard Hendrick, the tailor, say, "The Kyvert (meaning the Director) ought to be packed off to Holland in the Peacock, with a letter of recommendation to Master Gerrit (the public executioner), and a pound Flemish, so that he may have a nobleman's death."

quois Confederacy. Among the signers of the treaty were Kieft, La Montagne, Underhill, George Baxter, Francis Doughty, Gysbert Opdyck, Aepjen, Sachem of the Mahicans, by his mark, and also, by their marks, the Sachems Oratary, Auronge, Sespechemis, and Willem of Tapaan. By the terms of the peace, all future aggressions or injuries by the Indians or the Dutch were to be referred to their respective rulers for redress. No armed Indian was, in future, to visit the settlements on the Island; and the Dutch, on their part, were to refrain from visiting the Indian villages without permission, unless conducted by one of the tribe. Among the pleasing features of the treaty was a stipulation for the return of a little captive daughter of Anne Hutchinson, for whom a ransom was to be paid.

A proclamation of thanksgiving for the peace was now issued by the Council. After reciting that "long-desired peace with the savages had been bestowed by the Almighty," the proclamation concludes in these words: "So it has been deemed becoming to proclaim this good tidings throughout New Netherland, to the intention that, in all places where there are any English or Dutch Churches, God Almighty shall be thanked and praised, on the 6th of September next. The words of the text must be appropriate to the occasion, and the Sermon likewise."

The settlers on the outlying plantations of the neighborhood and the farmers on Manhattan Island now began to return to their respective locations and to collect such of their stock or other property as could be found. Another colony of English was begun, under a patent granted to Thomas Farrington, John Townsend, John Lawrence, and others, at what was then called Vlissingen (Flushing); the settlers were to have municipal privileges, freedom of conscience, and their own ecclesiastical rule. The English minister, Doughty, and his associates now also repossessed themselves of their plantation at Mespat; and Lady Moody and her Anabaptist friends received a formal patent of the region which they had planted and valiantly defended at "Gravesend," with power to establish a town government. The Director also, in September, procured for the Company, by grant from the Indians, a large tract on Long Island extending from the "Coneyn Island to Gowanus." The marks of the signature of the red men are arrows, sticks, and beavers.

The directors of the Company in Holland, made fully aware of the unfortunate condition of the Province and the unpopularity of Kieft, had, some time since, determined to make a change in its government. The provisional appointment of Van Dincklagen, as a new Director in place of Kieft, was revoked, and it was resolved to appoint, as his successor, Peter Stuyvesant. The College of the XIX. adopted a code of extensive regulations and instructions for the future adminis-

tration of the Province; among which was the throwing open of the carrying trade between New Netherland and Holland. Owing to disagreements among the Chambers of the West India Company and the intelligence received of peace established, the new Government did not go immediately into effect; and Kieft remained as Director for a year beyond Stuyvesant's appointment, although his unpopularity continued, and his personal hostility to the principal inhabitants was increased by a knowledge of the communications which had been forwarded to the home Government by the eight men and others, as before recited.

In February, 1646, there arrived at New Amsterdam from the Colony at Rensselaerswyck, where he had filled the office of Schout Fiscal, Adrian Van der Donck, who had been educated at Leyden and admitted a doctor of both the civil and canon law. Being a man of consequence, and having assisted the Director in making the peace at Fort Orange, he was granted the patroonship over a large territory on the North River, extending from Spyt-den-Duyvel creek upward, and inland to the Saw-kill valley; and having purchased the region from the Indians, and his patroonship being confirmed by the States-General, the Colony called Colon Donck, or Donck's Colony, was established; and from being generally called the "Jonkheer" land the modern name of Yonkers has been derived. Van der Donck, during the early period of Stuyvesant's administration, published an extended pamphlet which he had compiled, commonly called the "Vertoogh"; being a representation of the condition of New Netherland, and criticizing unfavorably the Kieft administration. This work is a valuable authority to writers on the Kieft period.

New difficulties now occurred on the South River and on the Schuylkill, where the Swedes and other settlers had almost put a stop to the trade of the West India Company by their encroachments and influence over the Indian tribes. Kieft was in no condition to enforce the rights of the Company in that direction, and the Swedes continued their encroachments and openly defied the Dutch officials. The English of New Haven, also, made new purchases from Indians of lands between the Naugatuck and the North River, which Kieft claimed was an encroachment on the Company's possessions to the east of the Hudson. The acts of the New Haven people and of the English at Hartford, who were complaining against the action of the Dutch at Fort Good Hope, were sustained by the Commissioners of the United New England Colonies, who met in council at New Haven, and no redress was obtained. In the course of the negotiations the Director sent to the Commissioners several protests, in Latin, threatening that, at a fit opportunity, satisfaction should be exacted; but the New Englanders disregarded these protests and did not even respond to them except

to make counter charges; and well might they disregard them and contemn the Director's rule, for at that time the United Colonies had upward of five thousand men capable of bearing arms and a population of upward of forty thousand. The Director, under a sense of weakness and discomfiture, remarked that their complaints were similar to those of the "wolf against the lamb."

The States-General, in July, 1646, formally approved of the appointment of Stuyvesant as Director over New Netherland, and he received particular instructions for the conduct of his government. At the same time Lubbertus Van Dincklagen was appointed Vice-Director. The new officials, however, did not leave Holland until the following December; and, after landing in the West Indies and at Curaçoa, arrived at New Amsterdam on the 11th of May, 1647; and the disastrous administration of Director Kieft came to an end.

At this period the town of New Amsterdam was an attractive object from the bay; with the great rivers bounding it, on either side, the waving foliage, and the picturesque hills and vales; while windmills, here and there, gave animation to the peaceful scene. The fort, of course, was the central object of the view, the pride and glory of New Amsterdam, emblem of home authority, local manifestation of that sovereign power, their High Mightinesses the States-General, around whose walls the early memories of the settlers gathered, on whose bastion floated the flag that recalled the brave Fatherland, under whose protecting power the young hamlet had nestled, and spread, and grown; that, still, even with its few and ancient cannon and crumbling earthworks, bade defiance to both civilized and savage foe. The church within the walls of the fort, with its twin roofs and little belfry, stood clearly out against the sky; while, to the east, rose the "Stadt Herberg," conspicuous above the surrounding cottages with their peaked roofs. Along the shore might be seen, perhaps, some Indian lazily paddling his canoe, laden with tobacco and maize, towards the mouth of the *gracht* (at foot of Broad street); while, out in the bay, lies, drying her sails, the Hope, just arrived from Curaçoa, with her cargo of salt, and cattle, and slaves — and, further out, is the Blue-Cock, about hoisting sail for Fatherland — and the jovial rhythm of her crew, weighing anchor, sounds cheerily over the sunlit waters. Of the two great bounding rivers the Hudson was called by Europeans and settlers the "River of the Mountains," the "Mauritius"; also the "Nassau" and the "Great North River." It was variously designated by the Indians as the "Mahican," the "Shatemuc," and the "Cahohatatea."

The houses of the settlement were chiefly of wood, with thatched roofs, some of them covered with sods; the chimneys were mostly of wood. Some of the houses, however, especially those on the planta-

tions, were somewhat superior, and partially constructed of brick or stone.[1] The church, the Company's five warehouses, and the city tavern were substantially built of stone; and we read of a fine mansion contracted to be built for the Director, which was to be partially of stone, and upward of one hundred feet long;[2] his house in the fort was built of brick. Director Kieft did much to improve the town; and during his early administration there was much activity in building and in the laying out of plantations. Most of the houses, for the sake of the shelter afforded, were clustered about the fort or where the two rivers gave protection and easy approach. They were placed, at first, in a straggling manner, some on thoroughfares, and some at random, about the quaint little town. The Bouweries were nearly all located on the two rivers, on the great Kill, or on the bays and lagoons of the East River.

A rough palisade, during this period, was constructed as a defense, near the present Wall street, and the outlying plantations were also generally protected by wooden palings against Indians and wild beasts. At first settlers had located wherever they chose, land being of little value, and the trader population being mainly migratory. In 1642, however, Andreas Hudde was appointed as Surveyor to draw lines and make boundaries; and land, thereafter, when conveyed, was defined by rods and feet, and farm-land outside was conveyed by morgens.[3] Some of the farms were situated in the neighborhood of the fort; Guleyn Vigne cultivated one, near what is now the corner of Pearl and Wall street; and to Jan Jansen Damen was granted a farm, in 1643, extending nearly from river to river north of Wall street. On this he erected a brewery and a stone house, seen in the accompanying illustration. Cornelius Van Tienhoven's farm extended from Broadway to the strand between present Maiden Lane and part of Ann street.

When the Kieft administration began there was no regulation of streets or paving, and no names except those suggested by the nature

[1] This is a contract for a house, made in December, 1646: "Reynier Domenichos undertakes to build at his own expense a house for Cornelius van Tienhoven, 30 feet long, 20 feet wide, with an outlet of 8 feet on one side, a porch in front of 9½ feet height, and a porch in the rear of 12½ feet height, with five ties, one false tie, pillars and posts, as the work requires; the whole roof of the house of strong split spars bound by a ridge board; the wood for the chimney in the forehouse, a door casing with transom, another door casing, window sashes with two lights. When the house is built Tienhoven promises to pay 130 florins."

[2] "Juriaen Hendricksen from Osenbrugge testifies, that he has entered into an agreement with Dir. Kieft, to build for the same a house at the Otterspoor [on the East River], 100 feet long, 50 feet wide, tapering off to a breadth of 20 feet within posts, with passages through it, one 9, the other 10 feet wide; one front room 50 feet by 20 feet, with one partition and a double chimney, all of brick. Juriaen to make also the cellar and a garret, beams of plank necessary thereto, together with the windows and door-frames. Kieft is to pay 600 florins for the work when completed. December 6, 1642."

[3] A morgen is a little more than two English acres. The Dutch rod in use at New Amsterdam contained twelve English feet four and three-quarter inches; there were five to a Dutch chain. Twenty-five such rods long and twenty-four broad made a morgen, which consisted of six hundred square Dutch rods. See note to Moulton's "History of New-York," 2 : 334, quoting Fauconnier's survey book.

of the ground or by natural boundaries. Such roads or lanes as there were resulted from the convenience afforded in reaching certain localities or in avoiding hills or swamps. Some of them were the paths of cattle. The devious nature of the streets below Wall street in the present city is thus easily accounted for. Cornelius Clopper, the blacksmith, resided at the present corner of Maiden Lane and Pearl street; hence the road in front of his shop running through a sort of valley retained, for a long time, the name of Smit's Valey or Smith's Swamp.[1] There was also the road to the ferry along the present Stone street and the Strand or Pearl street, naturally one of importance, extending from the fort to the house of Cornelius Dircksen, the ferryman, at the narrowest part of the East River, at the foot of the present Peck Slip. The road and pasture-ground used by sheep leading to the swampy meadow or *vley* owned by the Company, running south and east from the present Exchange Place, was called the "Schaap Waytie," and possibly was the origin of that street.

THE DAMEN HOUSE.

The main road, called the "Public road," the "Hoogh Weg," or Highway, and afterwards the "Heeren Straat," extended from the fort north, on the line of the present Broadway, to the region of the Park; thence along present Chatham street and the Bowery; and thence, later, along what was subsequently known as the Old Post or Boston road. There was a wagon road from Sapohanican or Greenwich, leading from the shore inland, and probably joining a main wagon road. Adjoining Sapohanican was a long reedy valley.

Broad street was then a marshy piece of ground, through the middle of which a drain was made, partially then developed into that pride of the Dutchman's heart, a canal, afterwards called the "Gracht" or the "Heeren Gracht." This was crossed by a small bridge; and hence, the modern Bridge street. Pearl street was the river "strand," and was continuous from the fort to the ferry. Maiden Lane (t' Maegde-Padtje) was probably in existence as a cow-path, leading from the strand to the great highway. The modern Beaver street was then partially a drain or ditch flowing into the main one, which were then

[1] The Fulton street market was until quite recent times known as the "Fly" market.

both useful in carrying off the water of the above-mentioned Company's meadow or marsh. There were houses and gardens on either side of these drains in Broad and Beaver streets.

To the important highway along present Chatham street a road ran from the East River to the locality of the fresh-water pond at a point called *Kalk-hoeck* (subsequently called the Collect), situated near where is now the prison in Centre street. This pond was connected with the East River by a rivulet called the "Versch Water," or fresh water. A swamp extended for several blocks to the north of the present Laight street (called subsequently Lispenard's swamp or meadow) and joined the *Kalk-hoeck* to the north of that pond. Brooks, ponds, swamps, and marshes characterized other portions of the island of the "Manhattoes." Lofty hills were on the site of parts of present Beekman and Ferry streets, on both sides of Maiden Lane, and on the site of the present Nassau, Cedar, and Liberty streets. A range of sandy hills traversed the region from about the corner of the present Charlton and Varick to the junction of Eighth and Greene streets; north of them ran the brook or rivulet called by the Indians Minetta, and by the Dutch "Bestevaer's Killetje," or Grandfather's Little Creek, which, coming through the marshes of the present Washington Square, emptied into the North River, at the foot of what is now Charlton street. A swamp or marsh also extended over parts of Cherry, James, and Catherine streets; and what was subsequently known as Beekman's swamp covered what is still known as "the Swamp," about Ferry, Cliff, and Frankfort streets.

VIEW OF CANAL IN BROAD STREET.

A dense forest in which deer herded plentifully covered the middle and upper parts of the Island, where a few of the Manhattans lived in almost primitive barbarism. Wolves roamed at large through this wilderness, and committed occasional ravages during the remainder of the century; and bears were not infrequent in their visits to the Island, and afforded rare sport to the settlers, as the annals show.

A bear hunt which took place, as late as 1680, in an orchard between the present populous Cedar street and Maiden Lane, is chronicled by the Rev. Charles Wooley, then one of the chaplains of the fort; and which, he records, gave him "great diversion and sport." "When the bear got to his resting-place," he says, "perched upon a high branch, we *prudently* despatched a youth after him, with a club, to an opposite bough, who knocked his paws. He comes grumbling down, with a thump upon the ground—and so, after him again!" As the sporting domine recounts that he had neither gun nor weapon, but simply "a good cudgel," it is doubtful, according to Riker, the historian, whether the bear was despatched or the adventurous youth.

On the Highway, just above the present Morris street, was the burying-ground of the settlement, where many of the "rude forefathers of the hamlet" still lie, the sturdy pioneers that bore the toil and battle of the earlier time and carved the way for the empire that those of later generations were to inherit. On the west side of the present Broadway, between Fulton and a line between Chambers and Warren streets, and extending to the North River, was the West India Company's farm, afterwards known as the King's farm, and by the Crown ceded to Trinity Church. North of it was the Domine's farm or Bouwery. This was the well-known domain of Anneke Jans, subsequently the wife of Domine Bogardus. It originally had been conveyed by Director Van Twiller to Roeloff Jansen, and was subsequently confirmed to Mrs. Anneke Bogardus, by Stuyvesant, in 1654. North of this was the land of Jan Coles, or old Jan's land, and a swamp where cattle were often almost submerged.

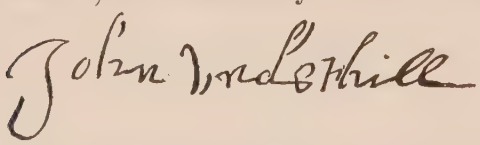
In the year 1642 was erected by the Director for the Company the "Stadt Herberg," or City Tavern.[1] About that time the busy trade that was being carried on between New England and Virginia brought many traders and visitors to New Amsterdam. The coasting vessels often stopped to repair damages after the perils of the Helle-gat, to break the monotony of the long voyage, to learn the state of trade —mayhap solely to escape from the solemn reign of the blue laws, and to partake of the life and jollity of the little Dutch town; to have a bout at ninepins and a glass of Rosa Solis with mine host Gerrit, the miller; or a draft of new ale and game of backgammon at Snedeker's little tap-room by the water-side. Kieft was able to give the many traders and visitors but slight entertainment in the fort, and was tired of playing the host promiscuously; hence arose the City Tavern.

Behind the Herberg was its neat garden, where grew the cabbage, dear to the Dutchman's heart, and many a flower, caught and tamed

1 At the corner of Coenties Lane, facing Coenties Slip, where now are the warehouses Nos. 71 and 73 Pearl street, is the site of the old Stadt Herberg. Part of the foundations on that site are still shown as those of the ancient building, and are supposed to be the only remains of this Dutch period now extant.

from surrounding wilds. Through the garden there was a path and an entrance gate from the ferry road. In front no South or Front street then intervened, but directly to the view shone the bright waters of the river and bay; and the green hills of Breuckelen and the waving foliage on Nooten Island rose in the distance, and bound the rural scene. Of substantial stone or brick was the Herberg, about fifty feet square and three stories high. The row of little windows in the roof, and the gables rising in successive steps, recalled the architecture of Old Amsterdam. A jovial man was Philip Gerritsen, to whom the City Tavern was leased by the Director in 1643, with a right to retail the Company's wine, brandy, and beer. There was a spirited time in March, 1644, when Gerritsen, proud of his position as the city Boniface, and of the merits of his cook, invited some of his customers to a supper at the tavern. There was Dr. Hans Kierstede, from the Strand, then a lively young fellow of thirty-two, and his blooming wife Sara; and Nikolaes Koorn, just appointed "Wacht meester" at Rensselaerswyck, and his substantial *vrouw*, whom he had brought from the Fatherland; and Gysbert Opdyck, with his new wife Catrina, whose cheeks shone rosy through the snow-white skin, and John Jacobsen and his spouse. Things went merrily and bright eyes sparkled; toasts went round and songs were sung — when opens the door, and insolently and unmannerly break in John Underhill, the famous captain of the Pequod wars, and George Baxter, then the English Secretary at New Amsterdam, accompanied by his drummer. With them was Thomas Willett,[1] a New Plymouth captain, also; thereafter, in his staid days, the first mayor of New-York — now a roysterer like the rest.

The English interlopers are far in their cups. With many maudlin bows and scrapes they ask to join the festive party, which is refused them. Then they insist that Gysbert Opdyck shall come out and drink with their party in another room. Opdyck refuses, and tries to get them out. Whereupon we are informed that they drew their swords, and valorously hacked the cans on the tavern shelf and the posts of the doors, and slashed about in a terrible way, frightening the ladies and uttering boastful words. Then other English soldiers came in, friends of the former, and a fight is imminent, for the Dutch blood is warmed. Whereupon mine host sends for the Fiscal and the guard. This functionary, arriving, orders Underhill's party to depart. He refuses, and, with little regard for authority, makes to the Fiscal this severe remark: "If the Director came here, 't is well; I would



1 Willett received a grant of land in New Amsterdam in 1645. He spoke Dutch, and was an active trader, negotiating between the Hollanders and English.

rather speak to a wise man than to a fool." "Then," says one of the Hollanders in his affidavit before the authorities, "in order to prevent further mischief, yea, even bloodshed, we broke up our pleasant party before we intended."

By way of diversion from somewhat dry historical detail, it may not be out of place here, in illustration of the social affairs of the time,

CITY TAVERN,
AFTERWARDS THE STADT HUYS.

to present one of the judicial proceedings that came under the cognizance of the council sitting as a court, during this administration. We possess the record of a capital punishment in 1641. The court proceedings before the Council, urged by the Fiscal, were against Jan, of Fort Orange, Manuel Gerrit, the giant, Anthony Portuguese, Simon Congo, and five others, all negroes belonging to the Company, for killing Jan Premero, another negro. The prisoners having pleaded guilty, and it being rather a costly operation to hang nine able-bodied negroes belonging to the Company, with a proper Dutch thrift, the sentence was, that they were to draw lots to determine "who should be punished with the cord until death, praying the Almighty God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, to direct that the lot may fall on the guiltiest, whereupon," the record reads, "the lot fell, by God's providence, on Manuel Gerrit, the giant, who was accordingly sentenced to be hanged by the neck until dead, as an example to all such malefactors." Four days after the trial, and on the day of the sentence, all New Amsterdam left its accustomed work to gaze on the unwonted spectacle. Various Indians also gathered, wondering, to the scene. The giant negro is brought out by the black hangman and placed on the ladder against the fort, with two strong halters around his neck. After an exhortation from Domine Bogardus, during which the negro

chants barbaric invocations to his favorite Fetich, he is duly turned off the ladder into the air. Under the violent struggles and weight of the giant, however, both halters break. He falls to the ground, and utters piteous cries. Now on his knees, now twisting and groveling in the earth. The women shriek. The men join in his prayers for mercy to the stern Director; but he is no trifler, and the law must have its course. The hangman prepares a stronger rope. Finally, the cry for mercy is so general that the Director relents, and the giant is led off the ground by his swarthy friends, somewhat disturbed in his intellect by this near view of the grim king of terrors.

It is related by a chronicler of the time that, at the early period of Kieft's administration, one-fourth part of the city of New Amsterdam consisted "of grog-shops or of houses where nothing is to be got but tobacco and beer." The Company, also, kept up a lively manufacture and sale of beer from its brewery, near its warehouses.[1] This account does not speak well for the average moral and intellectual condition of the inhabitants, in spite of the exhortations of Domine Bogardus, and of the teachings of Adam Roelantsen, the schoolmaster, who, for two beaver-skins annually paid by each scholar, imparted a modicum of knowledge to the sturdy little people, whose studies were often grievously interrupted by distant whoop or yell, the roll of the drum, or the tramp of armed men, as they marched past to the wars clad in steel corselets or leather jerkins, and armed with their half pikes and wheel-lock muskets. The settlers, at first, with the exception of the Company's employees and of a few who could establish or lease plantations, were people of little means or education, who came seeking to better themselves and escape from the turmoil of European wars; or needy and uncouth adventurers seeking gain, often by illicit trading. When Kieft arrived, the population, as stated in a report to the States-General, had been decreasing; but, in 1639, the number became much increased, owing to the fur trade being thrown open, which was a great inducement to immigration. According to Father Jogues, in 1642–43 the male population of the region in and about New Amsterdam was estimated at four hundred; and he states that eighteen different languages were spoken there. There were a number of English settlers on the island, some free negroes, to whom land was granted, and we read of Peter Cesar the Italian, Dirck the Norman, and Jan the Swede as land-owners. There were also some Danes and French; and Walloons, from the Spanish Netherlands, were settled at the Waelenbogt, or Walloon Bay. The population, however, in 1642, was so insufficient for the defense and advancement

[1] Other liquors also were sold to tapsters by the Company, to be retailed by them, so that they could make a profit of six stivers per can on strong wines and four stivers on brands of French and Spanish wines. A stiver was about two cents.

of the settlement that it was determined, in Council, in October of that year, as follows: "Resolved: That it is necessary to assist people arriving here, for else the land will never amount to anything, while the people remain poor and miserable. The Council hope that our resolution shall meet with approval, considering that the welfare of the country depends on it, while the Company does not suffer any damage, except that for a short time the money laid out bears no interest." The Company could not object to this modest request.

There were many substantial citizens and public-spirited men, however, among the motley population, even at this early period. Among others not previously mentioned were Augustine Herrman, an enterprising merchant and extensive land-holder, who was also a surveyor by profession and a skilful artist, and Jonas Bronck, a Danish Lutheran, who came over with his friend Kuyter. The latter received a grant of land on the Great Kill or Harlem River, which he called Zegendael. Bronck was a man of means and evidently of education. He obtained a large tract of land on the Harlem River opposite Kuyter's farm and running to the river Bronx.[1] He called his plantation Emmaus, erecting on it a stone mansion, a barn, and a tobacco house. He died, or was killed, in 1643, and Kuyter's house was burned during the Indian wars; hence possibly his subsequent hostility to Kieft.

To show that there were both intelligence and wealth at this period among some of the rude forefathers of the city, an inventory of the goods and effects of Feuntje, the widow of Jonas Bronck, may be referred to: it was dated in May, 1643. Among other articles there were about forty books, eleven pictures, five guns, one with silver mounting, and other arms; silver cups, spoons, tankards, and bowls; about thirty pewter plates; agricultural and brewing implements, and bedding and divers clothing, including satin, cloth, and grogram suits and gloves. A stone house covered with tiles, tobacco-house and outhouses, and a large number of horses, cattle, and pigs were also enumerated. Among the books, it may be curious to record the titles

[1] The Indian name of the "Bronx" was "Ah-qua-hung," and its present name is, doubtless, a derivative from "Bronck." Its beauties were celebrated by the poets Halleck and Drake.

of some, showing the serious reading of the day. There were two Bibles, Calvin's "Institutes," Luther's "Psalter," Luther's "Complete Catechism," the "Praise of Christ," the "Four Ends of Death," a volume entitled "Fifty Pictures of Death," and also Biblical stories.

In 1641, in the inventory of Dame Ides Van Voorst, widow of Cornelius Van Voorst and subsequently married to Jacob Stoffelsen, of Ahasimus, we read of gold hoop rings, silver medals and chains, silver spoons, silver brandy-cups and goblets, Spanish leather patterns, a damask furred jacket, linen handkerchiefs with lace, and brass warming-pans. It will be observed that there is no mention of tea-cups or tea-pots. At the end of Kieft's administration the population of the Island was estimated at one thousand.

Traffic with the natives for peltry was the principal business projected by the West India Company through its Colony in New Netherland; and its attention to that trade, of which it had a monopoly, and its efforts to extend it were, for a long time, so absorbing that other interests material to the prosperity of the Colony received but little attention. Trade was carried on with the Indians over a large territory. Even before the charter to the West India Company, the merchant traders had made treaties for traffic with various Indian tribes, and particularly with those comprising the Iroquois or Five Nations. Scouts of the Company subsequently traveled through wild territories; and its boats and shallops traded along the Hudson, about Long Island, Buzzard's Bay, and the Connecticut and Delaware Rivers. They collected the skins brought by the tribes about the northern part of the Hudson and the Connecticut Rivers and sent them down, in small luggers, to Manhattan Island, whence they were exported to Holland. Owing to the more immediate profit accruing from trade and the lesser capital required, there was a temptation to the colonists to engage in it when they subsequently had an opportunity to do so; and agriculture was comparatively neglected. Settlements in the town were consequently not promoted, and were less likely to be permanent—population became scattered—and the main settlement at New Amsterdam was thereby weakened, and less able to withstand attack.

The true basis of a colonial plant to insure permanency in its settlement, steady increase in its population, and a prosperous progress is agriculture. The possession and cultivation of the soil which has been redeemed from the wilderness, enriched by the industry of the inhabitant and endeared by its associations, give to him a sense of enjoyment and a feeling of repose and security that no other ownership or occupation affords. He daily contemplates with satisfaction the field of his enterprise and toil,—a sense of beauty is created by the landscapes presented,—his devotional

feelings are aroused by gratitude towards the Higher Power that has smiled upon his aims, his children grow up about him, with love for their home surroundings, in an atmosphere of simplicity and truth; and their as well as his attachment to their rural abode interests them in the State, and arouses patriotic impulses that tend to develop and maintain a high grade of citizenship.

Commercial adventures and trading speculations, in a new country, it is true, tend to stimulate enterprise and discovery; but the trader, whether successful or otherwise, is apt to be a rover, and is tempted to vary the field of his operations. He forms few attachments, and is careless of the fortunes of the land of his residence. Whatever his possessions they are easily moved or changed; he becomes restless, greedy, and often unscrupulous. The agriculturist, on the contrary, becomes in character calm, moderate, and just; as his possessions are permanent, and his interests are involved with those of the country of his residence, his aim is to assist in the establishment of good government and good laws for his protection, and of a wise policy for the maintenance of peace. Trade was the chief employment in New Netherland; agriculture in New England. The difference in the progress of the respective colonies was great.

The West India Company at first, by its early charter, had a monopoly of trade, and none others were to traffic with or even visit the Colony, without the consent of the Company; consequently, the earlier population of New Amsterdam consisted mostly of the officials and employees of that corporation. Subsequently, the privileges of trade were extended to the patroons and colonists who owned a dwelling, where the Company had no factories. In the year 1638, the directors of the Company thinking, wisely, that existing restrictions were retarding the prosperity and development of the Colony, opened trade to free competition for all people of the United Provinces and their friends and allies of any nation, on payment of certain duties on imports and exports. The carriage of goods or cattle, however, was still confined to the Company's vessels. In 1640 certain commercial privileges of trading were extended to all free colonists, which had theretofore been limited to patroons, and, in 1642, the inhabitants of New Netherland were allowed to trade with all friendly colonies; and, subsequently, private persons were allowed to trade with New Netherland, in their own vessels, and also with the Swedish, English, and French colonies. The authorities at New Amsterdam still claimed a staple right.[1]

Several effects of the opening of trade became manifest. The population of the Colony became immediately much increased, while at the same time it became less centralized. Traders, spreading them-

[1] By virtue of which all vessels passing up or down the river were liable to certain imposts.

selves far into the interior, in their thirst for gain did not hesitate to barter guns and ammunition with the savages. Smuggling too was frequent, and the Company's interests suffered from private competition, especially from its own servants; and an ordinance was consequently promulgated, to the effect that no person should trade without a license nor export without permission; and persons sailing to Fort Orange, the South River, or Fort Good Hope were obliged to furnish themselves with passports.

The effect of this free trading was also apparent in the extended intercourse with the Indians. In the rush for wealth, people separated and had direct dealings with them, it being supposed that fortunes could be thus quickly made. Hence arose a desire to court the natives; frequency and freedom of intercourse caused the latter to look upon the whites with familiarity and some contempt; thus a bitter feeling was created, which soon developed into a hostile one. The Colony of Rensselaerswyck, from its remote and independent position, was of great embarrassment to the colonial government; and probably indirectly prolonged the Indian wars with the Dutch, by selling to the aborigines guns and powder. A gun was sold at the rate of twenty beaver-skins, and a pound of powder for ten or twelve guilders. So great was the profit of this contraband trade that even the merchants in Holland engaged in it, and sent over guns that soon made their way to the Mohawks. So great was the abuse of this traffic that Kieft in 1639, and later, promulgated ordinances forbidding the sale of fire-arms to Indians, under penalty of death.

In 1644 an excise duty was imposed on liquors, and a license fee on brewers and tapsters; a duty of eight in a hundred was also imposed on traders bringing beaver-skins into New Amsterdam, from which place all vessels were cleared. During the latter part of the Indian war, Director Kieft, after consulting the eight men, imposed an extra excise tax on beer and liquors, in order to raise funds wherewith to pay the fighting-men from New England. This was retained after the war, to the great discontent of the community.

The voyage from Holland, at this time, in the little ships of the period occupied about seven or eight weeks. The course was to the Canary Islands; thence to the West India Islands, and so to the mainland of Virginia, passing the Bahamas on the left and the Bermudas on the right. A flag was raised on a little redoubt built at the Narrows, on Staten Island, to announce the arrival of inward bound vessels in the outer Bay. The exports from New Amsterdam to the mother country were of course of limited variety; they consisted, chiefly, of the skins of beaver, mink, deer, otter, lynx, and elk, also those of the panther and the fox. While from Holland came all that was necessary for the use of an infant colony, including French and

Spanish wines and brandy, leather, meat, bacon, malt, nails, lead, butter, linen and woolen stuff, oil, soap, tiles, bricks, iron rods, casks, cordage, candles, salt, spices, tar, and agricultural and domestic implements. To secure a monopoly of certain exportations the manufacture of woolen, linen, or cotton in the Colony was for a long time prohibited; which prohibition continued in force until the amendment of the Charter, in March, 1640.

LONG PIPES AND SHORT PIPES.[1]

The solid warehouses of the Company and of the opulent traders were filled, in prosperous times, with produce and merchandise, and attested the busy trade of the Colony both with the Indians and the outside world. There was a European trade not only with Holland but with Curaçoa, St. Bartholomew, the Canary Islands, Brazil, and with the coasts of France, Spain, and Africa; and, even during Kieft's administration, New Amsterdam became an emporium of commerce for the western hemisphere. A coasting trade was carried on with Virginia and the colonies of New England; and the New England coasters to Virginia passing through the East River usually stopped at New Amsterdam, which was of great profit to the Colony. The articles carried for sale and barter to Virginia consisted of wheat, pork, beer, fish, tobacco, and wine; and also woolen and linen goods. The return cargo consisted almost entirely of tobacco. There was a trade, also, up the Hudson, with the plantations along its banks, Esopus, Fort Orange, Beverswyck, and the Colony at Rensselaerswyck.

Vessels from New Amsterdam also navigated Delaware Bay, and coasted along Long Island; and the larger vessels made voyages to the West Indies, whence came sugar and other produce, not the least of which was Barbados rum. To the West Indies and to the Dutch colonies at Curaçoa and Brazil were sent from New Netherland the various kinds of goods received from Holland, as above mentioned,

[1] This spirited engraving is copied from a drawing made by George Cruikshank to illustrate the Pipe Plot, as described in "Irving's New-York." EDITOR.

and also large quantities of Indian corn, and baked bread and biscuit, dried fish, salt meat, and lumber. Trade received a stimulus, occasionally, when privateers brought Spanish prizes into port, which were condemned by the Director and his Council, sitting as an Admiralty Court. In May, 1643, Captain Blauvelt, commander of the privateer frigate La Garce, brought into New Amsterdam a Spanish bark laden with tobacco, sugar, and ebony from Cuba, and another loaded with wine coming from New Spain. Another Spanish prize laden with sugar and tobacco was captured by the same privateer in the year 1646. Among the partners owning La Garce after she was sold, in 1646, are found many of the prominent names of New Amsterdam, including Kieft, as representing the West India Company.

The main monetary medium circulating in trade at this period continued to be the wampum or seawant. But so debased had this currency become, that in 1641 Kieft issued an ordinance reducing the value of the coarse seawant, and fixing its rate at four beads of the polished for one stiver, and five or six of the rough. The people of New Netherlands procured this seawant by exchanging for it, with the Long Island and lower tribes, their imported knives, hatchets, needles, looking-glasses, cloth and other fabrics, and with it bought furs, skins, corn, and venison from other Indians further inland; and thus the latter were not under the necessity of transporting such goods to New Amsterdam. Seawant was also the circulating medium between all the other colonists of the North American coast. Beaver-skins and Holland guilders and stivers were also used in trade; the first at a fixed valuation.

During the earlier part of Kieft's administration, and before the desolating Indian wars, there was great promise of agricultural prosperity. Laborers came into the Colony from New England and Virginia, as well as from Holland; and also slaves from Brazil, of which the Company had a number, under charge of a salaried overseer. There was always a deficiency of farm laborers, however, and the Indian wars were of serious disturbance to agricultural industry.

In 1640 the new charter for settlers was made, restricting the settlement of lands by patroons, and raising a minor class of landed colonists. The provision was that whoever should convey to New Netherland five grown persons besides himself was to be deemed a master or colonist, and could occupy two hundred acres of land. The West India Company was the owner of six bouweries or plantations on the island, which were generally leased, stocked with cattle, at a fixed rent, payable in guilders and produce. It also had one bouwery at Hoboken-Hacking (Hoboken), which in 1639 was leased to Henry Van Vorst, the Company giving him four thousand bricks to build a chimney. It had another farm at Pavonia. It is stated

that, in the early part of Kieft's administration, there were thirty bouweries under cultivation in and about the island of Manhattan.

Clearings on a new settlement were made by the trees being cut and burned in the fields. Corn was ground and boards were sawn by horse or windmills, of which latter the Indians were greatly afraid, and, as one chronicler states, "they durst not come near their long arms and big teeth biting the corn to pieces." There was a large saw-mill on Nooten Island, where oak and pine trees were shaped into planks. Cattle were brought over from Holland, and there were some of English breed. By ordinance of 1641 an annual fair for cattle was directed to be held in October, and one for hogs in November. The latter were plentiful, and sheep and goats were numerous, also geese, and above all, ducks — humble reminders of the Fatherland. The woods afforded abundance of wild turkeys, quail, and venison; and the surrounding waters supplied oysters, the "twaelft" or striped bass, the "elft" or shad, sturgeon, and salmon, and the water-terrapin, which Van der Donck states in his narrative to be a "luscious food."

A great deal of the arable land on the island of Manhattan was devoted to the raising of tobacco, which on account of certain defects of its curing was, in 1638, ordered to be carefully inspected by the Government authorities before export. Much of the tobacco used and exported came from Virginia plantations; but the rich virgin soil of Manhattan Island, on which no fertilizer was required in those days, produced a crop not much inferior. There were several tobacco plantations on the island and its environs. In 1639 George Holmes and Thomas Hall had in partnership, as we saw, an extensive one at Deutel (Turtle) Bay on the East River, near the foot of the present Forty-sixth street. Hall subsequently leased Wouter Van Twiller's tobacco plantation at Sapohanican. Alberto, the Italian, had one leased from Peter Cesar, on Long Island; Jonas Bronck also raised a crop on his farm on the Great Kill (Harlem River). Isaac Allerton, an Englishman, who came over in the Mayflower, also had a large tobacco-house on the shore of the East River, near the present Maiden Lane. Maize, peas, and beans were extensively raised, both for consumption and export. The apple, cherry, and peach trees, and vines, which had been imported, flourished, as well as melons, strawberries, and garden produce such as cabbages and various other vegetables.

The building where religious meetings were at first conducted under Director Kieft continued to be the barn-like structure near the fort, on what would now be the northern side of Pearl street near Whitehall. In 1642, the accommodation afforded by this edifice being found quite insufficient for the wants of the community, a stone church was

begun within the inclosure of the fort. The mode in which the necessary funds were raised for the erection of this, for the time, rather expensive building is humorously described by a cotemporary as being accomplished at the marriage of Sara, a daughter of Mrs. Everardus Bogardus, with Surgeon Hans Kiersteede. The Director thought, wisely, that the hilarity incident to such an occasion would stimulate the generosity of the wedding guests; and, "after the fourth or fifth round of drinking," he "started the subscription with a large sum of guilders, and the rest with a light head followed his example and subscribed richly." "Some of them," writes De Vries, "well repented it, but nothing availed to excuse." We are told, however, that the sober second thoughts of many of the subscribers did not induce them to cash their subscriptions, but that the Company was obliged subsequently to pay the workmen.

THE GOVERNOR'S HOUSE AND CHURCH.

The church for a long time remained unfinished, and it was charged against the Director that he applied some of the funds to military uses during the Indian war; which was not improbable, as fighting, in those days, was more relied on than praying. The inscription placed by the Director on this church, as translated, was: "Anno Domini 1642; W. Kieft, Director General, hath caused this Temple to be built for the Congregation."[1] This stone was afterwards placed in the belfry of the Reformed Church, in Garden street (Exchange Place), and was destroyed by fire in 1835.

The officiating clergyman under the administration of Director Kieft was the above-named Domine Everardus Bogardus, one of the most remarkable men of the Dutch period. The Domine had come to the Colony with Van Twiller in 1633, and his controversies with that Director have been before referred to. He was a man of strong will, and fearless against all opposition. As he had been the pronounced public enemy of Van Twiller, so he denounced Kieft with all the energy of his determined and vigorous character. Kieft and Bogardus were, in fact, in continuous opposition; and so violent were the Domine's fulminations against the Director from the pulpit, that the latter, for many months, refused to enter the church, and discouraged his officials from so doing. To drown the Domine's vociferations, the Director allowed noisy games to be played outside and drums to

[1] "Ao. Do. MDCXLII. W. Kieft Dr. Gr. Heeft de Gemeente desen Tempel doen Bouwen."

be beaten during the church sessions; and even caused cannon to be fired, in order to distract attention from the Domine's discourses, which often tended to stir up the people to insubordination and mutiny against Kieft, whom Bogardus charged with murders, covetousness, and gross excesses.

The outraged Director finally lost all patience with his uncompromising antagonist, and summoned him to appear and answer before the Council for his misconduct. The following was a part of the arraignment, which is a curious document, as illustrating the spirit of the time: "You have no less indulged in scattering abuse, during our administration. Scarcely a person in the entire land have you spared; not even your own wife and your sister; particularly when you were in good company and tipsy. Still mixing up your human passion with the chain of truth, you associated with the greatest criminals of the country, taking their part and defending them. You refused to obey the order to administer the sacrament of the Lord, and did not dare to partake of it yourself. And, in order not to plead ignorance, a few out of many instances shall be cited for you."

Then follows a long arraignment, in which the Domine is accused of being intoxicated and slandering the Director; of countenancing Maryn Adriaensen after his attempt to assassinate the Director; of being under the influence of liquor on two occasions in his pulpit; of abusing the Director unjustly from the pulpit; of abusing and libeling the Director, Fiscal, and Secretary when intoxicated, and of refusing to thank God for the peace on the day set apart for thanksgiving. The document concludes with charging that his language against the Director, from the pulpit, was so outrageous that the latter had to refrain from church, and he denounced the Domine's sermons as "the rattling of old wives' stories drawn out from a distaff." "And inasmuch as all this conduct tends to stir up mutiny and the general ruin of the land" the Domine is summoned to make answer.

To all of which Bogardus made defiant response and challenged the right of the Director to judge him, and he was, therefore, a second time summoned. The charges were finally offered to be submitted to the arbitration of four worthy citizens; but the Domine seemed recalcitrant, and the matter is supposed to have died out. Corroborative records seem to show that neither Kieft nor the Domine was very far wrong in his estimate of the other. The latter, although apparently an independent, conscientious preacher, seems to have been rather coarse and quarrelsome as an individual, and was, doubtless, too much addicted to drinking. He is chronicled as being in continual litigation, and seemed to delight particularly in slander suits, of which several are related. Soon after his arrival he was smitten by the charms and pecuniary attractions of the widow of Roeloff Jansen

then the possessor of a fine farm on the North River, and since long and favorably known to New-York antiquarians and litigants as "Anneke Jans." The Domine led to the altar, in or about the year 1639, that historical personage. He had an antagonist in Lubbertus Van Dincklagen, who, in 1636, preferred charges against him before the Classis at Amsterdam, where he was defended, singularly enough, by protest in his favor on the part of Director Kieft, in 1638. The directors of the Company, in instructing Stuyvesant on his assuming the government, write, "We were sorry to learn of the great disorders which your Honor has found there, principally caused by Domine Bogardus." Take him all in all, he seems to have been rather a turbulent character. His tragic end will be subsequently related.

Although, under directions from the Company, given in 1640, no other religion "save that then taught and exercised by authority in the Reformed Church in the United Provinces" was to be publicly sanctioned in New Netherland, thus constituting the creed of the Synod of Dort the established religion of the Colony, one of the most pleasing features of the Kieft administration was the toleration extended to those of other religious persuasions. While, under the insanity of sectarianism,[1] the arm of the civil government in New England was employed in support of the denunciations of the Puritan Church, the Island of Manhattan was a refuge for all the persecuted and oppressed for conscience' sake, who fled thither from the New England colonies. And yet the New Englanders had experienced, themselves, all the rigors of religious persecution. When the pedant James became king he illustrated some of its principles in this wise, when speaking of his Puritan subjects: "I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of the land; or else worse, I will only hang them, that's all." Many of the New England Anabaptists and other denizens of Massachusetts and Connecticut at this period came to New Amsterdam. They were granted patents of land, and were allowed free exercise and preaching of their religious opinions. So many, indeed, came that there was a policy contemplated by the Massachusetts authorities of forbidding such emigration. It was

ANNEKE JANS'S FARM.

[1] The following recently discovered letter, if authentic, will serve to illustrate the fact that this expression of the text is none too strong. EDITOR.

"September 15, 1682.

"To Ye Aged and Beloved, Mr. John Higginson: There be now at sea a ship called Welcome, which has on board 100 or more of the heretics and malignants called Quakers with W. Penn, who is the chief scamp, at the head of them. The General Court has accordingly given secret orders to Master Malachi Huscott, of the brig Porpoise, to way lay the said Welcome slyly as near the Cape of Cod as may be, and make captive the said Penn and his ungodly crew, so that the Lord may be glorified and not mocked on the soil of this new country with the heathen worship of these people. Much spoil can be made by selling the whole lot to Barbadoes, where slaves fetch good prices in rum and sugar, and we shall not only do the Lord great service by punishing the wicked, but we shall make great good, for His minister and people.

"Yours in ye bowels of Christ,

"COTTON MATHER."

encouraged, however, by Director Kieft, who saw in it additional strength for his colony, and the only condition imposed was an oath to the government,[1] Among the religious exiles that profited by this politic liberality was Anne Hutchinson, a woman of gentle breeding and rare mental powers. This remarkable woman had arrived at the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1634, from which she was exiled after a sojourn of four years. She at first went to Rhode Island, whence, her husband having died, and fearful of further persecution, she came in 1642 to New Amsterdam, and was allowed, with her family, to settle at what is now called Pelham Neck, near New Rochelle, and which for a long time thereafter was known as "Annie's Hoeck." Her sad end has been related on a previous page.

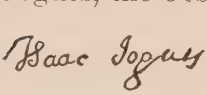
Roger Williams, also, came for a short time to New Amsterdam. His ideas "on the sanctity of conscience" were too independent for the conformists of Massachusetts, and he had been banished therefrom in 1635. He took refuge among the Narragansetts, and laid the foundations of Providence, desiring, he said, "that it might be a shelter for persons distressed for conscience." Rev. Francis Doughty, a refugee from Massachusetts, was also welcomed by Director Kieft, and advances were made to him in goods and money. In 1642 a grant was made to him and his associates of a large tract at Mespat (now Newtown), Long Island, with a right of limited jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters and, as the grant states, "with power to erect a church and to exercise the Reformed Christian religion which they profess." When his place at Mespat was burned by the Indians, Doughty came to New Amsterdam, and officiated as clergyman to the English inhabitants. After the Indian war his land at Mespat, except his bouwery, was confiscated, at the instance of some of his associates, who considered that he had ignored their co-proprietary rights. He, thereafter, settled at Flushing, and was so open in his animadversions upon the Director, that Captain John Underhill ordered his church doors to be shut. Finally, he removed to the Virginia settlement, leaving behind his daughter, who was married to Adriaen Van der Donck. Director Kieft, also, in July, 1643, gave a deed for a tract on the East River to John Throgmorton and thirty-five families, Anabaptist refugees from Salem. The grant was of land embracing part of the present town of Westchester. Throgmorton had, at first, gone to Rhode Island, but preferred a settlement without any sectarian supervision. The patent gave license to the settlers "that they were to reside on their tract in peace, and were to be

[1] The oath was as follows: "You swear to be true and faithful to their High Mightinesses the States-General, his Highness the Prince of Orange, and the Director and Council of New Netherland, to follow where the said Director or a member of the Council leads, immediately to give information of everything tending to the disadvantage of this land, to assist and protect the inhabitants of this country with your property and person against all public enemies."

favored with the free exercise of their religion." So delighted were the exiles with their new home and the peaceful exercise of their faith, that their settlement was called Vredeland, or the land of peace. Part of this land was subsequently known as Throgmorton's Neck. These settlers suffered during the Indian war, when Mrs. Hutchinson was murdered; their houses and cattle were destroyed, and eighteen of them were killed.

Another refugee to New Amsterdam from the ecclesiastical discipline of New England was John Underhill, who came in 1643, taking service with the Dutch, and, as has been above related, rendering valuable aid to New Amsterdam at the most critical time of Kieft's Indian wars. Underhill had been a man of note in Massachusetts, and, as captain of musketeers, had performed valiant service there in the Indian wars and expeditions. But although a valuable man to that Colony he was rather too independent and outspoken to please the Puritan fathers. He was also unusually gay and fond of good cheer; and his somewhat irregular life led him into much trouble. He had been disfranchised by the Massachusetts Colony for protesting against the condemnation of Wheelwright, a brother of Anne Hutchinson, as unjust and iniquitous, and for stoutly maintaining the right of free speech: he was consequently removed from his offices, and his arms were taken from him. He afterwards, after living in exile at Dover, returned to Boston, made profession of his sins, and was relieved from banishment. But, finding no employment at Boston, and probably not liking the dullness of Puritanic life and the restrictions to which he was subjected, and having married a Dutch woman and speaking that language, he took service under Kieft, and became prosperous in the Dutch Colony although something of a roysterer. In 1646 we find that he was rewarded for his various services to the Colony by a patent for a small island in the East River.

The authorities of New Amsterdam also extended welcome to Father Jogues, the Jesuit; who, after suffering terrible torture and mutilation at the hands of the Iroquois, was ransomed at Rensselaerswyck from the Mohawks, and in 1643 came to New Amsterdam, where he was kindly received by Director Kieft, who gave him money and clothes and a free passage to France. He subsequently renewed his heroic efforts to christianize the Iroquois, and was murdered by the Mohawks in 1646. Father Jogues, in describing New Amsterdam, says that although Calvinism was the prescribed creed there were also in the colony Catholics, English Puritans, Lutherans, and Anabaptists. The Quakers were yet to come, fleeing from the scaffold and the scourge prescribed for their reformation in New England. Father Bressani, another Jesuit, was also welcomed to New Amsterdam, after



being ransomed by Kieft from the Iroquois. The Director's circular, in 1644, for Bressani's safe conduct has come down to us, and is an interesting document. "We, William Kieft, Director-General, and the Council of New Netherland, to all those who shall see these presents, greeting: Francis Joseph Bressani, of the Society of Jesus, for some time a prisoner among the Iroquois savages, commonly called Maquaas, and daily persecuted by these men, was when about to be burned snatched out of their hands and ransomed by us, for a large sum, after considerable difficulty. As he now proceeds with our permission to Holland, thence to return to France, Christian charity requires that he be humanely treated by those into whose hands he may happen to fall. Wherefore, we request all Governors, Viceroys, or their lieutenants and captains, that they would afford him their favor in going and returning; promising to do the same on like occasion. Dated in Fort Amsterdam in New Netherland this 20th September, Anno Salutis 1644, stylo novo."

One of the most notable characters of the Kieft period was Lady Deborah Moody,[1] a refugee from the sectarianism both of England and New England. Lady Moody was in close sympathy with those who battled for constitutional and natural rights; and drank in, from her family associations, those principles of religious freedom that were trampled on in her native land, and which caused her to flee from it. The condition of the English subject then being that of slavery to the Crown and Prelacy, and the Lady Moody being a particular object of animadversion to the inquisitorial Court of the Star Chamber, she resolved to abandon her native land, and decided to settle in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. To this Colony a strong tide of immigration was flowing of those who sought it as a place of repose and religious peace. Lady Moody left England prior to the year 1640, and was warmly welcomed by Pilgrim and Puritan. She at first settled at Saugus (now Lynn), and became a member of the Congregational Church at Salem. The General Court made to her an extensive grant of land, and she purchased, stocked, and cultivated a large farm at Swampscott. Hardly had she become comfortably settled in her new possessions, when she had personal experience that she was not to enjoy that religious freedom which had been the inducement of her exile. In three years after joining the church at Salem, she was admonished by that church for denying the propriety of infant baptism, and was, subsequently, formally excommunicated for denying that the baptism of infants was of divine ordinance. Again harassed, mortified by her arraignment and presentation before the

[1] She was the widow of Sir Henry Moody, of Wiltshire, who was one of the Baronets created by James I. Her family was connected with that of Cromwell, and her cousin, Sir William Dunch, was a member of Parliament during the troublous times of Charles I. and of Cromwell, and was a strenuous advocate of the rights of the subject.

General Court, still seeking a haven for repose and freedom of religious expression, Lady Moody, for a second time, became an exile (in the summer of 1643), reluctantly abandoning the country of her adoption, with a number of her friends. They were warmly welcomed at New Amsterdam, although there was some little murmuring as to the possible effect of the reception of so large a number of sectaries in the Dutch settlement. We are led also to infer that there was some dissatisfaction or disappointment on her part, from a request that she made for a return to the New England Colony, of which mention is made in a letter written by Deputy-Governor John Endicott to Governor Winthrop in 1644.[1]

Matters, however, seem to have been amicably arranged with the New Amsterdam authorities, for Lady Moody and her friends were allowed to settle in the same year (1643) upon a large tract of land on Long Island, at that portion of the island known as the town of Gravesend, for which a patent was subsequently given. This place was situated on the southwesterly coast of Long Island, within a few miles of New Amsterdam, the name being given to it by Governor Kieft, after the Dutch village of 's Gravesande, not far from the river Maas. Lady Moody, being a person of substance, no doubt had as comfortable a residence built for her as could be erected at that time. It was evidently a large, substantial structure, for it was used as a citadel when the town was attacked by Indians; and, three several times, did the spirited lady and her friends repulse them.

The settlers at Gravesend seem to have been generally affected with anabaptist views, and to have had no settled church. In an account of the state of the churches in New Netherland, given in 1657, by Dominues Megapolensis and Drisius, addressed to the Classis of Amsterdam, they speak of the inhabitants of Gravesend as being Mennonists — "yea," the account states, "they, for the most part, reject infant baptism, the Sabbath, the office of preacher, and the teachers of God's word; saying that through these have come all sorts of contention into the world. Whenever they meet together, the one or the other reads something for them."

Shortly after the arrival of the new Director, Stuyvesant, Kuyter and Melyn formulated charges against the ex-Director, and demanded that the late members of his Council and others should be examined as to his conduct and policy during his administration of the govern-

[1] In the postscript of this letter are the following words: "Sir, since I wrot my Lettre, Mr. Norrice came to mee, to tell mee, that hee heard that the Lady Moody hath written to you to give her advice for her returne. I shall desire that shee may not have advice to returne to this Jurisdiccion, vnless shee will acknowledge her ewill in opposing the Churches, and leave her opinions behinde her, ffor shee is a dangerous woeman. My brother Ludlow writt to mee, that, by meanes of a booke she sent to Mrs. Eaton, shee questions her owne baptisme it is verei doubtefull whither shee will be reclaymed, shee is so farre ingaged. The Lord rebuke Satan, the Aduersarie of our Soules!"

ment, with the view of forwarding the testimony to Holland, in support of their charges. But the result of the trial that ensued was that sentence was pronounced against the accusers for daring to attack one in authority over them. Melyn was condemned to be banished for seven years, to pay a fine of three hundred guilders, and to forfeit all benefits to be derived from the Company; while Kuyter was condemned to three years' banishment, and to pay a fine of one hundred and fifty guilders. Following Kieft's precedent, all right of appeal was contemptuously denied by the new Director.

On the 16th of August, 1647, ex-Director Kieft, now triumphant over his enemies, and with a fair amount of guilders accumulated during his term of office, much of it from his private still on Staten Island, with the prospect of passing the remainder of his days amid the peaceful scenes of the Fatherland, far from the contentions of a querulous people and the anxieties and responsibilities of government, set sail from New Amsterdam in the ship Princess. His old antagonist, Domine Bogardus, who was returning to explain his version of late public affairs, and to set himself right before the Classis at Amsterdam, was a fellow-passenger. On board, too, was Van der Huygens, the late Fiscal of New Amsterdam. Kuyter and Melyn were also on the ship, sent over under restraint, to stand a trial at Amsterdam, and to make good their charges against Kieft, if they were able so to do.

The while, around the globe's four quarters, I did steer,
I, on the open helmet, bore a silver sphere.

ARMS OF DE VRIES.

The Princess, not taking the usual route of vessels sailing to Holland, and mistaking her reckoning, was navigated into the Bristol Channel, and off the perilous coast of Wales struck upon a rock and soon went to pieces. With impending death before him, Kieft turned to his adversaries, Melyn and Kuyter, and extending his hand said: "Friends, I have been unjust towards you; can you forgive me?" These are his last recorded words.

Soon came the final catastrophe: Kieft, Bogardus, Van der Huygens, a son of Melyn, and eighty others miserably perished. Kuyter escaped by clinging to a part of the wreck that was washed ashore, to

which was lashed a small cannon. The thousands of spectators who crowded the shore took off the almost expiring man, and, it is recorded, planted the cannon there as a memorial of the wonderful escape. Melyn also reached the shore, floating to a sand-bank from which he was soon rescued. By dragging in the shoals a small box of Kuyter's valuable papers was recovered, and by their aid he procured the revocation of the unjust sentence against himself and fellow-sufferer, and complete restoration to their rights, privileges, and property. When news of the tragic event reached New England there was no expression of sympathy or regret from the stern religionists there. Even the wise and godly Winthrop remarked in the Puritan cant of the day "that the shipwreck was considered in New England an observable hand of God against the Dutch at New Netherland, and a special mark of the Lord's favor to his poor people here and displeasure towards such as have opposed and injured them." The authorities in Holland, under the conflicting charges and opinions sent to them in the above matters, had, on a communication sent in August, 1648, to the new Director, ascribed the condition of the people at New Amsterdam, whom they represent as "very wild and loose in their morals," to the "weakness of the late Director and the neglect of his duties by the preacher." Such was the obituary on Director Kieft and Domine Bogardus by their superiors.

Few proconsuls had a more arduous task in the administration of the government of a province than had Director Kieft. The Roman official had legions at command to sustain his power and to repel attack; and in case of disaster the whole empire was at hand for his support. Kieft, in a far distant province, with a handful of soldiers crowded in a dilapidated fort and a few citizens turbulent and unreliable, surrounded on all sides by savages ever on the alert for rapine and murder, receiving little support from the home government, and having a large territory to defend and two civilized races to contend with, passed the eight years of his administration amid turmoil and dissension within, and such hostile attack from without as to keep the province in continuous peril. The New England colonies were always in a state of antagonism and threatening war. As a specimen of the unfriendly spirit that prevailed, Connecticut sent a request to Cromwell asking him to exterminate the Dutch settlement. The Swedes and independent settlers on the South and Schuylkill rivers were constantly making encroachments and threatening the Company's occupancy there, while pretenders under patents and independent settlers, knowing the weakness of the government, kept it disturbed and agitated. What wonder that mistakes were made, that policy failed, that misfortunes came, and that Kieft's rule brought no prosperity to the land?

The radical trouble with his administration was that he was under a divided rule—a political governor, with allegiance to the States-General, and a commercial Director, as the representative of a great company of traders. The States-General was too busily occupied in establishing its independence and watching the balance of European power to give supervision to the affairs of a province of small political importance—while the Company, looking upon its colony merely as a medium of commercial gain, drew all the profit it could gather from it, disregarded its true interests, and gave it only occasional and grudging support. The neglect of the Company in promoting the agricultural interests of the colony, its inhibition of manufactures, and the little attention given to promote immigration displayed a narrow policy. Legitimate trade, too, was kept down for several years by restrictions in favor of the Company's monopoly. Through this, the population was constituted, in the main, of the Company's employees, and afterward of roving traders who sought to gather gold, and then to leave a country where there was little promise for the future, and no proper protection for property or life. The evil of neglecting agriculture in favor of traffic began to appear under Kieft; and in its various reports and directions, particularly one issued in January, 1648, the Company strongly expresses itself to the effect that the directors ought to give more attention to population and agriculture; and in an application sent by the commonalty to the States-General, in 1649, reference is made, even then, to the multiplicity of traders, the scarcity of barns and farm servants, and the small number of denizens. The system of patroonships, also, added no strength or prosperity to the colony. By the charter of 1629, patroonships were to be bestowed alone on directors of the Company. Through this system the interests of the Company and of the patroons were divided, and they were of little mutual support, indeed rather the contrary. The patroons were often absentees, and they were more interested in the success of their own colonies than in the prosperity and stability of the province.

Towards the Indians Kieft's dealings were characterized by a rigid regard for their possessory rights; no title was deemed vested and no right was absolutely claimed until satisfaction was made to the native owner. Historians of the period have been almost universal in their condemnation of him for the various contests and wars engaged in with the Indians, and have put on him all responsibility for the revolts. But this is an ex post facto criticism, which, with a false judgment, condemns a man for the results of his actions rather than for the actions themselves. Indeed, without the energy displayed by the Director towards the aborigines, the colony would probably have been annihilated. Besides, in Kieft's day the spirit of the age favored and often required arbitrary action, and that spirit impressed on rulers

should be a factor in the criticism and interpretation of their conduct. In the middle of the seventeenth century, man was still bloodthirsty, natural rights were little respected, religion was intolerant, tyranny made the laws, and civilization herself, not yet humane, enforced her progress by the sword. As regards the particular charges of rash, imprudent and inhuman conduct on the part of Kieft much may be urged in extenuation. On reviewing the preceding pages of this chapter it will be seen that every act of hostility against the Indians originated in some unprovoked onslaught or murder by the latter. Punishment in the then condition of the colony was necessary, and had to be severe to be effective. No military expedition was undertaken from the fort until after consultation with prominent members of the community and their assent obtained, and the Director, at times, was even criticized for want of energy in attack. The indiscriminate slaughter perpetrated at times by the leaders of expeditions was, as the records show, not in consequence of any orders given by the Director, but of the action of men fighting for their lives and property, and urged by their apprehensions to intimidate if not exterminate pestilential foes, who themselves, as a general rule, spared neither women nor children. Indeed, in case of the slaughter at Pavonia, we find the orders for attack distinctly contained a provision "to spare, as much as it is possible, their wives and children, and to take the savages prisoners." In the orders given to the expedition sent out to drive away certain English intruders from Dutch possessions on western Long Island, in 1640, the orders were, "Above all things take care that no blood be shed." The Director's toleration towards sectarianism, in an age of intolerance, and his humanity towards refugees are also commendable features of his administration. Imprudence, rashness, arbitrary action, want of political sagacity may be imputed to Director Kieft, but not excessive inhumanity, nor want of effort, nor unfaithfulness to his employers or to his province. He has been generally condemned, but without sufficient consideration of the trials which he experienced, the anxiety to which he was subject, and the perplexities incident to a government over discontented, ignorant and mutinous subjects, and to the continued apprehension of outside attack. Left mostly to his own resources, and receiving no sympathy and little aid, his motives the subject of attack from both tavern and pulpit, and twice the object of attempted assassination, his rule as a whole, though disastrous, was not dishonorable. It was not deficient in energy, nor was it entirely inglorious; it was certainly dramatic.

CHAPTER VII

PETER STUYVESANT, THE LAST OF THE DUTCH DIRECTORS
1647–1664

WE cannot judge Peter Stuyvesant from the enlightened standpoint of to-day, when through the evolution of political, social, and religious ideas the conditions of life are so different from those of the middle of the seventeenth century. To-day a man like this great Dutch governor of early New-York would be decried as a tyrant, as obstinate, and as well deserving the soubriquet of "Stiff-necked Peter," bestowed upon him by an early chronicler. He was, however, nothing more than what the Roman poet calls his hero Romulus in the familiar ode, "a just man of determined intentions"[1]; and this, it is hoped, the reader of the present chapter, who does not expect to read a homily on Stuyvesant's infallibility or an essay against his perversity, will find to be the true estimate of his character.

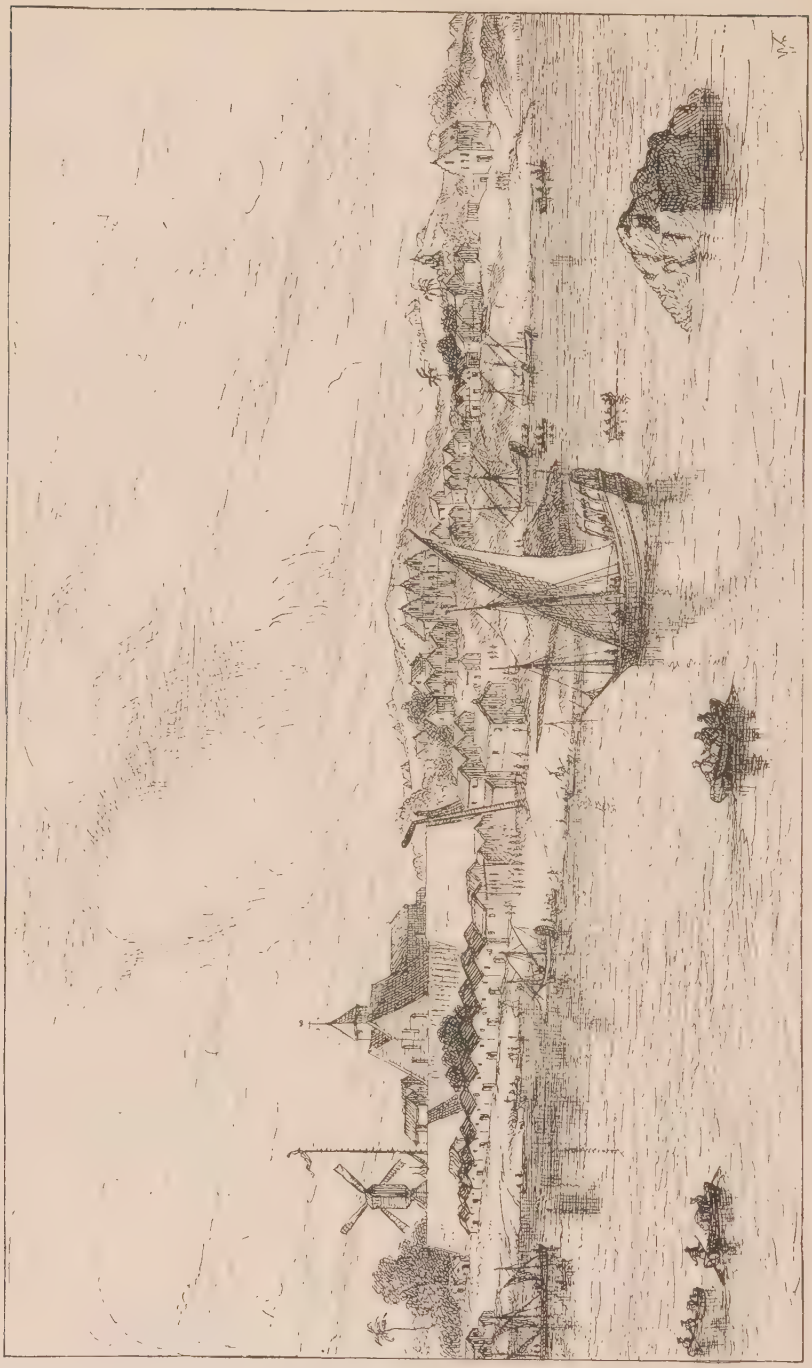
Political complications, which had assumed a warlike aspect at home and in the colony on the Hudson, led the directors of the West India Company to select as the successor of Kieft a man of military experience. They found such in their late Governor of the Island of Curaçoa, who had been obliged to return home for surgical treatment and final amputation of a part of his right leg, badly shattered in an attack on the Portuguese Island of St. Martin in 1644. Little is known of the early life of the fourth Director-General of New Netherland. He was the son of a clergyman, the Rev. Balthazar Stuyvesant, or Stuyfsant,[2] who was settled at Berlikum in the province of Friesland for many years. As he did not arrive there until 1622, this can give us no clue to his son Peter's birthplace.[3] The latter was born in the

1 Justum ac tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida neque auster.
(Horace III. 3.)

2 The name is derived from *stuiven*, to stir or raise a dust, and *sand*, being the same in both Dutch and English. EDITOR.

3 The lace dress in which he was baptized is still preserved, and has been used for that purpose by his lineal descendants for nearly three centuries. Stuyvesant's seal of solid silver, represented on another page, is also still in the possession of his family. EDITOR.

The fine steel portrait of Peter Stuyvesant, the puissant potentate of New Netherland, facing this page, is copied from a seventeenth century picture, the property of Mr. Van Rensselaer Stuyvesant, and is at present included in the collections of the New-York Historical Society. It was probably painted in Holland, but not by Van Dyck to whom it has incorrectly been attributed. It is obviously not the work of that master, or any other great portrait painter. EDITOR.



This view of New Amsterdam, by Augustine Herrman, is found engraved upon no less than five different maps of New Netherland, including the celebrated N. J. Visscher Map, and that of Van der Donck, which appears on another page. Montanus' "Nieuwe Wereld" contains a reproduction of it with a slightly different foreground. This print is deemed the best of all as a work of art. Montanus makes it the basis of his description of New Amsterdam. Not only this representation, but also the one on p. 155, is attributed to Augustine Herrman, although Mr. Brodhead thinks that only the one reproduced on this page owes its origin to him.

EDITOR.

year 1592, and at an early age he displayed a desire for a military career. After receiving a college education he entered the army. At the time of appointment to his important office, Stuyvesant had reached the mature age of fifty-five years. In the same ship with him arrived

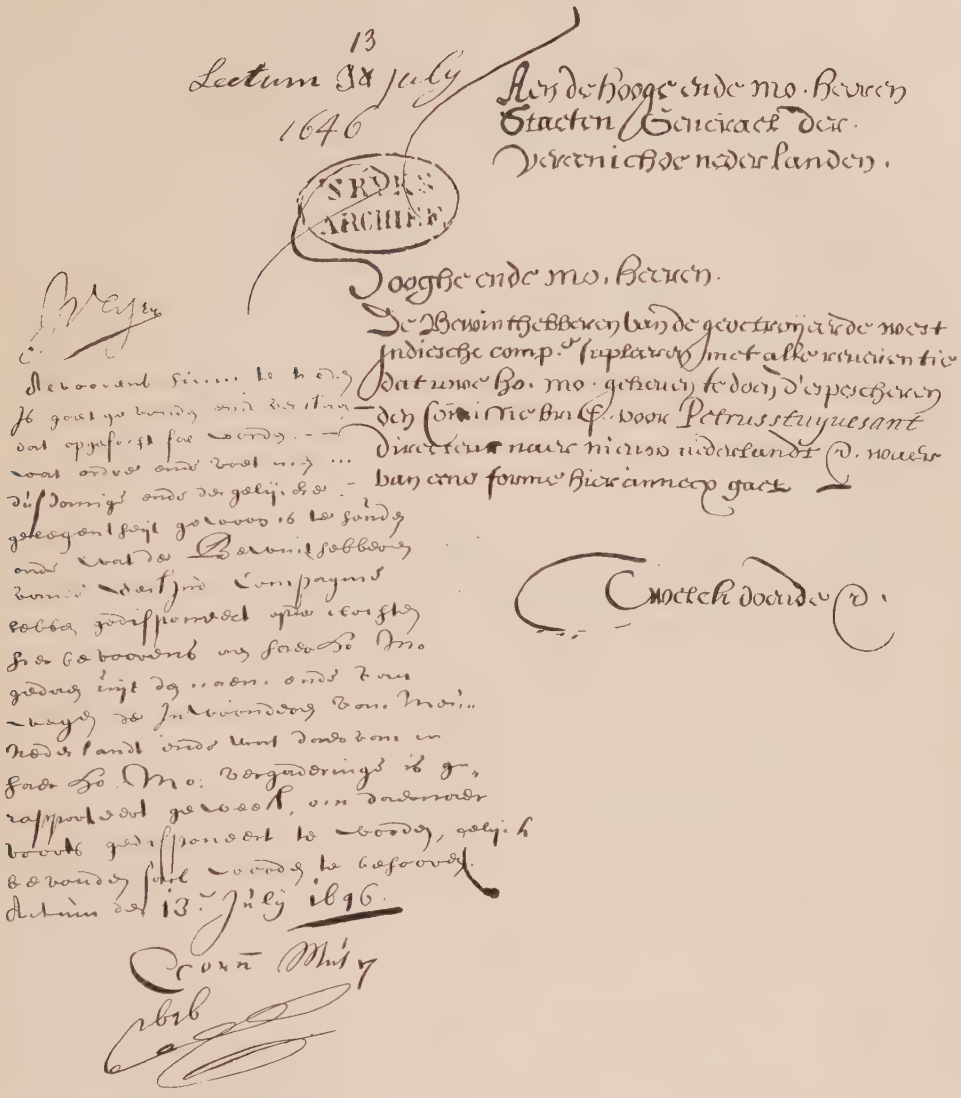
also his sister, the widow of Samuel Bayard, whose sister, Judith Bayard, was the Director's wife. Three sons, Peter, Balthazar, and Nicholas Bayard, accompanied this lady, who afterwards became prominent in colonial history, and were the progenitors of the Bayard family of America. The writer of this chapter has seen in the house of one of Stuyvesant's descendants a fire-screen embroidered with a coat of arms and the name of Stuyvesant, eques (knight), but the armorial bearings differ from those used by the Governor's family. His commission from the States-General, dated the 28th of July, 1646, and the instructions given previously (July 7, 1645), charged him "to attend carefully to the advancement, promotion, and preservation of friendship, alliances, trade, and commerce; to direct all matters relating to traffic and war; to establish regularity for the security of the places and forts in New Netherland and the West Indian Islands in his government; to administer law and justice in civil and in criminal cases; to pacify the Indians," and "first of all to establish the colonists and freemen on the Island of Manhatans and grant them as much land as they shall be able to cultivate." As in the discharge of his duties he was expected to be absent in the West Indies at some time or the other, and as it had been considered necessary to establish a court in New Netherland, a Vice-Director, Dr. Lubbertus van Dincklage, and a Fiscal, Hendrick Van Dyck, were joined to him as Council, the latter to have a seat but no vote at the Council-board. His military career, which had fallen into the period of the Thirty Years' War in Europe, had made Stuyvesant a stickler for discipline and prompt obedience to his orders, but it had not improved his temper, or, in other words, it had made him very quick-tempered. He gave the first proof of this failing before he had set foot on the soil of Manhattan Island, and the Fiscal had to bear the brunt of it. The little fleet of four ships[1] with which Stuyvesant proceeded to his new field of duty, by way of the West Indies, had captured a Spanish prize, and the Council met to discuss the question of how to dispose of it. Among them came Fiscal Van Dyck, whose appearance enraged Stuyvesant so that he pushed him away from the Council-table, saying, "Get away; you have no business here. When I want you, I 'll call." Upon arrival at the Island of Manhattan, May 27, 1647, he was received by the population with great rejoicing, which he answered with the promise to govern them as a father governs his children. A rather ominous promise! for in many fathers the sense of what they consider duty overpowers the natural love for the children, and the result is a government by the rod.

1 Stuyvesant, with his family and the Bayards, embarked on the Princess, accompanied by the Great Gerrit, the Zwol, and the Raet. In the same ship was William Beekman, a native of Statselt, in the province of Overyssel, the progenitor of the New-York family of that name. During the long and boisterous voyage no less than sixteen men were lost overboard. EDITOR.

As we have before us a man of an essentially military education, we need scarcely wonder that soon after arriving at his quarters in Fort Amsterdam he turned his attention to the means which he possibly might be called upon to use for the defense of the interests placed in his charge. The directors of the Company, ignorant of the conditions of life in the new country, had recommended that the ramparts should be made of earth, covered with sods. Previous experiences had taught how cattle, horses, pigs, and goats, attracted by the grass on the walls of the fort, would graze upon these walls and look over into the fort. Therefore, Stuyvesant and his Council decided, August 26, 1647, to have stone walls. But the funds available for this work were not quite sufficient; however, as the whole village would be benefited by such a place of refuge in case of attack, why should not the inhabitants contribute to the expenses? The people were still in a state of opposition to the Company, the result of Kieft's administration, and unwilling to furnish that aid which the Director-General needed. Necessity pointed out a way, probably most repugnant to a man of Stuyvesant's autocratic ideas, but upon urgent recommendations of the Council, he finally consented to granting a kind of representative government to the people. From a sick-bed[1] he wrote to these representatives consisting of Nine Men, delegated by the communities of Manhattan, Breuckelen, Amersfoort, and Pavonia, November 14, 1647:[2] "The first thing necessary to lay before you for the advantage and to the least burden of our dear subjects, the good community, is the repair of Fort Amsterdam, to be a defense against enemies coming from the outside, and a refuge for the persons and property of our people. Some preparations for it ought to be made in due time, and as, by my instructions from the States-General and the directors of the West India Company, I am ordered to call on the community for help in such an honorable and needed work, I have deemed it necessary to communicate with and call on you as the representatives of the community for advice, to raise the means and do it at the least expense and burden to you." But even this step did not produce among the people, who should have been most interested in such a work intended for their own safety and protection, enough good will to give the required aid. Four years later, November 15, 1651, Stuyvesant again writes to the Nine Men: "We have several times informed you collectively and singly of the instructions and orders, given to us by the High Mighty Lords States-General, and the Lords Directors, concerning the repairs of Fort Amsterdam. Although this matter has vainly been laid before your predecessors in office

[1] "The illness began with a cold and in many cases was accompanied by a light fever. Such as bled or used cooling drinks generally died; such as made use of cordials and more strengthening, comfortable things mostly recovered."—Winthrop, "History of New England," 2: 310. Evidently our modern grip.

[2] New-York Colonial MSS., 4: 350.



REQUEST FOR THE ISSUE OF A COMMISSION FOR STUYVESANT.[1]

several times, and their assistance has been asked, I have notwithstanding, with the few negroes and other servants of the Company, done, during the last summers (1650 and 1651), as much as possible, and would have made such progress that the fort would now be inclosed all round and be in a good effective condition, if the service of the

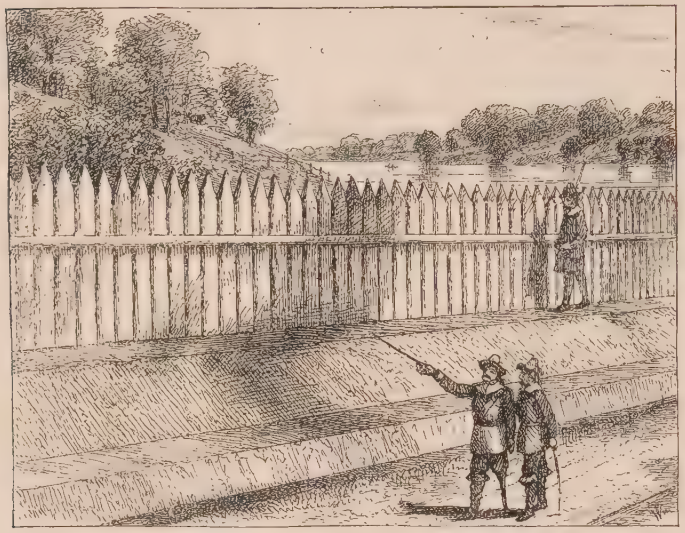
[1] To the High and Mighty Lords States-General of the United Netherlands.

High and Mighty Lords: The Directors of the Chartered West India Company beg with all reverence that your High Mightinesses be pleased to cause to be issued the commission of Petrus Stuyvesant, Director of New Netherland, a form whereof is hereunto annexed.

Which doing, etc.

Endorsed on side to the effect that the memorial of the West India Company was referred and approved July 13, 1646.

Company and of the country in general had not called me and other servants of the Company to the South River, and kept us most of last summer in laying out and building there a new fort, for maintaining the Company's rights and our boundaries. We see, however, to our regret, that our orders have not been executed in the mean time, and that the not yet completed works have been destroyed by horses, cows, and pigs, which to our disgrace may still be daily seen pasturing there. We have time and again informed you thereof and of the trouble and displeasure caused to us by finding that our new work is ruined and trodden under foot by the community's animals and our troublesome and zealous labors rendered fruitless. It is true, the negligence and connivance of the Fiscal is principally the cause thereof, as he has not maintained nor executed our orders published two or three times. We shall therefore be compelled either to leave the fort in the condition in which we found it, to the bad reputation and disadvantage of this place, and to stop our work, or to maintain and execute our repeatedly published orders — that is, horses, cows, and hogs henceforth found on the walls of the fort will be impounded and confiscated for the benefit of the Company, for else it is impossible to complete the work. Before we take such harsh measures we have thought it best to give due notice of it to your body, that you may warn the people."[1]



THE PALISADES ALONG WALL STREET.

The breaking out of active hostilities between the United Provinces and England made the question of repairing the fort and fortifying the whole city a decidedly urgent one. At a conference, held by Director and Council with the magistrates of the lately incorporated city, March 13, 1653, it was resolved that, as the fort could not shelter all the inhabitants nor protect their houses, it was best to put a stockade around the larger part of the dwellings and to make a small parapet or embankment, behind which the inhabitants could gather

[1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 5 : 19.

for the defense of their persons and property. The magistrates, after one day's deliberation, gave their consent to this resolution, having decided that the work would cost from four to six thousand florins ($1600 to $2400), which were to be collected by tax from the community,[1] when the defenses were completed. In the mean time the wealthier portion of the citizens loaned 5050 florins. Whatever was then done, in 1653, was either not completed or the walls were again trodden down by cattle roaming at will through the streets. The ordinances of July 11, 1654, and November 5, 1655,[2] indicate that the latter was the reason for the despatch by the Company of stonemasons to work on the walls, and for Stuyvesant's saying in August, 1658[3]: "It is necessary to continue building the walls of the fort."

A consideration of how to increase the revenues of the Company had something to do with the fortification of the City of New Amsterdam against an attack from the water side, the land side having been inclosed by palisades along the south side of the present Wall street in 1653.[4] The water-front on North and East Rivers was open and easily accessible for any one coming in boats, either for an hostile attack or for smuggling purposes. Stuyvesant suggested that this unprofitable way of importing and exporting dutiable goods could only be stopped by setting up a double row of palisades along the water, with two or three gates that could be closed at night. The Council accordingly resolved,[5] May 25, 1658, to have it done for the benefit of the treasury and as "a defense against evil-minded neighbors." The magistrates of the city were also convinced of the necessity of such a sea-wall, and promised to pay one-third of the expenses of the work, which was to be done by the lowest bidder for the contract, "as then it could best be ascertained how much it would cost."[6]

The possibility of a war with either the English neighbors or the Indians seems always to have acted as a stimulus on Stuyvesant's mind. He had learned the truth of the saying "Si vis pacem, para bellum," and his first step towards such preparation was the appointment of a "Capitaine des Armes," or an ordnance officer, at a salary of 16 florins ($6.40) a month, whose duty it was to keep the guns, muskets, and ammunition in good order.[7] The military forces of the Company stationed in New Netherland were at no time adequate for the defense of the city alone against an invader. Apparently much reliance was placed on the inhabitants, who, it was hoped, would do their best in repelling an invader. Thus we find in New Amsterdam a "Burgherwacht," or Citizens' trainband, whom Stuyvesant at an early date endeavored to bring into a proper state of discipline. In May, 1648,[8]

1 N. Y. Col. MSS., 5: 106, 109.
2 "Laws of New Netherland," pp. 170, 201.
3 N. Y. Col. MSS., 8: 947.
4 "New Amsterdam Records," 1: March 15, 1653.
5 N. Y. Col. MSS., 8: 879.
6 Ib., p. 947. 7 Ib., p. 338. 8 Ib., p. 385.

the officers of this corps complained against the Director-General's order, that they should always report armed with muskets, for they had not enough for their men. They were told that it was their business to supply themselves with arms, and that they must do so within two or three months, but as an emergency might arise in the mean time in which they would need muskets, the ordnance officer of the fort would distribute what they required, on condition that the citizen-soldiers kept the arms clean and in good order and returned them when called for. The corps was also provided with a guard-house. It was divided into two companies, of the blue and of the orange flag. In case of a vacancy among the officers, the rank and file nominated two candidates, of whom the Director and Council appointed one.[1] The Regulars, to use a modern name, or the soldiers of the Company, stood under the command of the Director and of subaltern officers, appointed either by him or by the Company. Their quarters in Fort Amsterdam were so limited that when, in 1658, a number of recruits came from Holland with families, they could not find room in the fort. They were consequently allowed to hire quarters in the city at the rate of ten stivers (20 cents) a week, which Stuyvesant promised to pay monthly either direct to the landlord or through the soldier.[2] A soldier's pay was ten florins ($4.00) a month, and on entering the service he had to pay for his musket thirteen and one-half florins; if he was married and wished to take his family to his transatlantic field of duty, he was also charged with their passage-money.

The military duties of the soldier in New Amsterdam consisted mostly of guarding the gates of the fort and of the city, of patrolling at night, and of cutting wood, to keep his quarters and the guard-house warm during the winter. The records tell us that in Stuyvesant's time they had to cut wood beyond the limits of the city; also, that on one occasion, when the supply had suddenly given out or they had been too lazy to chop the wood for the farmers to bring in, they cut down palisades along the strand, and as punishment were ordered to prepare double the number to replace the stockades cut down.[3] The military code[4] of Stuyvesant's day gives to the modern soldier a curious insight into the life and habits of his comrade of the seventeenth century. It requires that when the drums beat for parade every man must come with his musket loaded; he must not come drunk, nor is he allowed to become intoxicated while on duty. He is not to leave his place in the ranks or the guard-house when on duty there, without leave or order. To prevent a wanton waste of ammunition, the muskets are to be discharged only once a week, and then, that no one may be injured, outside of the fort on the water-side.

[1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 8 : 928. [2] Ib., p. 768. [3] Ib., 12 : 17. [4] Laws of N. N., p. 252.

Every evening an inspection of the cartridge-boxes is held, and the man who has not six to eight full charges is fined twelve stivers (24 cents), of which one-third goes to the officer or citizen who makes the complaint, the balance being for the benefit of the Company. The guard had to drill every morning, but apparently had no sentry duty to perform during the day. The insufficiency of the Company's military force became painfully evident when Director-General Stuyvesant was ordered by the home authorities to retake from the Swedes the possessions on the Delaware River. "The drum was daily beaten in the streets of New Amsterdam for volunteers," and a proclamation was issued inviting "any lovers of the prosperity and security of the province of New Netherland who were inclined to volunteer or to serve for reasonable pay to come forward; whosoever should lose a limb or be maimed was assured of a decent compensation." The expeditionary force numbered, when it sailed from New Amsterdam, between six and seven hundred men—that is to say, probably the largest part of the male population of New Amsterdam able to bear arms. The city was practically left defenseless, and had to pay the penalty of this oversight on the part of Stuyvesant, whose mistrust the quiet behavior of the surrounding Indians during the preceding years had lulled into sleep.

STUYVESANT'S BOUWERY HOUSE.

Ten years had passed, during which there had been peace with the Indians around Manhattan Island. No one feared an invasion by the natives, even though one or the other settler might, by ill-treatment, have given reason for reprisal. At last even Indian patience gave way. Van Dyck, the late Fiscal, had wantonly killed a squaw whom he had found gathering peaches in his orchard. This roused all the neighboring tribes, and they united to avenge her death. A letter from the members of the Council, who had been left behind by Stuyvesant, to the Director, then at the South River, tells what occurred.[1] "In the morning hours of the 15th inst. (September, 1655), many armed savages came, Maquasas (Mohawks), Mahicanders (Mohikans), Pachamis, savages from the upper and lower North River.

[1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 18: 12

With intolerable impudence they forcibly entered the farmers' houses and offered great insult to Mr. Allerton, whereupon as much order as possible was formed to secure the fort. A parley was held with the chiefs, who gave many and great good words. They went to their people on the strand, who towards evening wounded Hendrick Van Dyck, standing at his garden-gate, in the side with an arrow, but not mortally, and came very near cleaving Paulus Leendertsen's [Van der Grift] head with a tomahawk, as he stood by his wife. It was then thought advisable to go again to the Indian chiefs on the strand and ask why they had not withdrawn to Nutten Island,[1] as promised. When our people came to the river, the savages rushed upon them and killed Jan de Visser, whereupon we opened fire and drove the enemies into their canoes, of which there were sixty-four. They paddled away along the river bank, and when off land, they shot from their canoes, killing Cornelis Van Dov [?] and wounding others. Presently we saw the house on Harboken in flames, then the whole of Pavonia[2] was immediately on fire, and now everything there is in ashes and everybody killed, except the family of Michael Hansen. On this island they burned everything. Nine hundred savages are encamped at the end of this island or thereabouts, having joined the others. . . . God has delivered us from a general massacre last night, the savages being too hasty and relying too much on their superior numbers. . . . Sir, you will please to take this letter into consideration and reflect whether you and the forces under your command might not be more needed here than to subdue the places yonder; it seems to us better to protect one's own house than to gain a new one at a distance and lose the old property. . . . Madame, your wife, with her whole family and all those in whom you and she are concerned, are well. As the citizens are unwilling to guard other people's houses far from the Manhatans, we have, with her advice, hired ten Frenchmen to protect your bouwery. We 'll keep as good watch as possible, but expect your speedy return, for to lie in the fort night and day with the citizens has its difficulties, as they cannot be commanded like soldiers."

The Indians, elated by their success on Manhattan Island, and thirsting for still more blood, crossed over to Staten Island, where they killed and took prisoners twenty-three of the population of ninety. This storm of Indian warfare raged for three days, during which one hundred of the Dutch were killed, one hundred and fifty were taken prisoners, and over three hundred lost all their property in buildings, clothing, and food. The city and neighborhood had not recovered from the panic and terror of the invasion, when Stuyvesant returned. His energy and zeal, coupled with his military arrangements, did much

[1] Now Governor's Island. [2] Jersey City.

to bring the people back to their equanimity. Soldiers were sent to guard the outlying farms; passengers on the ships, ready to sail, had to give up their intended voyages, to join the troops "until it should please God to change the aspect of affairs"; funds were raised to strengthen the city walls by a plank curtain impossible to scale, and negotiations with the Indians, whose fury was now spent, were begun to ransom the prisoners. We know of only forty-two who were returned in consequence of these negotiations. The question of rescuing the rest of them was anxiously discussed in the Council chamber. One member, Cornelius Van Tienhoven, was in favor of war, but Stuyvesant, though not as long acquainted with Indians as Van Tienhoven, knew them better, and said: "The recent war is to be attributed to the rashness of a few hot-headed individuals. It becomes us to reform ourselves, to abstain from all wrong, and to guard against a recurrence of the late unhappy affair by building blockhouses wherever they are needed, and not permitting any armed Indians to come into any of our settlements." New Amsterdam and the surrounding country on Long Island, Westchester, New Jersey, and Staten Island were not again troubled by Indians swinging the tomahawk and war-club or filling the air with swift-flying arrows and hideous war-whoops. Stuyvesant's military and diplomatic expeditions to the Esopus district, now Ulster County, did not affect

VAN CORLAER GOING TO THE WARS.[1]

1 The above illustration of Anthony Van Corlaer taking leave of the ladies before setting off for the wars is from a painting executed by Charles Robert Leslie for Knickerbocker's New-York, in which work appears the following account of the origin of the name of Spuyten Duyvel: "It was a dark and stormy night when the good Anthony arrived at the Creek (sagely denominated Haerlem River). . . . The wind was high, the elements were in an uproar. Bethinking himself of the urgency of his errand, [he] took a hearty embrace of his stone bottle, swore most valorously that he would swim across in spite of the devil! (Spyt den Duyvel), and daringly plunged into the stream. Luckless Anthony! Scarce had he buffeted half-way over, when he was observed to struggle violently, as if battling with the spirit of the waters. Instinctively he put his trumpet to his mouth, and, giving a vehement blast, sank forever to the bottom!" EDITOR.

the city of New Amsterdam, except in respect to furnishing the soldiers to protect the settlers and punish the Indians of that region. But the Indian surprise of September, 1655, gave Stuyvesant a new chance to urge the completion of the city fortifications. A joint conference at the City Hall on the 20th of September authorized him to issue an ordinance, October 11, 1655,[1] again directing that palisades should be set up around the whole city, the expenses for which work were to be paid by a voluntary loan, if voluntary can be called a contribution which the magistrates were, by the same ordinance, authorized to levy by distress; while a few months later another burden was laid upon the inhabitants, not only of New Amsterdam, but also upon the whole province. This came in the shape of an excise on meat. Whoever desired to slaughter for his own use or for sale had to obtain a permit, paying for it at the rate of one stiver (2 cents) on the guilder of the animal's true value.[2] This tax was to be applied for the maintenance and protection of the place where it was raised, by enlisting soldiers or buying ammunition.

All endeavors of Stuyvesant to have on hand the means for an effective defense of the city and fort, if attacked, proved futile. When, in August, 1664, the fleet under Nicolls, sent by the Duke of York, appeared in the harbor of New Amsterdam, the city was still open along the banks of both rivers; on the northern or land side its protection was a hastily erected fence, composed of "old and rotten palisades, in front of which was thrown up a small breastwork, about three to three and a half feet high and barely two feet wide." The fort was in no better shape to stand an attack. It was again surrounded by an earth wall from eight to ten feet high, three to four feet thick, upon which were mounted twenty-four pieces of artillery. No ditch or fossé protected the approaches, but hills to the north and west, looking down the Heerewegh, now Broadway, commanded the interior of Fort New Amsterdam at pistol-shot distance, and from them it was possible "to see the soles of the men walking in the square or on the corners of the battlements."

The West India Company had its first conception not so much in a purely commercial enterprise as in the hope of gaining dividends by the capture of Spanish silver fleets, and thus it assumed a political character, which it retained as long as its ships could make war against the national enemy, before whose very doors they had made the settlement on the Hudson for that purpose. Within a month after Stuyvesant's arrival the two men-of-war, then stationed at New Amsterdam, were ordered to "go to sea and cruise against our enemies, the Spaniards and their allies."[3] The crew of one of these "yachts" had appropriated for their own use some pieces-of-eight and pearls,

[1] Laws of N. N., p. 196. [2] Ib., p. 208. [3] N. Y. Col. MSS., 4 : 298.

found in the prize Nostra Senora Rosario, a Spanish bark, captured in the Caribbee Islands. As this was considered by the law to be piracy, the Fiscal demanded their punishment; the Court, however, considering the few sailors in port and the necessity of sending this ship to Curaçoa for a cargo of salt, pardoned the criminals with forfeiture of their prize-money.[1] The occupation of these two men-of-war, the yachts Liefde (Love) and Kath (Cat), was not always a warlike one; they acted also in the capacity of our modern revenue cutters to prevent smuggling. The orders given to the Liefde, June 19, 1648, show how the smuggling was carried on.[2] She was to take station behind the Sandpoint (Sandy Hook) in the bay, to meet ships coming from Holland, and not to allow shore-boats to communicate with them before they had reported themselves at the fort.[3] The Treaty of Westphalia stopped the expeditions against Spanish silver fleets, and Stuyvesant had to remember that he had been sent out not only as the representative of the West India Company, for the purpose of defending their American colonies against enemies, of giving them law and justice, but also as their commercial agent to look after the trade to and from the world beyond the seas and with the interior.

Of the trade regulations under former governors of the province but little is known. Stuyvesant had therefore no precedents to follow. He began his career as commercial authority by an ordinance against trading in the Minquas country, between the lower Delaware and Susquehanna Rivers, June 18, 1647, and in a few weeks made the first of his many mistakes in this direction, which was promptly countermanded by his superiors in Amsterdam, who knew more about trade than a bluff soldier who so far had issued only military orders. The occasion of the rebuff was an ordinance of July 4, 1647, to regulate the fur trade. Furs were to be marked by an official commissioned for that purpose, who also had to record the duties to which furs to be exported were liable. The objectionable feature, however, was that, thinking he could prevent smuggling, Stuyvesant directed at the same time that merchants must allow their books to be examined by himself or members of the Council, when called upon. Upon the receipt of this law the directors wrote, January 27, 1649:[4] "We observe that you have undertaken to visit the stores of some merchants, intending to discover smuggling by the examination of their books. This, we think, is of grave consequence and contrary to the course of free trade, which provisionally this Department has granted

1 N. Y. Col. MSS., p. 39.

2 Ib., p. 389.

3 Having made several voyages across the Atlantic in warships, Stuyvesant had learned that for the sake of good service it was necessary to flatter Jack Tar's stomach, and he issued an order, June 6, 1647, fixing the sailors' rations, which may appear scanty to-day, but were evidently satisfactory in the days of New Amsterdam. They consisted of pottage, served daily at the proper hours, and for the week of 3½ lbs. of bread, 1 lb. of dried fish, 2½ lbs. of bacon and meat, 1½ quartern of vinegar.

4 N. Y. Col. MSS., 11:14.

to all traders, because we are as yet unable to retain the trade to ourselves, but must be satisfied with the duties."

Apparently Stuyvesant did not consider this disapproval as a direct veto of his ordinance, but pursued the course which he considered as prescribed by his instructions — namely, not to allow any contravention of the Company's charter by traders — and also as most beneficial for the Company's treasury. The directors have to recur to the matter a year later, February 16, 1650:[1] "What we shall say respecting Edicts and Resolutions, which are sometimes difficult of execution, refers solely to what we have before said about examining the books of merchants. Hardenbergh has already complained of it, and this argument was greatly strengthened by the report of the Delegates, who have set forth in plain terms in their Remonstrance that Edicts have been posted up whereby you demand that all merchants' books must be open to you and the Council for examination. This was never done anywhere in Christendom, and should not become a custom."

The instructions given to Stuyvesant, with his commission, by the Assembly of the XIX, and the orders sent over by the directors of the West India Company, Chamber of Amsterdam, clashed so much that a firmer commercial head might have been puzzled. The instructions said: "The Company has resolved to open hereafter to private persons the trade which it has exclusively carried on with New Netherland, and to empower the various Chambers to give permission to all individuals of this country to sail with their own ships to New Netherland, etc." In obedience to these instructions, Stuyvesant had allowed the frigate Hercules, from Medemblick, to enter and trade at New Amsterdam; but when this became known in Amsterdam, the directors had again occasion to rebuke Stuyvesant. They wrote, April 12, 1648:[2] "We do not approve of traders coming to your coast under authority of any other Chamber than that of Amsterdam. We notice that a frigate from Medemblick, the Hercules, Cornelis Claessen Snoo, skipper, has come there, and we are astonished to learn that you, yourself, have entered into negotiations with such an interloper, although you ought to have known that no other Chamber has been willing to contribute for the support of New Netherland, and that therefore that coast has always been reserved for the Chamber of Amsterdam. It is therefore our express wish that no one shall be allowed to trade there who does not come with permission from here. If anybody does the contrary, you are to confiscate his goods and hold them until further orders from us. It is true that people are busy now before their H. M. the States-General at the Hague, to devise a general plan of trade for all the conquests of this Company, and New Netherland is not forgotten."

[1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 11:18. [2] Ib., 11:12.

It seems that up to this time citizens of New Amsterdam were not allowed to trade on their own account to foreign countries. One of Stuyvesant's earliest orders, June 20, 1647,[1] directs the Company's ship Groote Gerrit to sail to Boston in New England, with a cargo of salt to be sold there, and to load in return such and as much provisions as can be obtained for disposal at Bonayro, where freight for New Amsterdam is to be taken. "Now," continue the directors in the above-quoted letter of April 12, 1648, "it has provisionally been resolved that all colonists there shall be allowed to ship their products of flour, fish, meat, bacon, peas, beans, and everything else in their own or in chartered bottoms to Brazil and Angola, the same ships to receive freight for this country in Brazil, while ships trading to Angola shall be allowed to carry negroes to your coast to be used as agricultural laborers." Stuyvesant must have received news of this resolution before the foregoing was written, for he issued on January 20, 1648, an ordinance to the same effect, differing only in so far that he forbade ships to return from Brazil with sugar to New Netherland,—they had to remain open for charter to any place, while the Angola traders were required to take out special slave-trading licenses from the directors of the Company. No record tells of a New Netherland ship ever having sailed on a slave-trading expedition to Africa; the slaves imported into the province all came by the way of the West Indies and South American colonies. Another extract from the already mentioned and quoted letter shows us that Stuyvesant had never studied political economy.

"In speaking of the trade there," they write, "you say in one place that the private traders spoil the trade, in another that you think untrammeled trade the most beneficial for the population, for in time great quantities would be consumed. It has been and still is in our Chamber the general opinion that trade should be free for everybody, while you say that this freedom is abused by many who go a few miles into the country to meet the Indians, bringing in furs, and that this increases the prices. You think it would therefore be well to establish a market-place where all peltries must first be offered for sale. But we consider that as too dangerous, as it would again embroil us with the savages, and on the other side is only another form of enforced trade."

The question who should and who should not be allowed to carry on an import and export trade at New Amsterdam was a puzzling one to Stuyvesant, placed as he was between his instructions and the directorial orders. Perhaps accidentally he adopted a course which was for the best development of New Amsterdam as the great mart of the Western world. So-called Scotch or Chinese merchants and ped-

[1] Ib., 4 : 297.

dlers came from time to time to New Netherland, sold their goods rapidly at lower prices than the resident traders, and paid extravagant prices for beaver-skins, eleven to twelve florins the piece. Such proceedings of course unsettled and threatened to destroy the regular trade. Stuyvesant therefore issued an ordinance, September 18, 1648, directing that these free-lances of trade should not carry on their business until after having been settled in New Netherland for three years; they were further required to build a substantial house in New Amsterdam.

STUYVESANT'S PEAR TREE.

It has been said above that the Westphalian Treaty of Peace prevented the West India Company from further hostile expeditions against Spain and its colonies, and thereby considerably reduced the dividends. This was perhaps to the advantage of their own colony on the Hudson, for it brought about a decision to increase the population of New Netherland and draw the marine trade to New Amsterdam. Under this new policy Stuyvesant was directed, April 26, 1651,[1] to exact from all goods coming from Virginia or New England a duty of sixteen per cent., while goods exported from New Amsterdam to the English colonies were exempted from all duties. It was expected that the custom of shipping goods from Holland via New England, where no duties were exacted, to New Amsterdam would be made fruitless, to the advantage of the direct shippers and of the merchants of New Netherland. Stuyvesant first followed out this policy, but soon took another view of the question, induced by the financial straits of his administration. He issued ordinances in September and November, 1653, which called forth a remonstrance from the principal merchants of New Amsterdam, indorsed by the Burgomasters and Schepens. The merchants boldly told him[2] that they could not and would not obey his orders to advance the price of goods imported by them 120 per cent. over the first cost, as that would entail great losses and lead to a diminution of trade. "If compelled to charge only 120 per cent. over first cost, we cannot hold out," they said, "for the heavy export and import duties, convoy duties, freight, insurance, interest on invested capital, alone swallow up seventy to eighty per

[1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 11: 37. [2] Ib., 5: 147, 150.

cent. over purchase price, and we sustain a great loss by leakage and average. Do not meddle with things of which you know nothing, but let us merchants do as they do in the Fatherland and in other commercial countries—that is, let us sell at such prices as circumstances and conscience will allow us. If not, we shall shut up our shops, even though by your order you only intended to benefit the community." Stuyvesant did not immediately yield to the objections of the merchants, but called for further information, and then let the matter rest without rescinding his order. The merchants of the city, who were mostly agents of Amsterdam houses and frequently made voyages across the Atlantic for the purpose of buying new stock, were not satisfied with Stuyvesant's interference and again brought up the question in July, 1654:[1] "We have learned of more taxes on our trade. As we are mostly only factors of our houses in Holland, we must consider the advantages of them. The goods now imported have been sent over under contracts previously made, the consignors were necessarily ignorant of the new orders, and we ask you to refer the whole affair to the directors of the Company and to allow us to discharge and dispose of our merchandises." "No," answered Stuyvesant; "it is an old and well-known rule that all merchants here have to pay to the Director-General and Council one per cent. of all their goods, and besides that, as much more as has been fixed before their arrival." The records do not tell how the difficulty was settled, but we may presume it was done to the satisfaction of all concerned, for in May, 1655,[2] the directors take occasion to write to Stuyvesant: "We are very glad to learn that you are in good accord with the inhabitants there, and recommend that you do your best to have this state of affairs continue, for a good and careful governor can do much that way." This good feeling continued with evident beneficial results. The Director-General and Council "have noticed, March 13, 1657,[3] by the blessed increase of population and trades, that the people are inconvenienced by the small number of laborers at the Company's commercial houses, the Storehouse, the Weighhouse, and the Excise office; they resolve therefore to increase the number to nine, who, for the benefit of all needing their services, may deviate from the old rule of working only at the place designated to them and go from one house to the other." The magistrates, having given their consent to the preceding order, could, however, only nominate twelve men as applicants for the nine vacancies, as no more applied. How the politician of to-day would rejoice if not more than one man were to apply for a vacancy in his gift! This experience had, moreover, taught Stuyvesant that in matters of which he understood little it was safer to consult people who knew more. In

[1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 5: 308. [2] Ib., 12: 22. [3] Ib., 8: 471, 482.

April, 1658,[1] a question concerning duties came before him, which he did not trust to his own judgment to decide; he concluded to ask some merchants for their opinion, and they told him that it would be of the greatest benefit to themselves and their principals in Holland, that it would increase the trade for the best of the colony and avoid all commercial disturbances usually caused by the imposition of new duties, if he would act with his usual discretion in this case of continuing to levy a duty of one per cent. on imported wine and liquor from either the selling or the buying party. As up to this time New Amsterdam merchants had not been allowed to trade outside of Dutch territory in America, Europe, Africa, or Asia, and the increase of population in New Netherland demanded other outlets for the products and sources for the necessary commodities of the country, the directors of the West India Company therefore finally and reluctantly consented to their trying the "experiment" of foreign trade with France, Spain, Italy, and elsewhere; but the vessels sent out to these foreign countries had to return with the cargoes taken there to New Netherland or Amsterdam, and furs could only be exported to Holland. This permission was published by the magistrates of the city, March 9, 1660.

The repeatedly mentioned instructions of Stuyvesant directed him "first of all to establish the colonists and freemen on the Island of

[1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 8: 821.

The original of this early deed on parchment, of which a fac-simile and translation are given, is in the possession of the editor of this work.

We the undersigned Schepens of the city of Amsterdam in New Netherland declare by these presents that there appeared before us Adam Brouwer, at present living on Long Island, the which declared to transfer and convey to and in behalf of Dirck Van Schelluynen, Notary Public and Concierge of this city, a certain house and lot situated within this mentioned city, to the north of the commenced canal, between the lot of John de Kuyper on the west and Egbert Woutersz on the east, wide in front on the street, with free passage on both sides, one Rhineland rod four feet and six inches, thence east of the boundary line of the lot of Henry Jochemsz straight to the rear of the garden six rods nine feet, thence eastward to the fence and boundary line of Egb. Woutersz three rods six feet and two inches. Along the same boundary northward seven rods and one foot, thence westward along the boundary line of Dirck Bensing's lot to the lot of Gerrit the miller, where now Jacob the brewer's already built-upon lot, three rods six feet, along the same lot southward four rods three feet, along the line of said Gerrit the miller's lot again westward one rod seven feet, and thus subsequently along the boundaries of Gerrit and Abram the millers' lots to the rear of the lot of John de Kuyper, again southward five rods five feet and four inches, thence again at right angles running eastward one rod two feet and eight inches, and thence again towards the front to the street southward five rods six feet one inch, according to the measurement by the surveyor in the presence of Egbert Woutersz and John de Kuyper occurring and done on the 18th of August instant. And that by virtue of power granted to him, the comparant, on February 7, 1647, by the Honorable Council, the which aforesaid house and lot as before mentioned, as the same is built upon, inhabited, and set apart, he, the comparant, doth in true and proper ownership transfer and convey it to the aforesaid Dirck Van Schelluynen with all such action, right, and equity as he himself has ruled and possessed it, desisting therefore from all further action, right, and claim of ownership which by him the comparant or any one at his instance might be made upon the aforesaid house and lot, with promise to clear the same from all liens or burdens on the part of anybody in the world which could be brought (reserving to the Lord his right) as acknowledging for the bargained price according to contract to have been fully satisfied and paid. Declaring further to hold this his transfer and conveyance firmly, truly, and irrevocably, and to observe and complete it, under the pledge and submission of all rights. In witness whereof are these presents signed by the cedent as also by the Honorable Schepens Jacob Strycker and Henry Kip, on the protocol at the City Secretary's office, this 19th of August, 1656, and is confirmed by the affixing of the city's seal.

Agrees with the aforesaid proctocol.

Jacob Kip, Secretary.

Manhattans, and to grant to them as much land as they shall be able to cultivate, either as tobacco-plantations or with grain and all other crops to which the soil is adapted." By faithfully carrying out this instruction Stuyvesant not only laid the foundation-stone of what in our days has become one of the great staples of trade — namely, the grain trade — but also added to his cares in administering the government of the province and of the city at the same time. The summer of 1649 had yielded only a poor harvest, and cereals, which then could not yet be imported in sufficient quantities from other colonies, became so scarce that the poorer people suffered under it. After long hesitation Stuyvesant finally found himself compelled to forbid by ordinance of November 8, 1649, that wheat should be consumed in malting or brewing. A few years later, in 1653, it was not a poor harvest, but the preponderance of tobacco-cultivation, combined with greater demand for grain by an increasing population, which created a scarcity of breadstuffs. As a remedy and preventive, the export of cereals was forbidden, brewers were again ordered not to consume grain in their breweries, and the tobacco-planters received instructions to plant as many hills of corn as they did of tobacco. This measure, which showed that Stuyvesant had really the well-being of what he loved to call his "subjects" at heart, was highly commended by the directors March 12, 1654:[1] "The order given by you that no hard grain shall be used for baking or brewing is considered a timely one, and we advise that on similar occasions a close inquiry be made as to how much grain is held in the country, so that you can govern yourself accordingly."

New Netherland was a tobacco-growing country then, and tobacco formed one of the staples of export, and by the duty paid on it one of the important items of revenue. The quality of New Netherland tobacco is best designated by an ordinance of April 21, 1649, issued in conformity with a rescript of the directors of January 27th, same year, according to which the duty on New Netherland tobacco was to be not higher than that paid on the poorest West Indian, *i. e.*, forty-five stivers (90 cents) per one hundred pounds. Smokers may have found this New Netherland leaf not sufficiently to their taste to make it worth while to continue collecting duties on it, for they were abolished April 4, 1652.[2]

The reports of Hudson and the explorers immediately following him had spoken of the abundance of fur-bearing animals in the new country. When the West India Company was organized, the trade in furs formed a point of so great consideration that, although they granted important privileges by the Freedoms and Exemptions of 1629, this trade was allowed only under restrictions. Private parties were not

[1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 6:61. [2] Ib., 11:53.

to deal in peltries except at places where no officer of the Company was resident, and then they had to bring the furs to Manhattan and deliver them to the Director for shipment, or report the transaction for the assessment of duties, which were one florin for each otter or beaver-skin. This trade in furs always remained more or less a monopoly of the Company. Director Kieft ordered, August 4, 1644, that all beaver-skins should be marked by an officer specially appointed for that purpose, and exacted a duty of fifteen stivers (30 cents) for each, and Stuyvesant, in renewing this order on July 4, 1647, made it still more stringent by forbidding the export or removal from one vessel to another of all peltries and hides, unless first entered in the Company's office. Stuyvesant's ordinances of July 4, 1647, and January 29, 1648, did not materially change the duties on furs and hides, but he was, nevertheless, rebuked for his action by the directors January 22, 1649:[1] "We are surprised by the change of duties on furs to be exported from New Netherland. In our opinion it would have been better not to do so. No good can come of it, if done without the knowledge of the Assembly of the XIX. Even circumstances do not warrant your action in taxing these goods higher than before, for beavers, which formerly sold at eight and nine florins, have gone down to six, seven, and eight." The great expenses of the Company for the support of the civil government, the military, the church, and the school, to meet which the revenue was not sufficient, led the directors to reduce the duty on furs to eight per cent., or about thirteen stivers, while it formerly had been fifteen stivers. Stuyvesant, as in duty bound, promulgated this order of the directors by an ordinance, September 4, 1652, but added, on his own responsibility, that, as the Director and Council of New Netherland also needed funds besides the eight per cent., the merchants, being free from the payment of storage, should further pay four stivers (8 cents) apiece for each marketable skin. The records of Fort Orange (Albany) give us an idea of how great value this fur trade was to the Company, by stating that 46,500 beaver and otter-skins were shipped from there to New Amsterdam in 1656. The attention paid to this trade and to measures to prevent exports with evasion of duty is therefore not surprising.

Beaver-skins became of importance in New Netherland not only as an article of trade, but in the course of time also as a circulating medium, as currency. When the Dutch took possession of the Island of Manhattan and New Netherland, they found that the original inhabitants used as money small white or black beads made out of the shells of periwinkles or clams, which they called sewan or wampum. As European coins of gold, silver, or copper were not abundant among the first settlers, they adopted the Indian currency as their own, and

[1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 11:14.

created the first fiat money in the New World, which had course not only in New Netherland, but also in New England, where it was called "the devil's currency." Although calling it by a bad name, the thrifty New England people were quite willing to derive pecuniary advantages from it by bringing to New Amsterdam inferior wampum, rough and unpolished, while the good, known as Manhattan wampum, was kept out of sight. Wampum was generally fifty per cent. cheaper in New England than in New Netherland. This brought forth Kieft's ordinance of April 18, 1641, by which it was forbidden to receive or pay out unpolished wampum during the following month of May at a higher rate than five beads equal to one stiver if strung; after that period six beads were to be counted equal to one stiver.

GOVERNOR STUYVESANT'S SEAL.

Stuyvesant did not at first attempt to meddle with the money of his province, beyond reaffirming former orders and deciding, November 30, 1647, that loose wampum should continue to pass current; only imperfect, broken, and unpierced pieces were to be picked out and considered as bullion, but should be received at the Company's office as before. Counterfeiters were, however, as clever then as they are now; they brought into circulation unperforated beads, made of stone, bone, glass, horn, and even wood, thereby greatly depreciating the real, Indian sewan. The Director saw quickly that the only way to kill this counterfeiting was to declare loose or unstrung wampum no longer legal tender, which he did by ordinance of May 30, 1650, making two classes of it, the commercial at six white or three black beads equal to one stiver, and the badly strung at respectively eight or four. This measure did not aid the community much. Everybody, traders, producers, and consumers, refused to take badly strung wampum, and the scarcity of commercial or well-strung beads threatened a financial disaster. The formerly cast-out loose and badly strung tokens had to be made legal tender again, September 14, 1650, and were ordered to be taken in the daily shopping trade up to twelve florins ($4.80); if sums from twelve to twenty-four florins were handled, one-half had to be good, the other half might be poor wampum; in sums from twenty to fifty florins, the ratio was one-third poor and two-thirds good; when larger sums were in consideration, the parties could make their own arrangements.

Stuyvesant had not yet learned that even his authority could not give fictitious value to intrinsically worthless representatives of money, not secured by valuable deposits. The fluctuations in the price of wampum continued to disturb trade so, that in October, 1658,[1] the Burgomasters and Schepens of New Amsterdam represented to the Director-General and Council that great quantities of wampum came from New England, to the great injury of the city and advantage of the English Colonies, as the New England sort advanced this currency, when brought here, twenty-five per cent. This filled the place so much with wampum that it lost in value, and everybody became so particular that hardly anything could be bought with it. They requested, therefore, that an order be issued fixing the rate of wampum at eight white or four black beads for one stiver. This was done accordingly,[2] but Stuyvesant was, for once, not satisfied with his own action. He called on the magistrates November 5, 1658,[3] to inquire whether they did not consider it advisable to restore wampum to its old value, of six white or three black beads for one stiver, but was advised by them to leave it at the lately established rate, which had already had the effect of reducing the importation of New England wampum and at the same time making money more plentiful among the poor people. In the mean time Stuyvesant had entertained a plan to withdraw wampum altogether from circulation and replace it by European coin. This plan is first spoken of and discouraged in a letter from the directors of the West India Company of January 27, 1649:[4] "You think that if 10,000 florins in small coin could be sent over, it should be done, for then wampum might be withdrawn as currency, but as we are not in condition to send any coin, you may judge that it is not practicable." This first failure of his financial plans did not deter Stuyvesant from renewing his warfare against wampum; he repeated his attack in 1650, but only to be rebuffed again, although his superiors in Amsterdam seem to have recognized the wisdom of the proposed measure; they write, March 21, 1651:[5] "It is as yet impossible to satisfy your request for gathering a fund in small coin for the benefit of private individuals." Seeing that he could expect no relief in this direction from the Company, he allowed his repugnance to the unsecured and unsecurable fiat money to carry him too far in his wish to introduce coin in New Netherland. We learn of his new departure again only from a letter of the directors of December 13, 1652:[6] "We are very much surprised that, contrary to our former letters and without our orders, you have asked private parties for twenty-five to thirty thousand guilders in Holland shillings and double stiver pieces. We do not at all approve of this, for we have not yet got so far that our

[1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 8: 1001. [2] Laws of N. N., p. 357. [3] N. Y. Col. MSS., 8: 1021.
[4] Ib., 11: 14. [5] Ib., 11: 29. [6] Ib., 11: 57.

officials are required to ask credit for us and give our lands as security. If anything is to be done, you have to write to us; we shall attend to it." We can imagine how the floor in the Governor's room in Fort Amsterdam resounded from the impatient stamping of his wooden leg when he read this letter.

French-Indian politics opened at this time a way for another currency, which had always a marketable value—namely, peltry. The treaty of peace between the Five Nations and the French of 1653 had given to the former the necessary time to go on hunting expeditions in the far West, and bring the results of their travels to the Dutch market. This inspired Stuyvesant with the idea of adopting beaver-skins as currency; he made them receivable for duties at eight florins ($3.20) a piece by ordinance of September 27, 1656, and declared them to be regular currency in all transactions at the same rate a few months later, January 3, 1657. The directors approved of this measure tardily, December 22, 1659,[1] and it was not necessary to disturb the money market by a new valuation until December 28, 1662, when twenty-four white or twelve black beads of wampum were made equal to one stiver, and beaver rated at seven florins. Shortly before the surrender to the English, September, 1663, the rate was further reduced to six florins.

It has been said above that financial necessities compelled Stuyvesant to grant to the village of New Amsterdam a semblance of representative government, and thereby plant on New-York soil the seed of a government of, for, and by the people. He had repeatedly been told by the home authorities "to use despatch in the repairs of Fort Amsterdam," but as the means to carry out this work were not to be found in the Company's treasure-chest, he was to ask the inhabitants for aid. For a man of Stuyvesant's imperious and autocratic character the position in which he found himself now cannot have been a pleasant one. Positive orders to do this work from one side, threatening war-clouds on the Indian horizon on the other, no money to spend for the needed repairs, and the people unwilling to be taxed without their own consent. "Distrusting the wavering multitude, ready to censure him if war should break out," Stuyvesant called for advice upon his Council and was told that his fancied prerogatives must yield to popular rights by conceding representation to the people.

The government of the Netherlands had gradually evolved out of a conglomeration of self-governing localities or towns.[2] In each town a "Tribunal of Well-born Men," or "Men's Men," elected by the inhabitants entitled to vote, sat as Court in criminal and civil cases, thirteen being the quorum for the former, seven for the latter. This institution, first introduced about the year 1295, was, in 1614, changed

[1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 13: 57. [2] See "Johns Hopkins University Studies," First Series, Vol. 2.

to the Board of Nine Men, who sat together in all cases. Under the stress of circumstances Stuyvesant authorized the inhabitants to nominate eighteen "of the most notable, reasonable honest, and respectable of our subjects, from whom we might select a single number of Nine Men to confer with us and our Council as their Tribunes."[1] Out of the eighteen nominated three were selected to represent the merchants, three as representatives of the citizens, and the remaining three for the farmers. Their powers and duties were defined in the above quoted ordinance, dated September 25, 1647, as follows: "They shall exert themselves to promote the honor of God and the welfare of our dear Fatherland to the best advantage of the Company and the prosperity of our good citizens; to the preservation of the pure Reformed religion as it here and in the churches of the Netherlands is inculcated. They shall not assist at any private conventicles or meetings, much less patronize such like deliberations and resolves, except with the special knowledge and advice of the Director-General and Council, and on his special order, unless only when they are convened in a legitimate manner and have received the proposals of the Director and Council; then they have liberty to delay for consultation upon such proposals and submit their advice later; provided that the Director shall have the right to preside himself at such meetings or appoint a member of his Council as President." Three of the Nine Men, alternating monthly, were to sit every Thursday with the Council, when civil cases were tried by it, and "parties shall be referred by the Director to them as arbitrators, to whose decision litigants shall be obliged to submit, or, if not satisfied, pay for the first time £1 Flemish ($2.40), before an appeal can be taken to or admitted by the Council."

It was but a scant recognition of the great Aryan principle—no taxation without representation; but scant as it was it shows that Stuyvesant saw he could not well suppress an institution which had become a familiar necessity to all Dutchmen and which, moreover, he had been ordered by his instructions to introduce. For these instructions of July 7, 1645, said: "Inasmuch as the colonists have been allowed by the Freedoms to delegate one or two persons to give information to the Director and Council concerning the state and condition of their colonies, the same is hereby confirmed."

The newly elected board of the people's representatives were, however, more inclined to follow the instructions given to Stuyvesant "au pied de la lettre" in reporting on the state of their place than the ordinance defining their powers and duties. Almost from the beginning of the settlement on the banks of the Hudson the lucrative trade in furs brought from Fort Nassau, later Orange, and further north and west, had attracted what the permanent merchants of New Amster-

[1] Laws of N. N.

dam called "peddlers, Scotch or Chinese dealers"—that is, men who carried on a temporary trade in furs, procured from the Indians in a furtive manner, and who then quickly left the country without benefiting it by improvements of the soil. The Nine Men, on behalf of the commonalty, desired to encourage permanent settlements on the Island of Manhattan, recognizing the benefits likely to accrue in this way for the colony. They therefore laid the matter before the Director and Council, with suggestions for a remedy. The result was an ordinance, March 10, 1648, which confined the trade in New Amsterdam and the interior to permanent residents. Only persons who had taken the oath of allegiance, who were rated, at least, at from two to three thousand guilders, who bound themselves to remain in the country four successive years, and who "kept fire and light" at their own expense, were now allowed to keep a shop or carry on a retail business. To some extent this was a victory for the people's representatives. In their next attempt to influence the actions of Stuyvesant they were not so successful.

STUYVESANT GOING TO ALBANY.

The revenue laws and port regulations, to which the excessive import and export duties must be added, and all of which were strictly enforced, led many a Dutch skipper and his supercargo to prefer a New England port for the disposal of his European goods and the purchase of furs. Such was the case with the Saint Beninio, an Amsterdam ship, which Secretary Van Tienhoven had, on occasion of an accidental visit to New Haven, found lying at anchor there, and had learned that it had traded in this port for a month without having the requisite license from the West India Company. This infringement of the Company's charter the owners, Westerhuysen and Goedenhuysen, who first intended to come from New Haven to New Amsterdam upon payment of the usual duties, turned into an open violation of the revenue laws of New Netherland, by changing the destination of the ship to Virginia. When Stuyvesant was informed of it by one of the owners, without showing his papers or offering to pay duties, he immediately determined to seize the ship, as she lay at anchor in New Haven, which Stuyvesant still considered to be the

"Roode Bergh" in New Netherland. He had some soldiers concealed on board a ship lately sold to New Haven merchants and now going to be delivered; these soldiers captured the Saint Beninio and sailed away in her to Manhattan before the surprised New Haven people had time to interfere. This bold assertion of territorial rights involved a question of international law which this is not the place to discuss, further than to say that as that law held "Novæ terræ in possessionem dantur primo occupanti" (newly discovered lands shall be given into the possession of the first occupant [settler?]), and as the Dutch were the first to occupy the Versche (Connecticut) River in 1614, Stuyvesant was justified in his action and in addressing a letter to Governor Eaton at "New Haven in New Netherland." We have, however, to consider Stuyvesant here only in his relations to New Amsterdam, and, viewed from that standpoint, the capture of the Saint Beninio was a mistake. It spread an alarm in the commercial localities as far as the West Indies and deterred traders from coming with their ships to New Netherland, causing heavy losses to the residents of New Amsterdam and consequent dissatisfaction. To increase the uneasy feeling of the Manhattan people, an order was issued calling in all debts due to the Company, which came at a most inopportune time. The inhabitants had lost nearly their all in the war during Kieft's time, and could not obtain the money due them from the Company, for contracts entered into by the same administration. Through the Nine Men they asked the Director for leniency in the collection of the debts, but the eloquence of the Nine was unsuccessful, the Fiscal and the Receiver were ordered to continue their collections and to take as much as they could, leaving the balances at eight per cent. annual interest. Finally the Nine Men succeeded in effecting a compromise, and the harsh collections were for a time suspended; but the dissatisfaction of the people was not allayed by this temporizing measure, and it was decided by the Nine to send a delegation to Holland with a complaint against the maladministration of the colony during the last ten years. Stuyvesant apparently encouraged them in this course, but at the same time made it a condition that whatever they were to say should conform to his wishes. This strategy defeated the plans of the people, and when the English settlers, who had until now coöperated with the Dutch in this movement, withdrew, induced to it probably by George Baxter, Stuyvesant's English Secretary, "the matter went to sleep."

The new elections added to the Board of Nine Men Yonker Adriaen Van der Donck, the proprietor of the Colony of Colendonck, which to-day perpetuates his memory under the name of Yonkers. Under Van der Donck's energetic influence, the new body introduced the

question of sending delegates to Holland. Stuyvesant called on them to tell him what they had to complain of, but they declined to do so, as such a course "was not based on any sound reason" and would defeat their endeavors to benefit the country. Several members of the popular party went from house to house, to collect the opinion of the commonalty as to how far they approved of the project and what they would do to defray the necessary expenses. "From this time the breast of the Director-General became inflamed with rage." Stuyvesant vilified the men whom he had hitherto classed among "the most hônest, the most fit, the most experienced, and the most godly in the community," and now thought "hanging was too good a punishment for them." His strict sense of justice, however, prevented him from tyrannical proceedings against the leaders of the popular party, whom he hoped to defeat by organizing an opposition party composed of officers of the militia and citizens in accord with him, who were to send another delegation to Holland for consultation "on important points."

For the purpose of having all the evidence necessary for their case properly arranged, the Nine Men considered it necessary to have memoranda regularly kept for the "journal" to be submitted to the States-General. Van der Donck, Doctor of Laws, was charged with this task, being not only a member of the Board of Nine Men, but also of Stuyvesant's Council, and therefore the best fitted to know the intentions and plans of Stuyvesant. The keeping of the memoranda had been decided in a secret session of the Board. Van der Donck was, for reasons of secrecy, lodged with another of the Nine Men, but the movement became known nevertheless, apparently through the landlord of Van der Donck. Stuyvesant learned of it, seized Van der Donck's papers, and threw him into prison on the charge of lese-majesty. As Van der Donck was a member of the Council, and intended to use knowledge acquired there for the benefit of the party opposed to the Council, such a charge was sustained by the Court specially appointed to try him, which condemned Van der Donck to expulsion from the Council and from the Board of Nine Men.

The reversal of the judgment against Kuyter and Melyn, related in the previous chapter, their return to New Netherland, and the reading in church of the decision of the States-General, recalling Stuyvesant for his defense, created a most remarkable excitement, for Stuyvesant concluded and declared that he would not go in person, but send an attorney to defend his sentence passed on Kuyter and Melyn. "I honor and respect the States and shall obey their orders," he said, "but I shall send an attorney to sustain my verdict."

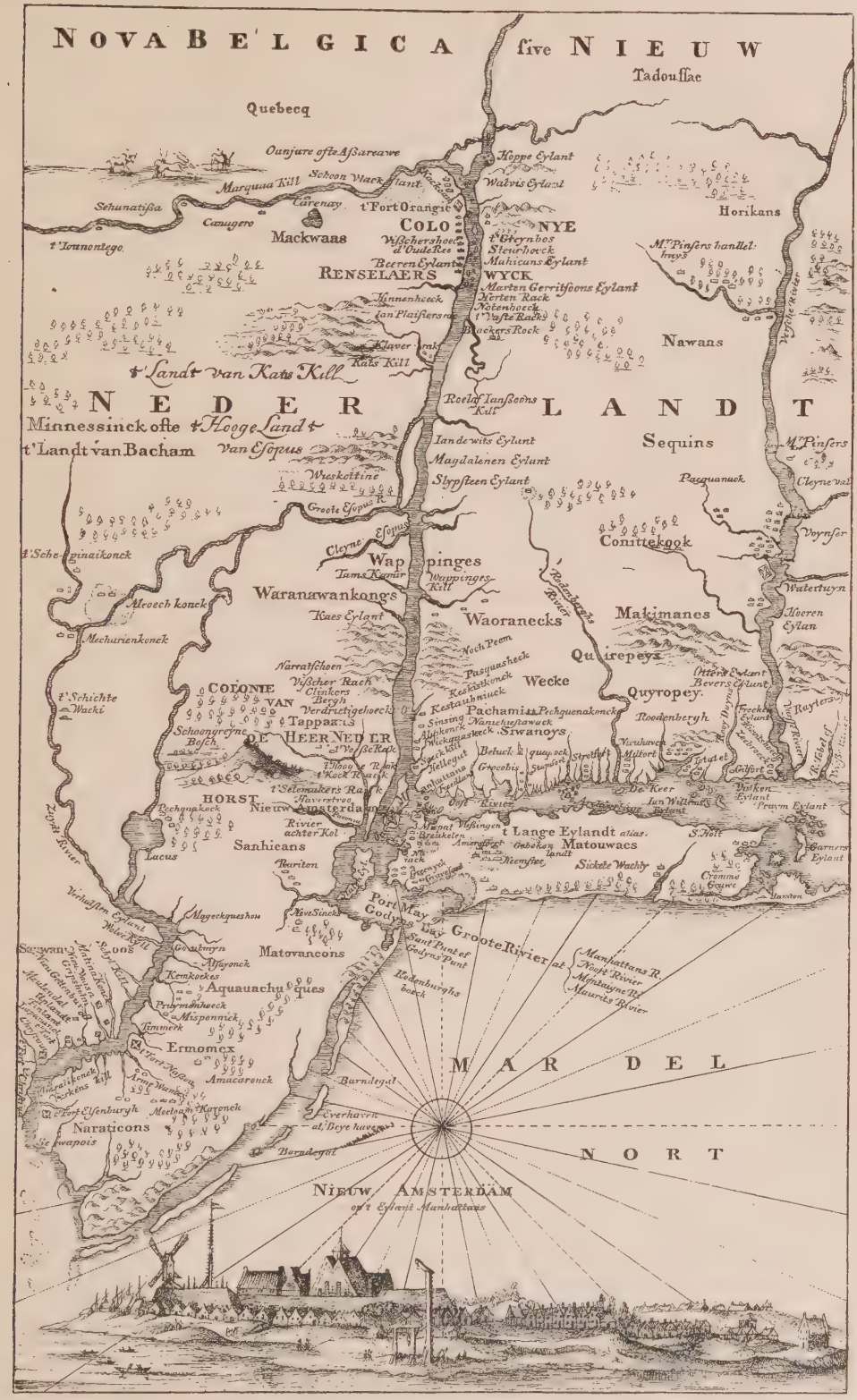
The directors of the West India Company now unwittingly added fuel to the smoldering flames of popular dissatisfaction. Fearing an outbreak of the Indians, unless their desire for arms and ammunition

was gratified, they had intimated to Stuyvesant that they thought it "the best policy to furnish them with powder and ball with a sparing hand." Acting hereupon, Stuyvesant ordered a case of guns from Holland, which, upon arrival, was landed "in broad daylight," and turned over to the Commissary of the fort. This gave to the popular party another cause of complaint—namely, that Stuyvesant was their competitor in trade, which was not withdrawn when the Director showed the pertinent order of his superiors.

An ordinance issued by Kieft for the purpose of authenticating legal documents before the Provincial Secretary was now reënacted by Stuyvesant "for the purpose of cutting off the convenient mode of proof." His fears that the popular party would after all succeed in defeating him led him even to a curious interference with ecclesiastical matters. On May 18, 1649, he went to the house of Domine Backerus, and there told him ex officio that he should not read nor allow to be read from the pulpit in church or through any of the church-officers any papers concerning politics or government, unless duly signed by the Director and Secretary.[1] All these preventive measures had only the effect of urging the opposition party more strongly in their course. The Domine soon asked for his discharge, and after receiving it returned to Holland as one of Stuyvesant's most active adversaries. He was followed by the three delegates, sent by the Nine Men, Adriaen Van der Donck, Jacob Van Couwenhoven, and Jan Evertsen Bout, who carried with them the celebrated "Vertoogh van Nieuw Nederlandt" (Remonstrance of New Netherland, probably the work of Van der Donck[2]), and an address to the States-General, both documents signed by the Board of Nine Men in office and their predecessors. This Vertoogh, although written for political purposes, is one of the most important works for the history of New-York, as it begins *ab ovo*,—that is, with the discovery of the country, its boundaries, etc.,—tells of the aboriginal inhabitants, both human and animal, of the origin of the West India Company, and the conditions of New Netherland up to date. The historian of to-day, therefore, owes to Stuyvesant a debt of gratitude for having given cause to write it.

In their stringent attacks on the administration of the province, the remonstrants seem occasionally to have forgotten good policy, for they strike at the West India Company through its agents. "In our opinion," they say, "this country will never flourish under the government of the honorable Company, but will pass away and come to an end of itself, unless the Company is reorganized." Some of their strictures are decidedly unjust. They bewail the precarious condition of church and school, and have not a good word to say about Stuyvesant's praiseworthy efforts in this direction, which will be told in a

[1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 4 : 437. [2] Printed in Amsterdam, 1650, quarto, 49 pp.



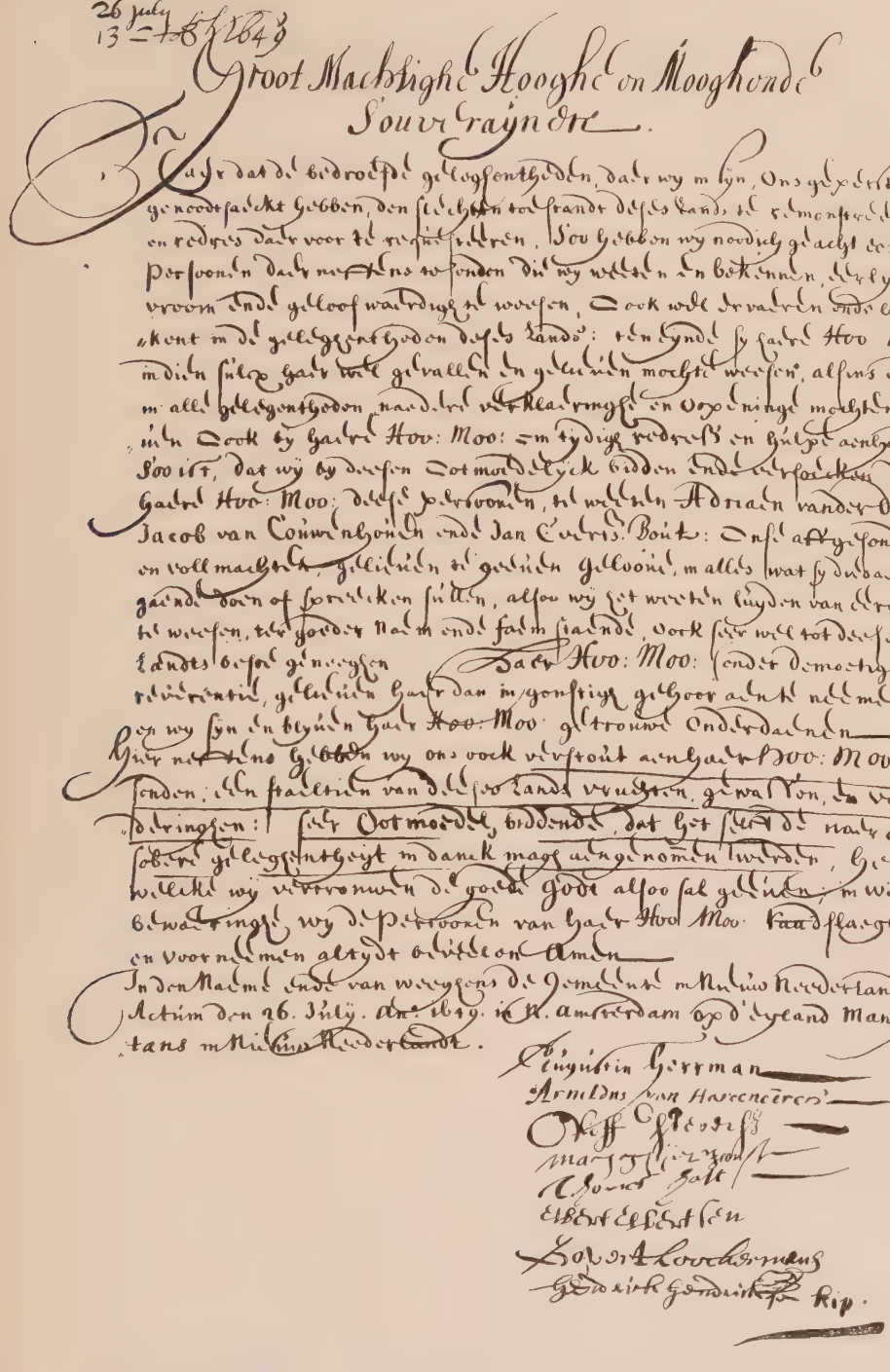
ADRIAEN VAN DER DONCK'S MAP, 1656.

later chapter. When they come to the local representatives of the Company, we find them severely criticized. "The country ought to be provided with godly, honorable, and intelligent rulers, who are not indigent and not too covetous. A covetous governor makes poor subjects. The manner in which the country is now governed falls severely upon it and is intolerable, for nobody is unmolested or secure in his property any longer than the Director pleases, and he is strongly inclined to confiscations." Having resolved not to go to Holland himself in re Kuyter and Melyn, Stuyvesant despatched, a fortnight before the delegates sailed, Cornelius Van Tienhoven to act as his attorney, and also to prepare the States-General for the reception of the Vertoogh and counteract it by previous contradictory reports. Van Tienhoven was "cautious, subtle, intelligent, and sharp-witted," but also quite unscrupulous. Having been in the Company's service in New Netherland since 1633, he knew the country thoroughly. He took with him an "endorsement," given at George Baxter's instigation to Stuyvesant by the magistrates of the English settlement at Gravesend, in which they expressed their admiration of and confidence in Stuyvesant's "wisdom and justice in the administration of the common weal."

"The best-laid plans of mice and men gang aft aglee," says the Scotch poet, and Van Tienhoven had to bear witness to its truth. Although he had left two weeks in advance of the delegates, and although he went by the North of Ireland to avoid the scene of Kieft's shipwreck, he arrived after his adversaries, who had sailed straight for the Channel, and had immediately after landing placed their papers before the States-General. A committee of this body was given charge of the matter to receive evidence on the complaints preferred, with orders to report speedily.

Secretary Van Tienhoven found everything ready for his reply, and prepared without much delay "a brief statement in answer to some points contained in the written deduction of Adriaen Van der Donck and associates," which he called "a tissue of assertions without proof." He confined himself, however, exclusively to contradicting allegations against the Company or the Director, of which only those against Stuyvesant interest us here. According to Van Tienhoven, no person's goods or property had ever been confiscated except for violation of written engagements. Some trading skippers might fear confiscation, and therefore not come to New Netherland, but only because they had no license to do so. If Christians are treated by traders like the savages, the blame cannot be laid at the door of the

The map on the preceding page was published in connection with Van der Donck's work on New Netherland, 1655, of which a fac-simile of title appears on page 35. It was a copy of N. J. Visscher's, which itself was an alteration of one by Justus Danckers, "multis in locis emendata." Danckers, for one thing, was entirely at fault as to the course of the Delaware River. This was remedied by Visscher, and hence it appears tolerably correct upon Van der Donck's map. EDITOR.



LETTER OF BOARD OF NINE MEN ACCREDITING DELEGATES TO HOLLAND.

Company or its representatives, but rather of the traders and agents, of whom several have signed the remonstrance, for they charge often 200 to 300 per cent. advance on European goods. If a subaltern jurisdiction like that of Rensselaerswyck is allowed absolutely to banish from the colony any person whose absence is demanded by the public good, it would indeed be strange if the supreme government of the province could not do the same without being taken to task for it. Anybody might put into his cellar as much beer or wine as he pleased free of excise, for his own family use, being obliged only to report the quantity. Tapsters alone were excepted, and had to pay taxes on the liquids sold by them, but they received a return of this outlay by selling at retail to travelers. This is the only internal revenue derived by the Company from the commonalty besides an export duty on beavers of eight per cent. Compared with the burdens borne by the New England people, which some say are better off in respect to taxes, the reply of the Secretary says, the New Englanders are much heavier taxed, even though they pay no import or export duties, but they are assessed for the erection and support of churches and schools, for the salary of ministers and schoolmasters, for the construction and repairs of highways and bridges, for the pay of all civil and military officers, and for the expenses of quarterly magistrates' meetings and the yearly convening of the General Assembly.

The charge that Fort Amsterdam was in a bad condition was met with the answer, that "it was neither the business nor the province of the people, but only of the Company." The people were willing to be protected, but objected to paying for the protection by either labor or ready cash. As to the suggestion that the Company had better give up New Netherland, it was almost too silly, thought Van Tien-

Letter of Board of Nine Men accrediting delegates to Holland.

GREAT, POWERFUL, HIGH AND MIGHTY SOVEREIGNS: After our distressed circumstances had forced and obliged us to represent the poor condition of this country and to pray for redress therein, we considered it proper to delegate also some persons whom we know and acknowledge to be honorable, honest, and trustworthy, likewise well experienced in and acquainted with the circumstances of this country, in order that they may furnish your High Mightinesses, if such be your will and pleasure, with further information and explanation on every subject and circumstance, and also to importune your High Mightinesses to grant seasonable relief and aid. We therefore hereby humbly entreat and request your High Mightinesses to be pleased to give credence in all things that they may do or say in the premises, to these persons, to wit: Adriaen Van der Donck, Jacob Van Couwenhoven, and John Evertsen Bout, our Delegates and Agents; inasmuch as we know them for persons of honor and of good name and fame, also right well disposed towards the interest of this country. With humble reverence we pray your High Mightinesses to be pleased to grant them a favorable audience, and we are and remain your High Mightinesses' faithful subjects. We have in addition presumed to send your High Mightinesses a specimen of this country's products, crops, and forage, most humbly praying that, according to our straitened circumstances, it may be graciously accepted, which we pray God also to grant, to whose keeping we ever commend your High Mightinesses' persons, deliberations, and undertakings. Amen.

In the name and on the behalf of the Commonalty of New Netherland. Done July 26th, 1649, in New Amsterdam, on the Island Manhattans, in New Netherland.

[Signed.] AUGUSTIN HERRMAN,
ARNOLDUS VAN HARDENBERGH,
OLOFF STEVENSS,
MACHYEL JANSSEN,
THOMAS HALL,
ELBERT ELBERTSEN,
GOVERT LOOCKERMANS,
HENDRICK HENDRICKSE KIP.

hoven, to give an answer to it. The Company had been at heavy expenses formerly in conveying people and cattle there, building forts, buying lands from the Indians, and settling assisted immigrants on these lands on easy terms. Now that some of these early colonists have "a little more than they can consume in a day," they ungratefully turn upon their former benefactors and want to get rid of them, even without paying for bounties received. The charge of neglecting to support church and school was shown to be nugatory, as the place of the late Domine Backerus had been filled shortly after his departure, while about this time two public schools existed in New Amsterdam.

Van Tienhoven's paper was referred to the same Committee as the Remonstrance. The Committee reported on the 11th of April, 1650, "a remedy which," they thought, "should satisfy both parties, until further provision is made." The remedy, in the shape of a "Provisional Order for the government, preservation and peopling of New Netherland," suggested a recall of Stuyvesant and, in pursuance of a request expressed in the delegates' address to the States-General, the introduction in New Amsterdam of Burgher or municipal government by a Schout, two Burgomasters, and five Schepens. The Nine Men were, however, to continue for three years longer and have jurisdiction over small causes between individuals, to decide definitively on such as do not exceed fifty guilders, and if more, under the privilege of appeal. Stuyvesant was defeated, and had to suffer the further mortification of being reminded by the directors that they "had told him so." The order for his recall, Stuyvesant declared, he would not obey, as the Company was opposed to it and had directed him not to pay attention to anything said in the Provisional Order. The quarrel, instead of having been settled, as the home authorities may have thought, grew hotter, because Stuyvesant, conscious of having done what he considered his duty, resented the treatment received at the hands of the States-General and made the people of New Amsterdam feel his resentment.

A new appeal to the States-General by the Nine Men was sent over: "We have seen and found your High Mightinesses our kind and loving fathers, who have taken to heart the pitiful and desolate condition of the poor commonalty here, for which we cannot sufficiently express our thankfulness to God and to you. But the non-arrival of reform, the neglect of Director Stuyvesant to obey your orders though they have been communicated to him, and the continuation of affairs in the same sad condition already submitted to you, compel us again to pray your High Mightinesses to show favor to us, for we cannot undertake anything as long as reforms are withheld. We hope you will give us a good and wholesome government."

In reply, Stuyvesant accused the returned delegates and their supporters of fostering discontent in New Netherland, of endeavoring by most culpable means to alienate the minds of the unthinking multitude, and of luring them from their allegiance to the Company and its officers, whom they thus intended to deprive of everything. With the help of his English secretary, Baxter, he succeeded in separating the inhabitants of the English villages on Long Island from their Dutch fellow-colonists, and the magistrates of Gravesend, influenced as before, again expressed their confidence in the Director-General and their allegiance to the West India Company, to which they added this time sentiments of hostility to the Nine Men.

Now we see Stuyvesant in a peculiar position. The supreme Government, whose commission as Director-General he held, had recalled him; the West India Company, who paid his salary as Director-General, had ordered him not to obey the order of recall; the mass of his own countrymen, whom he was sent out to govern, were estranged from him; and he had to look for sympathy and support to the small part of the community belonging to a nation which considered the Dutch as invaders of their territory. On these supporters he had now to rely in his boundary negotiations with New England, and by selecting as representatives to go to Hartford for conference with the English commissioners two men of these adherents, opposed to the Nine Men, he gave to his adversaries new cause for complaints, which now included the accusation that by his English representatives he had surrendered to the New England people more territory than might have formed fifty colonies, that he had ceased to consult the assistants given him by the Company, Vice-Director Van Dincklagen and Fiscal Van Dyck, and that he had refused to fill the vacancies about to occur in the Board of Nine Men by six of them legally going out of office.

Van der Donck, who had remained in Holland, was again the spokesman of the discontented party in New Amsterdam, and presented to the States-General another memorial, January 14, 1651. But their High Mightinesses had not yet arrived at a decision in regard to the former remonstrance, the "Vertoogh," upon which with the other papers referred to it the Committee had reported with the "Provisional Order." The Committee's report had been sent to the directors, who answered by a qualified refusal to obey the suggestions made in the "Provisional Order." Stuyvesant's return was considered unnecessary; if additional information were needed, the Vice-Director, Van Dincklagen, could come and give it. To the proposition to invest the Nine Men with the privilege of trying small causes, they replied that "it was best to leave the administration of justice in New Netherland as it then stood." All the papers went again to a Committee and

copies of them were sent to the various chambers of the West India Company. We have here little more to do with the negotiations than to say that finally the "Presiding Chamber,"—*i. e.*, the Chamber of Amsterdam,—to whom the management of the affairs in New Netherland had been confided at the organization of the Company by the Assembly of the XIX., saw that it was time for them to make concessions or else lose control over the province. Of these concessions the most important was that they consented to let New Amsterdam have a "burgher government." The citizens were to be granted the privilege of electing magistrates "as much as possible according to the custom of Amsterdam," which was ruled by a body composed of a Schout or Sheriff, two Burgomasters or Mayors, and five Schepens or Aldermen. "Every attention must be paid," wrote the directors to Stuyvesant, April 4, 1652, "to honest and respectable individuals, who, we hope, can be found among the burghers. We also wish that the men elevated to office be, as much as possible, persons of our nation, which we think will give most satisfaction to the inhabitants."

The above-named officers were to sit as a municipal Court of Justice, from whose decisions appeals could be taken to the Supreme Court of the province. The Schout was to be the law-officer of the city, and to "preserve, protect and maintain the preëminences and immunities of the West India Company," as far as these had been delegated to the magistrates of the city. His duties were both administrative and executive, for he was charged with the execution of all judgments given by the municipal court, if not appealed, "according to the style and custom of the City of Amsterdam."[1]

Before Stuyvesant could receive news of these concessions he had himself amplified the powers of the Nine Men a little (April, 1652)[2] by giving them the jurisdiction suggested in the "Provisional Order," while the States-General acted upon another suggestion of the Committee by issuing an order for the recall of Stuyvesant. The Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company declared this unexpected step of the States-General a violation of their charter, and in a letter of April 27th advised him not to hurry in his arrangements for the voyage, but to wait further orders. Their remonstrances to the States-General, combined with the necessity of having an experienced soldier in command of the transatlantic colony, when a war with England was threatening, led to the rescinding of the order of recall. The anticipated war began, and Stuyvesant was admonished to put New Amsterdam and the province in a proper state of defense; also

[1] The writer of this chapter had a copy of the Schoutroll of Amsterdam made, about fourteen years ago, by a friend, then in Holland, and presented it to the State Library at Albany, but it cannot now be found.

[2] N.Y. Col. MSS., 5: 38 and 41.

to avoid any collision with the English neighbors east and south, for only then could Manhattan prosper and the "ships of New Netherland ride on every part of the ocean; then numbers, now looking to that coast with eager eyes, will be induced to embark for your island." These Amsterdam merchants of 1652 might have been proud of their far-sightedness, could they have seen the New Amsterdam of 1891.

Stuyvesant was never prompt in carrying out orders given at Amsterdam, when his own judgment and knowledge of affairs in New Amsterdam made them unadvisable, but he would yield to circumstances, especially when these had a military character. To carry out the orders of his superiors in regard to the defenses of New Amsterdam, he needed the coöperation of the people, which could only be obtained by the concession of the demanded popular government. The manner in which he granted this concession is characteristic of the man. The Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company had decided that the citizens of New Amsterdam should be allowed to elect their magistrates, but Stuyvesant did not think proper to go quite so far. By a proclamation of the 2d of February, 1653, he informed the people that henceforth they were to be ruled by two Burgomasters and five Schepens appointed by him; the Island of Manhattan became the City of New Amsterdam, even though the municipal court was not complete, as no Schout of the city had been appointed. Cornelis Van Tienhoven, the Company's Fiscal, was directed to act for the city as law-officer. Another infringement on the privileges of the new magistrates was that they were denied the right to appoint their Secretary, although the form of government of Amsterdam had been prescribed, and in the latter the Burgomasters had appointed the City Secretary ever since their own office was established. Stuyvesant appointed Jacob Kip to the office, promising that if the directors should send out a man for the place, he (Kip) should be given another office with an equally good yearly salary of two hundred and fifty florins ($100).[1]

The functions of the new magistrates were at first purely judicial. They sat every two weeks as a Court of Sessions for the trial of minor causes. The Court opened at nine in the morning, and adjourned at noon. Absentees from the bench were fined in a sliding scale, six stivers (12 cents) for the first half-hour, twelve stivers for the second, and forty stivers for not coming at all. The administrative and legislative duties were as yet limited. When Stuyvesant thought fit to issue an ordinance of this nature, specially relating to the city, he called on the Burgomasters and Schepens for their opinions, and in this manner laid the foundations of many of our modern institutions.

During the first few months after the organization of the city gov-

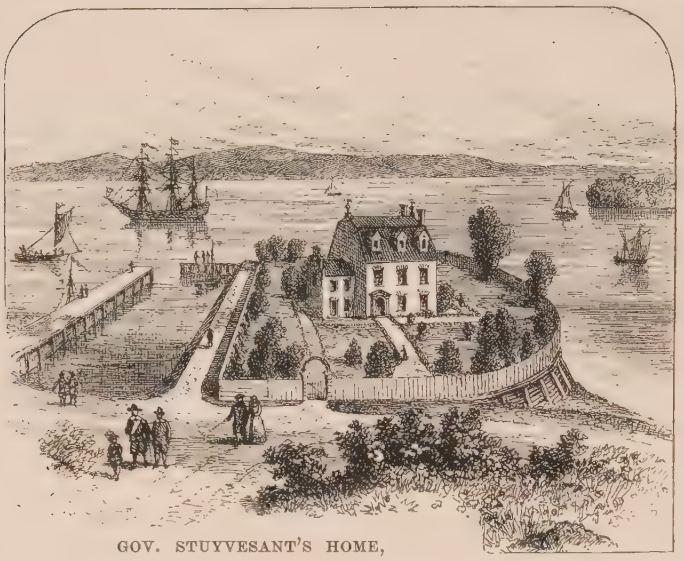
[1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 5 : 99.

ernment, nothing occurred to mar the relations of the Director-General with the new magistrates. They conferred together about the means to defend the city in case of an anticipated attack, as has been told above; funds were raised with the aid of the magistrates for the same purpose; but colonial politics, matters relating to the then existing war between the Netherlands and England, disturbed the friendly relations. An appeal to the directors concerning protection of the Long Island towns was talked of, but before sending it a remonstrance was presented to the Director and Council, which immediately widened the little rift into a great breach between the two governing bodies. This breach was increased by stubbornness on both sides. The magistrates refused to fulfil their promise to provide funds for the repairs of the fort, and were supported in their refusal by a meeting of burghers at the City Hall, August 2, 1653, where it was resolved "not to contribute anything until the Director should surrender the whole of the wine and beer excise." Stuyvesant would not yield, but the lack of funds in the treasury at last, in November, compelled him to a surrender. The revenue from the excise was, however, not large enough to defray all the public expenses, and in another meeting the burghers declared their readiness to submit to a tax levy and "to obey the Burgomasters and Schepens in all things, as good subjects are in duty bound."

Stuyvesant, it seems, had not surrendered the whole excise revenue, and was now, November 19th, told by the magistrates, that either he must give up the entire excise, as then collected by the Company, or they would resign. But no; no further concessions were made nor was the collective resignation accepted. The meditated appeal to the directors had received fresh incentives, and was despatched on the 24th of December, 1653, demanding power to administer the city "according to the form of government of Amsterdam, as far as possible," the right of electing a City Schout or of nominating candidates for the succession of all the magistrates. The appeal further asked for a surrender of the whole excise and the authority of imposing taxes and of leasing the ferry to Breuckelen, to have a city seal, and be provided with arms and ammunition for the defense of the place in case of attack. The directors answered with a lecture to Stuyvesant and another to the magistrates. Stuyvesant was told that he had not acted vigorously enough against the ringleaders of the mob, and should not have condescended to answer their protests by counter-protests. "For as it is the height of presumption in the people to protest against the government, so the rulers prostitute their authority when they pay only wordy attention to it and dare not punish them as they deserve." The Burgomasters and Schepens were commanded to keep quiet and allow themselves to be ruled by their government

without resistance, also not to meddle in affairs of state which did not concern them.

The popular party was, however, victorious, and it was Stuyvesant's disagreeable duty to communicate his own defeat to the victors. "For good reasons and for the sake of peace," he writes to the Burgomasters and Schepens, July 21, 1654,[1] "we have resolved not further to examine what has been done by you and for the present not to make any change. It has been decided that we shall summon you to appear before us, the ministers of the gospel being present, and then to address you earnestly in regard to the errors in your remonstrance to us and the Lords-Directors of the Company. The Director shall admonish you and recall to your minds the obedience and respect due to your superiors in authority. Then, the matter having been dismissed, the letter from the Lords-Directors will be delivered and their good intentions communicated to you."



GOV. STUYVESANT'S HOME, "THE WHITEHALL," 1658.

The "good intentions" were the more or less qualified concessions of the demands made in the appeal. The city was to have its Schout, but his appointment should remain in the hands of the Director and Council. The excise on beer and wine was granted to them, but they were to pay the public salaries. The authority of levying taxes "without offending the commonalty" was given, subject to the consent of the local authorities. A seal and a City Hall were promised, but for arms and ammunition they must apply to the Director and Council. The directors had themselves chosen the first Schout, Joachim Pietersen Kuyter, and sent out a commission for him, but his scalp was already adorning the belt of an Indian. Stuyvesant's first appointee, Jacques Cortelyou, a surveyor by profession, declined to act, and it is questionable whether this appointment would have been confirmed by the directors, for they write on hearing of it, November 23, 1654:[2]

[1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 5: 306.

[2] Ib., 12: 17.

"The man whom you have appointed Schout of New Amsterdam is unknown to us, and we hope he is capable; but, as we had suggested somebody else, the respect due from you to us required that you should have told us why you did not appoint him." Upon the refusal of the office by Cortelyou, Stuyvesant did not consider himself bound to appoint another City Schout, but he let Van Tienhoven attend to the duties of this office as before. The directors silently acquiesced in it, for in their letter of April 26, 1655,[1] accompanying instructions for this officer, they do not revert to him by name, but say, "Let the Fiscal provisionally perform the duties of the Schout's office, even though we have been very much in doubt concerning this decision, considering the manifold and grave complaints against him. You must admonish him to treat the people well and to endeavor to give satisfaction."

The peace reëstablished by these concessions to the demands of the popular party could not be a lasting one, for privileges asked for after the appeal had been forwarded to Holland, January 26, 1654,—namely, the right to make double nominations, from which the Director should select the successors of the active magistrates, and compensation for their official services,—had partly been refused by Stuyvesant, who "for the sake of peace and harmony, as well as for the welfare of the city," continued the sitting officials for another year, filling only two vacancies caused by death and removal; but he allowed a salary of three hundred and fifty florins ($140) to each of the two Burgomasters and of two hundred and fifty florins to each of the five Schepens, as they were "for the most part such persons as must maintain their houses and families by trade, farming, or mechanical labor." This refusal and the lecture given them on the 21st of July rankled in the breasts of the magistrates, and Stuyvesant soon gave them an opportunity to retaliate. He called on them, August 2, 1654, for the means of maintaining the civil and ecclesiastical officers and of supporting the military forces; also for an accounting of the city's revenues. The magistrates expressed their willingness to meet their share of three thousand florins, one-fifth of the sum required to pay the loan for repairing public works, and sent in their accounts, which showed that the salaries of the preachers had not been paid, as promised, and that a considerable sum had been paid to François le Bleue, the legal agent who had taken the last appeal to Holland. There were found other items which Director and Council refused to allow, and, taking the non-payment on one side and disallowed payments on the other for a pretext, they again took charge of the excise for the benefit of the Company. This time the magistrates thought it best to give way, in

[1] N. Y. Col. MSS., p. 18.

order to save the right of the excise to the city. They could not well retract a promise made a month before, June 13, 1654,[1] that when called upon they "as good, faithful, and obedient citizens" would contribute as much towards paying expenses, past and to come, as the means of the city allowed. The action taken by prominent merchants of the city may also have influenced the magistrates. These merchants had[2] told the Director and Council that they saw the country in general, but more especially New Amsterdam, was in danger, which delay only increased. They were willing to make commercial sacrifices and loan the money needed to Stuyvesant on his word, but the money so raised should be administered by a committee of three citizens, selected from six whom the Burgomasters and Schepens were to nominate.

The magistrates now offered to pay the salaries of the city officers, of one preacher, of one schoolmaster, and some minor officials, but Stuyvesant remained obstinate on the question of allowing the officers of the city, whose term was about to expire, to nominate their successors; and he returned the excise to the city. During his absence in the West Indies, from December 24, 1654, to July 11, 1655, the Council became lenient in other respects. They promised to pay for necessary repairs of the Stadthuys (the City Hall) on Coenties Slip, February 23, 1655,[3] and before granting to Daniel Litschoe the right to drive piles along his water-front on the East River, near the foot of the present Broad street, they desired to hear what petitioner's neighbors had to say about it. When Cornelis Schut asked the Council for repeal of an order given by Burgomasters and Schepens, to remove his salt, stored in the Stadthuys, he was told the building belonged to the city; Council had therefore no longer any jurisdiction over it.[4] William Teller asked that the City Gate on the East River, near the foot of the present Wall street, and the road might be repaired, but was referred to the magistrates, as the authorities, to have their surveyor examine the case.[5]

Complaints to the directors of the Company did not bring forth the desired changes. The resumption of the excise by Stuyvesant for the benefit of the provincial treasury was approved, and the magistrates were again lectured, May 26, 1655[6]: "Good regents are bound to take care of the lands, cities, and people in their charge and to protect them against violence and offense by outside enemies and neighbors. Likewise, a good community is bound to help in carrying the burdens arising out of the support of good government. You must know how much trouble and expense we have had before we could bring the City into the present condition, but nevertheless you have so far failed to find

[1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 5: 273. [2] Ib., p. 279. [3] Ib., 6: 17.
[4] Ib., p. 29. [5] Ib., p. 53. [6] Ib., 12: 23.

any subsidies among the citizens for paying your expenses, which is not only contrary to the maxims of well-governed cities and countries but also against the policy of this State. We are, therefore, compelled to come to the conclusion that we cannot wait any longer unless we wish to see the city of so much promise for the future fall into ruins, and having considered how to obtain assistance, we impose the following tax:

For each morgen (two acres English), 10 stivers (20 cents) yearly.
For each head of horned cattle, 20 stivers (40 cents) yearly.
From the rent of houses, the 20th penny.[1]

Although this order will be communicated to you by the Director-General and Council, we have nevertheless informed you directly of it so that you may not only set a good example to the community in raising subsidies, but also animate them to do their duty for the best of the City."

It may be that the easy victory gained over the Swedes on the Delaware in September, 1655, or the apparent submission of the Burgomasters in asking for the appointment of Orphanmasters to take care of widows and orphans and their property "as it is done at home," had quieted Stuyvesant's imperiousness, or something else had influenced him; at all events on the 18th of January, 1656, he issued an order for the election of Burgomasters and Schepens according to the "instructions granted to this City," to be held on the day of Mariæ Candlemass, as at home, and in the surrounding villages.[3] Some rather obnoxious conditions as to who might be elected, and the presence of a member of Council at the nomination, resulted in precisely what Stuyvesant had wished to avoid. Men not to his taste who had formerly opposed him were nominated, and he found herein an excuse to suspend the new order and continue last year's magistrates in office for another year.

The Burgomasters, who had formerly been laggards in paying to the Directors and Council what they had promised to pay, found now that the same shoe could also pinch their financial toe. They complain, February 1, 1656,[4] that many, yea, the majority, of those who voluntarily subscribed funds for paying the city's present debts and future expenses had failed to do so. They, as treasurers of the city, now were prevented from having necessary repairs carried out, and asked Stuyvesant's assistance in forcibly collecting the subscriptions; but they were told that as Burgomasters and Schepens they had sufficient authority to compel unwilling subscribers to fulfil their promises.

It has been already stated that as early as 1648 Stuyvesant made an order concerning who should and who should not be allowed to

[1] Laws of N. N., p. 187. [2] N. Y. Col. MSS., 6: 113. [3] Ib., p. 222. [4] Ib., p. 263.

trade within the Province, but the order having been vetoed by the directors of the Company, "the Scotchmen [*i. e.*, unlicensed peddlers] increased in numbers, who come and go every year," say the magistrates, January 22, 1657,[1] "with the ships from Fatherland, who upon arrival, refusing to sell their goods here, take them to Fort Orange [Albany] or elsewhere, and having disposed of them there, leave the country as soon as possible, so that this place not only derives no benefits from such persons, but also great damage is done to this community, because even eatables, brought from Fatherland, had to be bought at Fort Orange last summer, being cheaper there than here. Such trade is directly contrary to Article 12 of the Privileges granted to this place, according to which the staple right for the whole of New Netherland is vested in the Island of Manhates, reserved as the Company's Colony; and, considering the burdens and taxes borne by the community and the services done by them as well during the English trouble as at every other occasion, we, the Burgomasters and Schepens, ask to be granted some privileges, the first one of which is the Burgher Right, found in every well-governed city. We request that nobody shall be allowed to keep shop here except people known to be citizens of this place, and that no person not having real property and living here may trade in the surrounding country. We further request that people coming from the Fatherland or elsewhere to live and trade here shall be compelled to pay for their Burgher Right in this City."

Stuyvesant had, by slow process, come to the conviction that he lacked the physical power to rule the City of New Amsterdam and the Province of New Netherland by his will. He had made several concessions to popular government not yet mentioned, which briefly stated were: executions of judgments by the magistrates through the City Marshal according to Amsterdam custom;[2] fees to the city's officers for recording deeds and other public documents;[3] extension of jurisdiction allowing the City Court to pass sentence to the extent of whipping and branding in all cases of misdemeanor and criminal offenses of a minor character and to execute the same, unless appeal was taken.[4] Now he even went so far as to recognize by one of his Ordinances "the faithful and voluntary services and the submission to burthens" evinced by the citizens, and without much delay granted the prayer of the magistrates for the introduction of the important Dutch rule of "Burgher Right," which conveyed not only commercial but also political and legal privileges, although since 1652, by the division into Great and Small Burgher Right, it had lost some of its significance. The Ordinance granting it to the City of

[1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 8: 427. [2] Laws of N. N., p. 186. What Amsterdam custom was see in Rooseboom, "Recueil van Verscheydene Keuren," p. 34. [3] Laws of N. N., p. 266. [4] Ib., p. 301.

New Amsterdam decreed that the Great Burgher Right could be given to:

1. Former and actual members of the Provincial Government.
2. Former and actual Burgomasters and Schepens.
3. Ministers of the Gospel.
4. Commissioned officers, the Ensign included.
5. All who may apply for it and pay fifty florins.
6. All the descendants in the male line of the foregoing.

To Small Burgher Right were entitled:

1. All who had resided, keeping fire and light, in the city for one year and six weeks.
2. All born in the city.
3. All who have married, or may hereafter marry, native-born burghers' daughters.
4. All who now, or hereafter, keep shop and carry on business, on application and payment of twenty-five florins.
5. All employees in the Company's pay, and new-comers who may intend to settle elsewhere, provided they do so within six weeks after arrival.

The money to be obtained from this source was to go into the City Treasury and to be used chiefly for the fortifications. The privileges granted to the great burgher were much more important than those of his poorer neighbor. Only men of the great burgher class were eligible to office; they were exempt from watch and other military duty during one year and six months, and could not personally be arrested by any of the inferior courts. The small burgher had only the privilege of paying his fees and attending to his business. The list of 1657 gives two hundred and twenty-five names of persons who applied and received their papers.

The next step in the evolution of municipal government was an order of the Director and Council, March 6, 1657,[1] regulating the financial administration: "Whereas the Burgomasters in office have to attend not only to the business of their position for the benefit of the City, but also to their private affairs, the duties of a Treasurer shall henceforth be taken care of by the Burgomaster last going out of office."

Nothing having disturbed the relations between Stuyvesant and the magistrates during the year 1657, the right to nominate their successors was conceded to the magistrates, January 28, 1658. But now the creation of classes among the citizens introduced an unexpected

[1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 6: 469.

inconvenience, for among the twenty great burghers qualified for election were the Director-General himself, the resident Domine, and some women, and the number of eligible persons, from whom seven were to be chosen, had dwindled below that number, and the already unpopular classification had to be modified. But as yet the election of a Schout was denied, and Councilor Nicasius De Sille continued to act for the city.

The management of the municipal finances furnished the next cause for trouble, for although the city had its Treasurer, his accounts were subject to auditing by the Director and Council. In a communication to the city magistrates of January 22, 1658,[1] Stuyvesant and Council say that the accounts for the preceding year are very defective and unreliable, "for the items on the debtor side have no day nor datum to show when the money was received, and it is presumed that more has or ought to have been received by the tax levy; besides, there are wanting the accounts for rent due up to now,—*i. e.*, the middle of December, or three-quarters of the year,— which would amount to about four thousand florins. As to the expenses, there are many items defective and not allowable, which need further explanations." The explanations given by the Burgomasters, February 19, 1658,[2] were unsatisfactory, and the magistrates, although thinking, as they said, that they had acted for the best of the city, were sent back to their Hall, to find better excuses. They had not improved their position by asking on the day when the preceding communication was under consideration in the Council that, on account of "the scantiness of the City's revenues and the many necessary repairs to public works," the income from the Weighhouse might be turned into the municipal Treasury, "according to the good custom of the Fatherland."[3] They were told: "The weighing of goods is regalia belonging to the Supreme Authority or the Patroons, and the request can therefore not be granted. It is practicable at home, both in cities and in villages, where State or Communal works are erected, because required or ornamental, to call for the money to erect on the inhabitants for whose benefit they are intended, without diminishing the general revenues, which you, Burgomasters and Schepens, have for some time been trying and still endeavor to do by asking for this or that domain

ANIMALS ON MANHATTAN, FROM VAN DER DONCK.

[1] N. Y. Col. MSS., p. 665. [2] Ib., p. 738. [3] Ib., p. 675.

of the Company or for the imposition of taxes on Company's or citizens' property. To give our consent to such proceedings would lay us open to deserved blame." This controversy over municipal finances and their administration was settled by a *brevi manu* threat of Stuyvesant, that if the city's accounts could not be kept in better order, the Company's receiver or some other proper person would be charged with this duty.

The question of appointing a Schout for the city, instead of having him elected like the other magistrates, had in the mean time not been settled. Stuyvesant continued to impose his appointees on the city, and the magistrates rebelled by refusing to recognize Resolved Waldron, the Deputy Schout appointed in May, 1658. Upon his complaint over this treatment, Burgomasters and Schepens were told that they must recognize him as such,[1] but they managed, in a quiet manner, to have their own way. They sent Pieter Tonneman, late Schout of Breuckelen and the other Dutch villages on Long Island, as their choice to the Amsterdam directors, and in April, 1660, he triumphantly returned with his commission as Schout of New Amsterdam, and took his seat on the bench till now occupied by De Sille.

No internal political strife disturbed the few remaining years of the life of the City of New Amsterdam before she had to take the present name of New-York, a more or less unwilling bride of the English usurper. But some changes in its institutions must be noted. The inhabitants were still jealous on the subject of residence, and at their request Stuyvesant modified the law regarding it so that persons who absented themselves from the city for four months "without keeping fire and light" there should lose their Burgher Right.

Foreign politics began to exert its influence on the relations between Stuyvesant and the magistrates of the city during the last year of his Directorate. Charles II. had ascended the throne of England, and was beginning to think with how much ingratitude he could requite the hospitality extended to him during his exile in the Netherlands. Under a grant from him to his brother James, Duke of York and Albany, the English were taking possession of the Dutch towns on Long Island, and New Amsterdam was threatened by a like fate, to which in its poor state of defense it would easily have fallen a victim. When Stuyvesant sought the advice of the Burgomasters and Schepens how to avert such a disaster, they recommended that "the capital, adorned with so many noble buildings at the expense of the good and faithful inhabitants, principally Dutchmen," should be thoroughly fortified, and that troops in sufficient number should be

[1] N. Y. Col. MSS., p. 1015.

enrolled to protect New Amsterdam and the province, which would soon become an emporium to the Fatherland. But it was not to be; in order that the United States should arise, and that New-York should become the "emporium" of the Western World, it was necessary that New Netherland should be united to the other English colonies in its neighborhood.

We have so far seen Stuyvesant in his relations to New Amsterdam as the representative of the directors of the West India Company in military, commercial, and political matters, but there remains yet the administrator in matters of importance to the city seen from the communal point.

The letter of November 14, 1647, quoted above, dated "in our bedroom," closes with the recommendation to the Nine Men to advise him in regard to proper regulations about fires, "which might break out here as well as in other places. It must be done with the least expense and damage to the community." Two months later, January 23 and 28, 1648, he issued an ordinance, appointing fire-wardens and forbidding the use of wooden chimneys in the houses between the fort near the present Bowling Green and the Fresh Water, now occupied by the Tombs and neighborhood.[1] Fines imposed on persons who persisted in using wooden chimneys, or in whose house a fire broke out, were to be applied to the purchase of fire-ladders, buckets, and hooks. The unfortunate citizen whom fire visited had not only to suffer loss of goods, but also to pay twenty-five florins ($10) for the pleasure of it.[2] In September of the same year the powers of the fire-wardens were enlarged, and they were directed to visit every house and see that the chimneys were properly cleaned, because fires had occurred in two places, occasioned by the negligence of certain persons who were in the habit of leaving their chimneys uncleaned and of paying no attention to their fires.[3]

In a place the houses of which were mostly wooden, the enforcement of rules for the prevention of fires can never be called too harsh, but in this case Stuyvesant seems to have been over-lenient. We have no distinct record of any fire breaking out in the mean time, except during the Indian invasion of 1655, when not the best-regulated fire department could have done anything, but Stuyvesant allowed ten years to pass before his attention was again called to this matter. The former ordinances had fallen into oblivion, the possibilities of destruction of the whole city had increased, because the wooden houses were covered with thatched roofs, still had their wooden chimneys, and stood in close proximity to inflammable haystacks. A new ordinance of December 15, 1657,[4] ordered a change of roofs and chimneys and a removal of the dangerous hayricks, etc. The city magis-

[1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 4 : 38 and 41. [2] Laws of N. N., p. 82. [3] Ib., p. 102. [4] Ib., p. 322.

trates were authorized to demand from every house, whether small or large, one beaver or eight florins ($3.20) in wampum, and to procure from the Fatherland with this money two hundred and fifty leathern fire-buckets, also to have some fire-ladders and hooks made. To maintain this establishment they may yearly collect a chimney tax of one florin for each. The promptness with which the magistrates carried out this order must have convinced Stuyvesant that government by and for the people, limited though it was in 1657, could accomplish more than he had supposed. The hooks and ladders, made by workmen in the city, were soon placed, as required by the ordinance, "at the corners of the streets, in public houses and other places convenient of access." The difficulties attending the purchase in and transport from the Netherlands of fire-buckets induced the Burgomasters to try whether they could not be made in New Amsterdam. Several shoemakers were called to a meeting in the Council chamber of the City Hall, August 1, 1658, and two of them, Remout Remoutsen and Arian Van Laer, agreed to make one hundred and fifty buckets out of tanned leather, for six florins two stivers ($2.44) each, by All Saints' Day. When delivered and numbered on the 20th of January, 1659, they were distributed so that fifty of them were placed in the City Hall, twelve at the inn of Daniel Litschoe (near the intersection of the present Broad and Pearl streets), another dozen at the house of Abraham Verplank in the Smit's Valey (near the present Custom House), and at other convenient places to the number of ten or twelve at each. The Fire Department of New-York was established, and can claim to be one of the oldest institutions of the city!

The other department to whose watchful energy the protection of life and property is confided — the Police — is not one of Stuyvesant's creations, although he issued ordinances for such protection, among them the ordinance of May 31, 1647, against fighting with knives, a frequent occurrence in those days; of June 27, 1652, against fast driving through the streets, which made it punishable for the drivers to sit or stand in their conveyances; of October 9, 1652, against shooting with firearms at partridges and other game within the limits of the

city.[1] A temporary night-watch was established by the magistrates in 1653, when the disagreements with the New England people suggested a possible attack. The whole body of citizens of suitable age was then called into service, with headquarters at the City Hall.

The restoration of friendly relations made such a large force for night duty unnecessary, but the previous alarm had in various ways demonstrated that a night police would be an assistance to the Fire Department. After consultation with the Council of War, composed of the Director with Council and the chief officers of the troops, the Burgomasters and Schepens resolved to apply for the organization of a "ratelwacht" of four or six men, whose duty should be to go about the city at night, announcing to the night-prowling evil-doer their whereabouts by a rattle and by calling out the hour. This resolution was suggested "by consideration of the small accommodation and convenience for the citizens' watch (dissolved by the same resolution), and likewise because of the great cost of fire and light for the same, making it burdensome upon the citizens to sustain them during the winter." The Director and Council gave consent to this organization, but there the movement rested, probably because no men could be found to take upon themselves the duties of these new officers until October, 1658, when the Burgomasters made an arrangement with nine men, who undertook to watch in detachments of four every night for the pay of twenty-four stivers (48 cents) each per night, a gift of one or two beavers, and two hundred to three hundred sticks of firewood. The rules and regulations drawn up for the guidance of this ratelwacht have more to say about what the watchmen are not to do and the fines therefor than about their duties. One rule then made is still in force, though more in the spirit than in the letter. It says: "If a watchman receive any sum of money as a fee, he shall give the same to the captain, and this fee so brought in shall be paid to the City treasurer." These guardians of the night were paid by a monthly tax of fifty stivers ($1.00), payable by each house in the place.

Up to the time of Stuyvesant's arrival at New Amsterdam little regard had been paid to the boundary-lines of the various lots. Owners of such lots had arbitrarily built beyond their lines into the streets; we see the result of it to-day in the crooked lines of some streets in the oldest part of the city. Stuyvesant took immediate steps to remedy this evil, by appointing surveyors of streets and buildings, who were given power to prevent the erection of unsightly and improper buildings in the streets, to regulate the street lines according to the land patents, and to supervise the streets generally. People were not allowed to build without first having notified these surveyors of their intentions and submitted their plans.[2] Of Stuyvesant's next endeavor

[1] Laws of N. N., pp. 60, 128, 138.

[2] Ib., p. 74, July 25, 1647.

to have the streets in good order, by forbidding the felling of trees across and the putting of stones into the streets, we know only through references made to it in an ordinance of April 9, 1658, which says, "All streets, paths, and highways are to be properly maintained, constructed, cleaned, and kept passable according to the Ordinance of May 23, 1650."[1] Another ordinance gives us a picture of how the streets of New Amsterdam may have looked at that time. "The roads and highways here," it says, "are rendered difficult of passage for wagons and carts on account of the rooting of the hogs; therefore, it is ordered that the inhabitants put rings through the noses of all their hogs. It has been seen that goats and hogs are daily committing great damage in the orchards and plantations around Fort Amsterdam; therefore, it is ordered that these animals be kept in inclosures."[2]

In November, 1655, the city magistrates moved in a direction which greatly improved the appearance and condition of New Amsterdam. They wrote to the Director-General and Council that refugees (probably Swedes from the Delaware) and others, who had come with the intention of a permanent settlement, had asked for building-lots on which they might erect dwelling-houses. The magistrates therefore suggested that a proper survey of the city might be made, to know what lots could be given out. Stuyvesant and Council understood the situation and appointed the regular street-surveyors with Burgomaster Allard Anthony and Councilor La Montagne a committee for the survey of all lots; and lest any person should take possession of land without legal authority, this committee was empowered to make a price for each lot; from their decision an appeal could be taken only to the Director and Council.

The survey, accompanied by a map now unfortunately lost, was laid before the Council in February, 1656.[3] The streets had been laid out as they should run, and marked out with stakes. People who believed themselves injured by it could apply for redress to the Burgomasters, who were given power to make compensation. Others who were ready to build could have lots at appraised value, but the original owners were preferred in the distribution, if the vacant lots owned by them did not touch the street line, until payment had been made therefor according to valuation and until necessity required the disposal of them to others, no other vacant lots being on hand. The Burgomasters were to determine what streets and lots were first to be built on. This law was not as effective as the authorities hoped, although the records of land patents show us that the applications for lots in New Amsterdam became very numerous after February, 1656. The Burgomasters having this matter specially in charge held for some time daily sessions in the City Hall, to settle disputes between

[1] Col. MSS., 16 : 3. [2] Laws of N. N., p. 342. [3] Ib., p. 219.

their officials and the citizens, and the record of their proceedings gives us an insight into the administration of municipal affairs in Stuyvesant's day. We read, for instance: "Jean Videt asks for permission to build on the land heretofore given to Daniel Turneur, which has not been built on.— Refused, because a corner house should be built on that lot, while Videt only intends to build small houses on it."

The before quoted law, even if not as effective as hoped for, had done enough to make Stuyvesant congratulate himself and the city on "the blessed increase of the population and of the trade" and to enlarge upon the beauties of a well-regulated city with good dwelling-houses and large gardens. There were, however, still vacant lots within city limits in January, 1658.[1] All these lots were now taxed at the rate of the fifteenth penny of their value, as appraised by the owners, who were allowed this privilege to avoid complaints of too high a valuation. The Burgomasters were allowed to take any vacant lot at the owner's valuation, if not built upon, and grant it to another man. The tax ceased as soon as a house was built, but no dwelling-houses were to be built near or under the walls and gates of the city.

Of only a few streets are the dates when they were first paved known. There ran, and still runs, a street from Whitehall to Broad street, called by the Dutch the Brouwer (Brewer) street, from several breweries lying on it. The people living on this street petitioned the Burgomasters, March 15, 1657, to have it paved with cobble-stones, as it was becoming more and more unfit for travel. It is supposed that this was the first street paved in New Amsterdam, and that the name which it has now, of Stone street, was given to commemorate this event. The expenses for the work were assessed on the residents in the street. The Winckel (Shop) street, which is now closed, but ran from Broad street diagonally through the blocks where the Mills Building and the United States Custom House now stand, was paved like Brugh (Bridge) street in 1658.

The busy crowd now daily surging up and down Broad street will scarcely believe that two hundred years ago cargoes of various kinds were being loaded in and unloaded from vessels, which then could and did come as far up as where Exchange Place now enters into Broad street. On the east side of it was the Prince's Graft, extending into Beaver street, with ten or twelve dwelling-houses on it. A city ordinance of 1660 tells us that it was a creek going into the Heere Graft (Broad street), and that the roads on both sides of this run of water were ordered to be paved, each resident paving the portion before his own door. The Heere Graft presented the conveniences of a landing-place without the expenses of a dock, and therefore the authorities took especial care in preserving its banks and keeping the bottom

[1] Laws of N. N., p. 325.

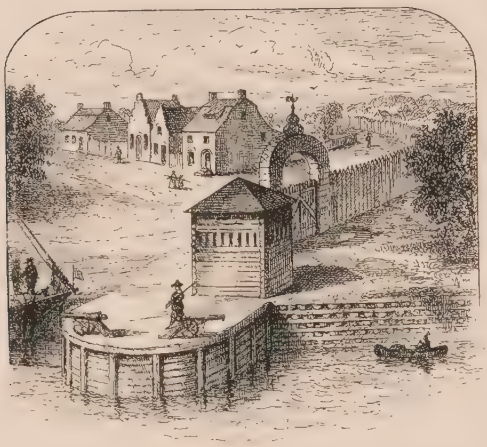
clear. Artificial sidings of wood to prevent the caving in of the banks were commenced in 1657, and at the same time ordinances against throwing filth and offal into the water of the Heere Graft were issued, with heavy penalty for their violation. This work, on which only three laborers were employed during the open season, was completed in 1659, and then the Deputy Schout, or Sheriff, was made "Officer of the Graft," whose duty it was "to see that the newly made graft was kept in order, that no filth was cast into it, and that boats, canoes, and other vessels coming into it were laid in order. A petition of residents along the Graft was presented to the Burgomasters and Schepens in 1660, asking that the street might be paved with key-stones. It was so ordered, and the residents were called upon to pay 2792 florins ($1096.80) for the work. This made the street one of the most considerable thoroughfares for commerce and trade, a character which it has not lost yet, although the call "Ahoy," coming across the water, is no longer heard in it. A bridge crossed it near its outlet at the junction with Bridge street, and possibly there were other passages over it along its course.

At or near the intersection of Bridge street and the Graft stood the principal buildings of interest to the merchant, the Weighhouse, the Company's Storehouses, and there was the place where merchandise was taken in or discharged. We must again read original records to understand the use and conveniences of this place, called the "Hoofd" (head), to the merchants and people of the city. The Burgomasters and Schepens write to the Director-General and Council, October 9, 1658: "Much inconvenience arises to the burghers and inhabitants here at this time from the condition of the floating dock at the bridge where they have before this landed with little trouble their goods and merchandise, and could easily load and unload vessels coming up to it; we request you therefore to allow that, for their own accommodation, these merchants and inhabitants may make a hoist for loading or unloading yachts, sloops, and schooners; also, that you will make a tariff of fees for the use of it." The answer was short but favorable, although it had taken the Council more than a month to frame it. It says, November 14, 1658: "The petitioners have permission to make a good and substantial hoist, after the finishing of which they shall receive for every load that this crane shall handle eight stivers (16 cents), less quantities in proportion."

The Heere Graft had an inlet running westward into that part of our present Beaver street which is between Broad and Whitehall streets. Does its name come from beavers having been found as its denizens by the first settlers, or from the trade in beaver-skins being mostly carried on here? The character of the soil along the banks of this inlet suggests that during wet seasons this thoroughfare must

have been almost impassable. It was not made a respectable street in Stuyvesant's time.

On the north side of Fort Amsterdam, and almost under its walls, was a grass plot which some of the very oldest inhabitants of modern New-York recollect as the gathering-place of the beau monde in their younger days. From this Bowling Green a wide but thinly populated street stretched up the hill to the north. It was the principal street to go out of the city through the "Landpoort," the gate in the wall standing along Wall street. Its name, Heeren straat (the Gentlemen's street), indicated that even then it was considered as the principal street of the city, and it is so now as Broadway. The houses facing Bowling Green, which had in earlier days been the town market-place, were called hence the Marckvelt (Marketfield), and from it the Marckvelt Steegie, now Marketfield street, led to the Heere Graft.



THE WATER GATE, FOOT OF WALL STREET.

The street then most thickly settled was behind the fort, and has not changed its name of Pearl street, but it extended only from State to Whitehall streets. Starting from its beginning at the corner of State street stood a number of houses, fronting the bay; between these houses and the river banks ran a road called "Het Water" (the Water). Next to Broadway in importance was a thoroughfare leading from the bridge over the outlet of the Heere Graft along the East River to the Water Gate, the egress from the city near the present crossing of Wall and Pearl streets. In 1661 this Hooghe (High) street contained forty-one dwelling-houses, several small shops, and the City Hall. Wall street, so called because the palisades stood along the south side of it, was then not the busy street which it is to-day. By law no dwelling-houses could be built there. There were in New Amsterdam only three more streets, the Smits Valey, now South William street, following a valley which descended into the East River, the Smee, and the Glass-makers streets, the precise location of which has been lost.

William Beekman, later Vice-Director of the colony on the South or Delaware River, received by patent of June 20, 1655,[1] land beyond the Fresh Water or Kalck Hoeck or Collect, and soon after had trouble with his neighbors, who claimed a right of way through his land for

[1] Patents H. H., p. 55.

their cattle pasturing on the Commons, which they said had been done even before their time. This was probably the beginning of Beekman street, which for many years to come remained outside of the city and was not made a street until 1734.

In March, 1658, it had been resolved to make a settlement at the northeastern end of the Island of Manhattan, "for the promotion of agriculture and as a place of amusement for the citizens of New Amsterdam." This settlement, New Haerlem, has remained a place of amusement until the present day, and the road which the Director and Council then promised the inhabitants to build is now one of the great arteries of busy life, known as the Bowery and Third avenue.

The southern end of Manhattan Island has grown in width from the North to the East River since the day when Director-General Stuyvesant ruled. High tides would bring the water nearly up to the City Hall, fronting the East River near the head of the present Coenties Slip. The access to the City Hall was under such conditions most inconvenient, and this gave occasion for the construction of a siding of wood, protecting the shore by preventing the land from being washed out and by its height serving as a barrier against the overflow of water. This siding, the "Schoeyinge," at Coenties Slip was begun in 1655. In August of that year "Sybout Claesen made representation that he had been employed to build the Schoeyinge, but that the water prevented the work."

The people living on that road along the East River which is now Pearl street suffered in their private capacity as citizens, as much as the frequenters of the City Hall, from the inconvenience of having the waves of the river dash up to their very doors. Upon their representation the Magistrates ordered therefore, early in 1656, that this lining should be continued from the City Hall to the Water Gate, near where Pearl and Wall streets now meet. This work was to be done by the owners of the lots running down to the river,[1] but the order mentioned above was not generally complied with, as the following ordinances of the Burgomasters and Schepens, September 25, 1656,[2] tell us: "Whereas the Schoeyinge is as yet only made near the Water Gate at the East River, it is necessary, not only for the good of the City in general, but specially for the benefit of the people living there along the Strand, that it be immediately completed. The Burgomasters and Schepens therefore ordain that all persons who have houses or lots along the river between the City Hall and the Water Gate forthwith proceed to build up and line the same with boards before their respective lots, under a penalty of twenty-five florins ($10) if not done."

This was the beginning of the lateral territorial expansion of Manhattan Island into the East River, which we cannot follow up here, as

1 N. Y. Col. MSS., 8 : 305, 310.

2 "New Amsterdam Records," not paged.

the further encroachments on the water on both sides of the island took place at later dates. The land immediately and daily washed by the river across the road between the houses and the water was mostly granted to the owner of the opposite lot fronting on the street, on condition that if it should be needed for a wall or a breastwork in the city's fortifications as much as was required should be given up for that purpose. Daniel Litschoe, the innkeeper at the foot of Broad street, was the first to take advantage of the rule concerning such land on the water's edge, and he was also the first to build a wharf into the water and lay the foundation of future encroachments upon the East River.

Solicitude for the Company's revenues to be derived from duties seems to have been the reason for the port regulations of July 4, 1647, which directed vessels under fifty tons burden of every nationality desiring to anchor under the Manhattans, to do so in front of the city between Capske Point, the rocks over which Castle Garden is built, and the guide-board near the City Tavern, later the City Hall, at Coenties Slip; larger ships were to lie further up to the second guide-board near the Smits Valey (William street). Goods were not to be discharged until entry had been made at the Custom House, and then not between sunset and sunrise. Nine years later the anchorage ground in the East River, as allotted in 1647, had grown too small, and it became necessary to open such a place in the North River; the space in front of and near the Beaver path was so designated.

The intercourse between New Amsterdam, the Esopus District, Fort Orange, Fort Nassau on the Delaware, and the Long Island towns did not yet warrant the establishment of postal facilities. But already in 1652 the directors of the Company have occasion to write to Stuyvesant concerning transatlantic mails, for which New-York is now the great starting-point.[1] "For the accommodation of private parties," they say, "who often give their letters for New Netherland to one or the other sailor or free merchant, from which practice result many delays in the delivery of letters and subsequent losses to the writers and their friends there, the letters being laid in the bottom of chests or the bearers going to other places, we have fastened a box at the New Warehouse, where we now hold our meetings, for the collection of all letters, to be sent out by the first ship sailing. We have deemed it advisable to inform you thereof, so that you may do the same in New Netherland and send the letters, for the sake of greater safety, in a bag addressed to us. We shall hand them to whom they belong. People expecting letters usually come to the Warehouse." Stuyvesant may have considered this an unnecessary innovation, or may have feared that accusations against him would by such facilities

[1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 11: 71.

only so much surer reach his superiors; he evidently paid no attention to the directors' suggestion, for in November, 1654,[1] they write: "Some time ago great complaints were made to us about the bad delivery of private letters coming from New Netherland, which often are kept back two or three weeks, or are not delivered at all, thereby causing great inconveniences to merchants and others; therefore, we direct you hereby to have a box or case made for collecting such letters, then to have them well packed, and to give them to the supercargoes of the ships sailing hitherward with orders to deliver the packages to us for distribution." It was necessary to repeat this order in September, 1655, and to suggest that the letter-box be affixed at the Company's Storehouse or some other convenient place.[3]

THE SCHOEYINGE ALONG THE EAST RIVER.

Although from the earliest time of settlement on Manhattan Island grain was cultivated, the right to turn such grain into flour or grits, as well as the right to produce building material by sawing the trees found on the island into the required lumber, had remained a prerogative of the Company. A sawmill, probably worked by the tide in the river, was erected on Nooten Island. Stuyvesant found this mill completely ruined and useless, and in January, 1648, he and the Council resolved that the best advantage of the Company required it to be dismantled by removing the ironwork from it or burning the whole.[4] The grist-mill had always been an expensive burden to the Company through frequent and extensive repairs, which the rent for it did not pay. Here also Stuyvesant made a change, by appointing a miller, August 15, 1648,[5] at forty florins ($16) monthly wages, who was ordered not to grind any grain for which no certificate from the Controller of the Mill Revenue was produced. William Bogardus, son of the famous Anneke Jans, was promoted to this place of Controller from a clerkship in the Company's offices, September 27, 1656.[6] The experiment of running the mill directly for account of the Company did not pay, and in March, 1658, it was resolved to let it again to the highest bidder, if possible. No highest bidder seems to have appeared, for a few weeks later the monopoly of milling was voluntarily given up by Stuyvesant,

[1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 12: 17.

[2] The *Schoeyinge*, or Siding of Boards, was built by Stuyvesant along a portion of the East River shore and completed in 1656.—EDITOR.

[3] N. Y. Col. MSS., p. 31.

[4] Ib., 4: 355.

[5] Ib., p. 409.

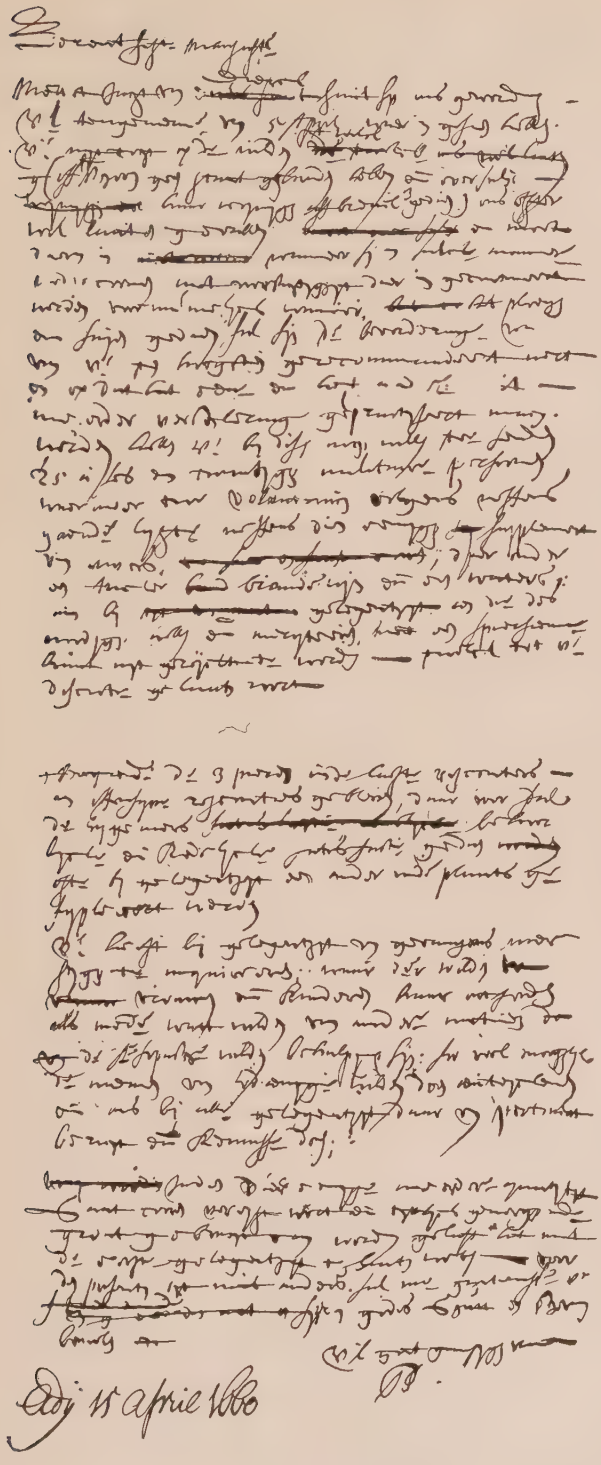
[6] Ib., 8: 223.

when Abraham Pietersen, a miller, petitioned that the permission given him in September, 1657, to put up a watermill at the Fresh Water, might be so far extended that he could set it up on the Strand. A simple "Fiat, ut petitur" (Let it be done, as asked)[1] was the answer.

As another chapter will state the manner in which Stuyvesant took care of the spiritual welfare of his "good subjects," only what he did for their bodily conditions will be related here. The Company had from the beginning of settlement kept a surgeon in the colony at their expense to look after the health of their employees. Soon after Stuyvesant's arrival the directors found that many free men — *i. e.*, not in pay of the Company — emigrated to the colony on the Hudson, and doubts arose in their minds whether they should further keep a medical man in their service or allow all who wished to practise their profession independently.[2] Three such practitioners are known to have made pills and sold Vienna drink[3] to the good people of New Amsterdam in 1652. They petitioned the Director and Council, February 12, 1652, that only they should have the right to shave, but were told that properly shaving was not a surgeon's business, but only an incidental appendage of it, and that no one could be prevented from serving himself nor from assisting a friend as long as it were done out of courtesy and not for pay, nor an open shop kept for the purpose, which is hereby forbidden.[4] But these surgeons of New Amsterdam were protected against competition by ships' barbers, who had committed great mistakes in surgical treatment of some patients on shore. They were henceforth not allowed to treat shore patients without the knowledge and consent of the city's surgeons.

Master Jacob Hendricksen Varrevanger had for some time been the Company's surgeon, and as such found that soldiers and other employees of the Company, when sick, could not have the care their illness required. "He is sorry to learn," he says in a report to Director and Council, December 12, 1658[5], "that such sick people must suffer much through cold, inconveniences, and the dirtiness of the people who have taken the poor fellows into their houses, where bad smells and filth counteract all health-producing effects of the medicaments given by him, the surgeon. Death has been the result of it in several cases, and more deaths will follow." He requests, therefore, that by order of the Director and Council a proper place might be arranged for the reception of such patients, to be taken care of by a faithful person, who is to assist them bodily, with food, fire, and light: soldiers to pay for it out of their wages and rations — Company's negroes to be attended at Company's expense, or as thought most advisable. He was directed to look up such a place and person, and report. The

[1] N. Y. Col. MSS., pp. 774, 800. [2] Ib., 11 : 18. [3] Rhubarb, senna, and port-wine.
[4] N. Y. Col. MSS., 5 : 18. [5] Ib., 8 : 1062.



Letter from Director Stuyvesant to Ensign Smith at Esopus:

Honorable, Valiant [Sir]: We received by the yacht of Dirck Smith your favor of the 5th of April, from which we learned of your expedition against the savages which (although you suffered no loss, and did them also little damage) we still approve, and you must continue these proceedings cautiously, when they return in such manner, especially after the plowing and sowing has been done, the accelerating of which we urge upon you most earnestly, and that this, the one and the other, may be done with more order and safety, we shall send you herewith 25 to 26 soldiers, among whom are two volunteers, according to the inclosed list, besides also some provisions, among them an anker of brandy and one of strong water, to be issued according to your discretion to those who may need it and are sick. As to the three horses killed in the last affair, their owners shall receive a proper and fair indemnity or be supplied in time with others in their place. You must by occasion inquire from the prisoners where the women and children of the savages keep themselves, also what savages of other tribes give assistance to the Esopus, and furnish us as far as possible with the names of these savages, and give us at every occasion pertinent information and report. If you should require still more seed-corn and there is time enough to get it into the ground, please to inform me by the first opportunity. No more for the present. I commend you to God's protection with my greetings.

Your affectionate friend,

P. S.

Adii, 15th April, 1660.

STUYVESANT'S LETTER, 1660.

first hospital of New-York was established, and on the 20th of December, 1658, Hilletje Wilbruch, the wife of Cadet Tobias Wilbruch, was appointed its matron with a yearly salary of one hundred florins. The same Master Varrevanger, with his colleagues Kierstede and Jacob N., held the first coroner's inquest, in February, 1658, on the body of Bruyn Barentsen, who had been beaten by Jacob Eldersen, but they found the beating had nothing to do with the death, as, after receiving it, Bruyn had been able to row across to Breuckelen.

Stuyvesant was not a "teetotaler"; in fact, no apostle of the doctrine of total abstinence had as yet arisen in his days. Nevertheless he kept a watchful eye on the liquor traffic in New Amsterdam, as well as in the whole province, with twofold intentions, the one moral and the other financial. He had been only a few days at the seat of his new government, when, on May 31, 1647, he issued an ordinance against tippling during the hours of divine service, which was followed by one of July 1, 1647, against the sale of liquor to Indians, under a penalty of five hundred florins. The seller was to be held responsible for all the injuries and damages inflicted by a red man when under the influence of liquor. After the bell had announced the hour of nine in the evening, no intoxicating drinks were to be sold to any one. A few days later, July 4th, he pointed out through the medium of a new ordinance how the revenue could derive benefits from the traffic in wine and liquor.

There are no means of knowing how productive this excise on wine, beer, and distilled waters became, but it appears as if Stuyvesant were not satisfied with the operations of his ordinance after a trial of eight months, for on the 10th of March he issued a new one to regulate the taverns, by which each tavern-keeper was obliged to register his name in the Company's office and take out a license. Within a week twelve tavern-keepers obeyed this order,[1] but an order of July 8, 1648,[2] makes it evident that these twelve were not all the men who came within the provisions of the ordinance, for it says: "The excise on beer and wine is not promptly paid; therefore ordered, that the Receiver shall not issue an excise license to any one until he has paid for it." Licenses to keep a tavern were much more quickly withdrawn than to-day; no political influence helped the tavern-keeper, if any disturbance happened at his place which showed that liquor was the cause of it. Gerrit Jansen Clomp had been drinking at the house belonging to Abraham Pietersen, and in a quarrel with his boon companions had been killed. Result: the license of Abraham Pietersen, to sell liquor for use in his house or to be carried away, is according to custom withdrawn until further orders.[3] Before the excise was resigned to the officers of the city, the Director and Council

[1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 4: 372. [2] Ib., p. 392. [3] Ib., p. 398.

were called upon to decide the question whether patent medicines came within the operation of excise duties. Pieter Le Feber, a French Huguenot, had petitioned for permission to sell certain waters prepared by him for medicinal uses. The desired permit was given, but the Council were in doubt about the legality of their action, because brewers, wholesale dealers, including distillers, were usually not allowed to keep a tavern and sell beer or wine at retail. But as the petitioner claimed many virtues for his decoction, an exception was made in his favor, and he might sell his wonderful water at wholesale and retail in his house. Here we have the forerunner of our present patent medicines, established at New Amsterdam in 1653.[1]

The incorporation of the City of New Amsterdam had naturally thrown heavy financial burdens on the Burgomasters and Schepens. In a conversation with them, Stuyvesant had promised that from November 1, 1653, the excise on liquors should be paid into the City Treasury and no longer to the Company. But the month had nearly expired without a written fulfilment of the promise. Anxious for their standing before the community, the magistrates wrote to the Director and Council on the 25th of November: "The Director-General has on the 11th inst. verbally promised us that the excise on wine and beer, hitherto paid to the Company, should be paid to us from the first of November; we have therefore called in some of the principal citizens and inhabitants to inform them thereof. But as no ready money is on hand and is much needed, we asked whether the community would be willing to submit to such taxes as we should find necessary for the support of the City, which they all answered in the affirmative. However, we have not yet received a document concerning the excise, although we have spoken to you about it several times, and now request once more a proper grant of the excise on beer and wine, as formerly paid to the Company, except on what is sent to Fort Orange; the more so as we have informed the community of the matter and would become a laughing-stock for everybody if now it were refused. If any mishap should be the consequence of such refusal, then we must beforehand declare ourselves innocent thereof, and also say that without means we cannot exist and must let all work go to ruin."[2] Difficulties arose, which have been spoken of in another part of this chapter, and to smooth them over Stuyvesant finally consented to grant to the municipality the excise on beer and wine "consumed within the City," but the conditions of keeping the public works in repair, and paying the salaries of civil and ecclesiastical employees, were such that early in the following year the magistrates had to petition again, and this time for an increase of liquor taxes, including a tax on exported wine and beer. This was at once granted.[3]

[1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 5 : 143. [2] Ib., p. 144. [3] Ib., 5 : 211.

STUYVESANT TEARING THE LETTER.

With the surrender of the excise to the city, Stuyvesant's care for a proper execution of the law connected with the liquor traffic had by no means fallen asleep. An ordinance of August 24, 1654, against the sale of liquor to Indians shows that.[1] Drunken Indians found in the streets of the city were to be imprisoned until they told who had sold them the fire-water, and in such cases Indian evidence was made admissible. The financial affairs of the city were, however, not such that the conditions under which the excise was surrendered could easily be fulfilled. The salaries of the clergymen had not been paid, but the magistrates had used the city's money to send and to support in Holland their agent, Le Bleeuw, to work against Stuyvesant, who therefore determined to resume the excise and farm it out for the

[1] Laws of N. N., p. 182.

Company's advantage. This brought in after the disaster of 1655 5030 florins ($2012), and the money arising from this source did not again flow into the City Treasury until in February, 1664. The threatened invasion by the English was gradually assuming the appearance of a dangerous probability. Stuyvesant called upon the municipal officers for advice and aid, and these offered to appropriate all revenues and also to raise a loan, if the excise was again given up to the city. Director and Council agreed, upon condition that the city should enlist two hundred militiamen and support one hundred and sixty regular soldiers. This was the force which was to repel the English invader, coming with four men-of-war, mounting ninety-two guns, and manned by four hundred and fifty soldiers besides the regular crew. Small as his means of defense were, Stuyvesant was too much of a soldier to surrender willingly without a shot fired or a blow struck. Only upon the representation of prominent citizens of New Amsterdam, who pointed out to him the uselessness of the necessarily ensuing bloodshed, he lowered the orange, white, and blue flag over Fort Amsterdam before the blood-red banner of England.

The scene immediately preceding the change of flags floating over Fort Amsterdam deserves to be commemorated by a skilful painter's brush. Such a picture would show us Stuyvesant furiously stamping the floor with his wooden leg, while he reads and tears to pieces the letter sent him by Nicolls, demanding a surrender of the province; it would show us Stuyvesant, surrounded by the clergymen and magistrates of New Amsterdam, who implore the irate soldier not to let the question be decided *vi et armis*, but to submit to the inevitable; it would show us the citizens suddenly ceasing their work on the palisades for the defense of the Stadthuys (City Hall) and coming to the fort to support their magistrates.

Another picture, growing out of the first, should make us see Stuyvesant marching out of the gate leading into Broadway, at the head of his handful of soldiers, fully armed and equipped, the drums beating, the colors flying, and the matches lighted. Thus New Amsterdam ceased to exist on that morning of the 8th of September, 1664, and New-York arose on its memory.

The history of Director Stuyvesant after the surrender can be told in few words. He was, by order of the States-General, recalled to Holland to make a report of his administration. He arrived at The Hague in October, 1665, and after consideration of the papers submitted by the late Director-General of the late New Netherlands and by the directors of the West India Company, was allowed, in 1668, to return to the city the growth of which had taken such considerable strides during his administration. He settled on the farm, or bouwery, which he had bought several years before, covering that part of the

present city which lies between Third avenue, the East River, Sixth, and Sixteenth streets. His house, standing to the west of St. Mark's Church in Tenth street, was destroyed by fire in 1777, but the pear-tree which he brought with him on his return to New-York survived the house by nearly a century. It stood for many years, guarded against goats and other destructive animals by an iron fence, on the corner of Thirteenth street and Third avenue, whence the tooth of age finally compelled its removal in 1867. Besides the careful cultivation of his farm, "he interested himself in church affairs and in city improvements, grew sociable and companionable, frequently dined his English successor at his country-seat, and rendered himself very dear to his family and friends."[1] About eight years after the surrender he died. The tablet placed upon the vault where his ashes rest gives us only an approximate date of his death, 167½,—that is, between the 1st of January and 25th of March, 1672,—and as his age eighty years. And thus passed away, full of days and of honors, the man whom Bancroft describes as "the brave and honest Stuyvesant, ... a soldier of experience, a scholar of some learning," and "promoted for his services" to the government of this province.[2]

[1] Lamb, "History of New-York," 1 : 216.
[2] Bancroft, "History of the United States," 1 : 507 (Edition of 1883).

In this Vault lies buried
PETRUS STUYVESANT
late Captain General & Governor in Chief of Amsterdam
In New Netherland now called New-York
And the Dutch West India Islands. Died A.D. 167½
Aged 80 years

CITIZENS OF NEW AMSTERDAM IN 1657.

The Great Citizens.—20.

John La Montagne,
John Giles Van Brugh,
Henry Kip,
Isaac Kip,
Director-General Stuyvesant,
Rev. John Megapolensis,
Jacob Gerritsen Strycker,
John Vigne,
Mrs. Cornelius Van Tienhoven,
Henry Van Dyck,
Henry Kip, Jr.,
Capt. Martin Crigier,
Charles Van Bruggh,
Jacob Van Couwenhoven,
Laurence Cornelisen Van Wel,
John Pietersen Van Bruggh,
Cornelius Steenwyck,
William Bogardus,
Daniel Litschoe,
Peter Van Couwenhoven.

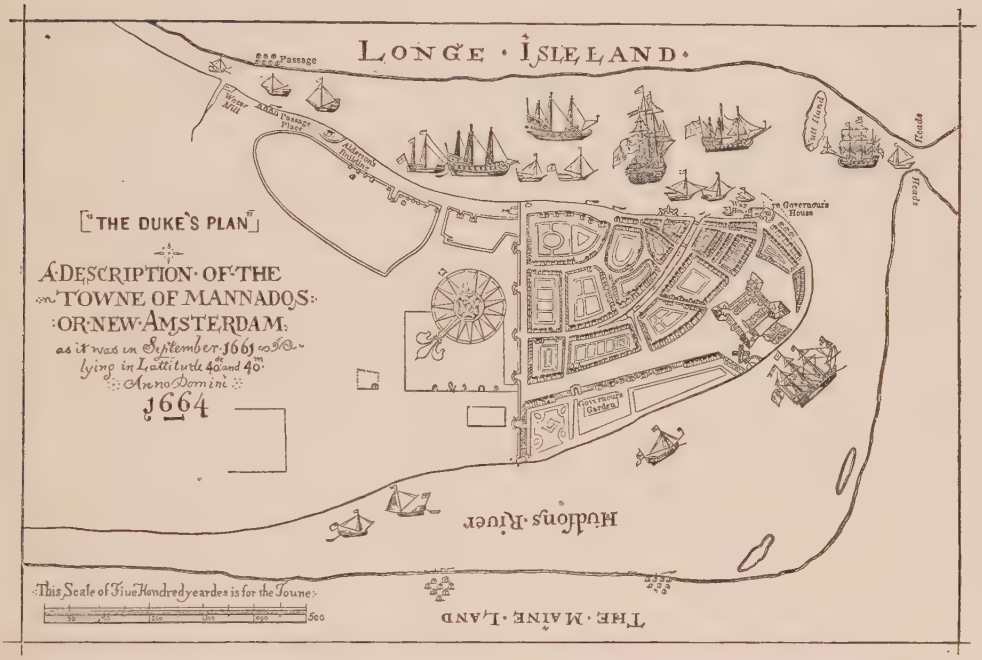
The Small Citizens.—204.

Isaac De Foreest,
Warnaer Wessels,
Nicholas Langvelthuysen,
John De Jonge,
Jacobus Backer,
Peter Cornelisen Van Veen,
Peter Jacobsen Buys,
Abram Nichels,
Peter Schabank,
Matthew d'Vos,
John Rutgersen,
Caspar Stymets,
Peter Jansen,
Joachim Beeckman,
Arent Isaacksen,
Frederick Flipsen,
Jacob Mens,
Dirck Van Schelluyne,
Cornelius Jansen,
Evert Dirksen,
Thomas Pietersen,
Peter Casparsen Van Naerden,
Gerrit Pietersen,
Henry Harmensen,
William Jansen,
Henry Van Bommel,
David Wessels,
Paul Van Beeck,
Cornelius Jansen Clopper,
Idan Videt Frans,
Garret Fullwever,
Lambert Huybertsen Mol,
Michael Jansen,
Joost Tennissen,
Jacob Claessen,
Claes Carstensen,
Ryndert Peter Van Bolfaert,
Andrew Hoppen,
Arent Lourizen,
Trina (Tryntje) Hendricksen (widow),
Henry Willemsen,
Joost Goderis,
Michael Paulizen,
Conrad Ten Eyck,
Aldert Coninck,
Rynhout Rynhoutsen,
John Hendricksen,
Jacob Hugers,
Henry Pietersen Van Hasselt,
Barent Gerritsen,
Jacob Hendricksen Varravanger,
Peter Kock,
Matthew Capito,
Abram Jacobsen,
Luke Eldersen,
Rynier Gaichos Van Ilst,
Jacob Calf,
Nicholas Backer,
Jacob Will. Van Bos,
Henry Hendricksen,
Claes Pietersen Kos,
Jacob Leendertsen Vandiegrist,
John Cornelisen Buys,
Henry Jansen Van Schulckwyck,
John Lubbertsen,
Resolved Waldron,
John Jansen,
Wessel Everts,
Egbert Van Borsum,
Abram Verplanck,
John De Prie,
Govert Coersten,
John Peeck,
Randel Huiort,
Laurence Andrew Van Boskerck,
Garret Gerritsen Van Vriesland,
Thys Lubbertsen,
Egbert Gerritsen,
Abram Lubbertsen,
Haey Oelfers,
John Pietersen Van Struckhuysen,
Cornelius Hendricksen,
Rynier Wisselpenningh,
Christian Barentsen,
Peter Stoutenborg,
Harman Smeeman,
Egbert Woutersen,
Leonard Aerden,
John Jansen Langendyck,
Andrew De Haes,
Claes Tysen,
Francis Jansen Van Brestee,

Peter Andriezen,
John Jacobsen,
John Nagel,
Barent Egbertsen,
John Dircksen,
Adrian Vincent,
Isaac Teene,
John Beck,
Barent Jacobsen Cool,
Hans Dreper,
Adolph Pietersen,
Frederick Arentsen,
Claes Thyssen,
Tosyn Briel,
Sybrant Jansen,
Luke Dircksen,
Stoffel Eldersen,
Jacob Lennizen,
Henry Hendricksen,
Sybout Clasen,
Thomas Frans,
Claes Bordingh,
Simon Felle,
Arian Woutersen,
Louis Pos,
Joachim Bruynsen,
Thomas Lambertsen,
Nicholas De Meyer,
Evert Duyckingh,
Abram Rycken,
John Cornelisen Van Hoorn,
John Jansen,
Paul Heymans,
Thomas Sandersen,
William Pietersen,
Nicholas d'la Plyne,
Andrew Jochemsen,
John Hendricksen,
Peter Lourensen,
Francois Allard,
Claes Van Elslant, Sr,
Teunis Tomazen,
John Schryver,
John Gerritsen,
John De Perie,
Abram Pietersen,
Claes Paulizen,
Cornelius Van Langvelt,
Francis Soselje,
John Evertsen,
Peter Jacobs Marius,
Myndert Barentsen,
John Cornelisen Van Vlensborgh,
Andrew Andriesen, of Sweden,
Garret Jansen Roos,
Roelof Jansen,
William Kaeck,
Albert Jansen,
Bartel Jansen,
George Ham,
Peter Pietersen,
Hans Kierstede,
Samuel Edsal,
Frederick Lubbertsen,
William Simson,
Garret Cornelissen,
Mrs. John Huygen (widow),
Jacob Teunisen,
Abram Clock,
Albert Leendertsen,
John Hendricksen Van Gunst,
John Pietersen,
Nicholas Verleth,
Harry Bresar,
Jacob Walnigh,
Borger Jorisen,
Matty Wessels,
Henry Arentsen,
Dirck Fiecken,
Harry Piers,
Jacobus Pryn,
Jacob Stoffelsen,
Andrew Clasen,
Henry Jansen,
Claes Pietersen,
Henry Barentsen,
Pelgram Klock,
Reynich Gerritsen,
George Van Vorst,
William Claessen,
Aert Willemsen,
Claes Jansen Ruyten,
Harman Douwensen,
Henry Volckertsen,
Wolfert Gerritsen,
Dirck Clasen,
Jurian Blanck,
Solomon La Chair,
Claes Jansen,
Francis Jansen,
Carsten Diers,
Hubert Hendricksen Van Keuren,
Harman Hendricksen,
Hans Albertsen,
Abram d'la Nooy,
Luke Andriesen,
Arian Symonzen,
Peter Rudolphus,
Isaac Greverair,
John Hutchinson,
Philip Jansen,
Augustine Herrman.

CHAPTER VIII

RICHARD NICOLLS, THE FIRST ENGLISH GOVERNOR
1664–1668


LONGE · ISLELAND ·
Passage
Water Mill
Fresh Water Pond
Governours House
Fort James
Gardens
Hudsons River
THE · MAINE · LAND
["THE DUKE'S PLAN"]
A DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWNE OF MANNADOS: OR NEW AMSTERDAM: as it was in September 1665 lying in Latitude 40 and 40 Anno Domini 1664
This Scale of Five Hondred yeardes is for the Toune
0 100 200 300 400 500

RICHARD NICOLLS, by the right of conquest, became Governor of New-York on the 29th of August, 1664. He was welcomed by the Dutch civic authorities whom he retained in office, and his first act was to direct that the city should henceforth bear its new name; it was no longer "New Amsterdam," but "New-York," and the fort was named "Fort James." Thus our city perpetuates the memory of the last of the Stuarts. But it also recalls the York or Eboracum of the Roman period in Britain, of the historic city whose libraries and schools in the days of Alcuin and Charles the Great began the civilization of modern Europe.

Richard Nicolls

Richard Nicolls, the new Governor, had been the confidant and faithful follower of the royal Stuarts. He was born in 1624 at Ampthill in Bedfordshire; his father, a lawyer, had married a daughter of Sir

George Bruce. Nicolls studied at the university, was a good scholar, but in the civil war joined the royalist forces and commanded a troop of horse. He fled with the Stuarts to the continent, became attached to the service of the Duke of York, and fought by his side in the French armies. He came back to England at the Restoration, was a member of the duke's household, and was trusted by him in his most important affairs. Of Nicolls's private character we know little. It is difficult to see how any honorable man could have remained the friend and follower of James Stuart, or could have joined in an expedition so plainly dishonest and piratical as was that against the Dutch in New Amsterdam. But Nicolls seems at least to have been more humane and prudent than most of the dependents of the royal court. He gave to the Dutch the most liberal terms of surrender. He neither robbed nor massacred; he seems to have made little profit from his conquest; and he returned to Europe to die in the service of his master, the duke, in the second Dutch war, faithful to the end. To the Dutch inhabitants Nicolls proved a gentle master, and evidently won their good will. No one was injured in person or property. The Court of Burgomasters and Schepens met on the day after the capitulation, and the business of the city went on as usual. The Dutch officials wrote an account of the surrender to the West India Company, in which they very plainly complained of the little care it had taken for their protection, and Stuyvesant sent a defense of his own conduct and a representation of the helpless state in which he had been left. The ship Gideon carried away the Dutch garrison, together with these memorials of disaster, and, provided with a pass from Nicolls, bore the evil tidings to the directors. Their utter neglect of the defense of New Amsterdam is certainly almost unaccountable. Had they sent a few frigates to its aid, and some Dutch troops, its fall might have been delayed, but not averted.[1] Nicolls, too, dismissed the troops from Long Island and the east, who had been so eager for the plunder of the city and whose loud threats from the "Ferry" on the Brooklyn side had carried terror to the quiet citizens. He promised rewards to all who had taken up arms for "their King and country"; he thanked the Massachusetts delegates, and he declared that he would soon summon deputies from the Long Island towns to discuss matters relating to its peace and prosperity. The government of the province was renewed by the appointment of English officials. Captain Matthias Nicolls, of Islip, Northamptonshire, who had come with him from England, a lawyer, was made secretary of the province. The Council was composed of Englishmen; Delavall, an Englishman, was made collector

[1] For an explanation of this neglect, see p. 107.

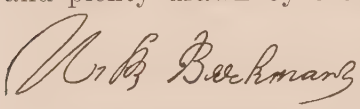
of the port, but the Dutch city officials were to retain their places for six months or more and administer justice as usual.

The city of New-York, as it was now to be called, embraced the whole of Manhattan Island. Its population at the surrender was about fifteen hundred, chiefly Dutch. An engraving remains of the appearance of the small town, and a contemporary description of New Netherland explains and illustrates the picture. The island was covered with woods, meadows, fens and lakes, and some lofty hills. What is now the Battery was then only a reef of numerous rocks often covered by the tide. Broadway, an Indian path, ran over the highland from the Battery to the Park. The river on the west came up to the hill on which stands Trinity Church. The East River flowed along Pearl or Great Dock street almost to Broadway. On the narrow point of highland extending from Wall street to the Battery was the site of the infant city.

In the illustration of 1664 we see a few houses gathered near what is now Whitehall, another group above, perhaps along, Broad street; the fort, an earthen work of rude construction, forms the center of the town. Above its walls rose the square church steeple, the double roof of the building, a windmill, and the roofs of houses. It stood where State street now runs in front of the Battery, on a rising hill. A gallows and a whipping-post, we are told, were raised at the foot of Whitehall. A few Dutch vessels are anchored in the harbor. A huge rock rises out of the river near what is now the South Ferry. The rocky shore around the fort is without wharves or piers; the rocks are the only landing-places; a rowboat is seen sculling over what is now Front and South streets; an inlet offers a safe harbor in Broad street, and a canal and brook open a way into the heart of the settlement. In the interior of the island were farms and bouweries. Broadway or the Heereweg led through the rich land of Domine Bogardus; and the Bowery, another Indian track, passed through hill and dale to the marshy fields where Stuyvesant hid in his gloomy retirement. A pleasant refuge from the cares and toils of his European home must New Amsterdam have seemed to the Dutch immigrant accustomed only to his native fens and level lowlands, his narrow fields slowly won from the stormy sea by incessant labor and guarded by his patient vigilance. Here in Manhattan and its neighborhood he seemed to live in luxurious plenty. The fertile soil, the chronicler tells us, produced all the fruits and vegetables of Holland in unrivaled excellence. Apples, pears, peaches, plums, cherries, quinces, medlars throve better than at home. Vines grew wild everywhere, and there was an abundance of blue and white grapes; a wine was already made from them equal to any Rhenish or French. All the vegetables known to the Dutch filled the gardens of the settlers; corn grew

rapidly; the virgin soil was suited to every kind of plant or tree, and flowers of pleasant odors and rare beauty adorned the scene.

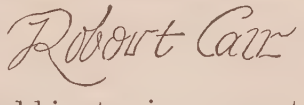
In Holland meat was seldom used by the poor, and fish formed the chief food of the people; the herring-busses from the North Sea fed the crowded ports and busy cities. But here, in New Amsterdam, even the poor lived in abundance. Venison was so plenty that sheep were scarcely raised; fowls, turkeys, geese, ducks, pigeons were easily obtained; hogs fattened upon Indian corn were thought to yield the "sweetest pork." And the cattle and horses did well on the salt meadows; the oysters of the bays were already famous; fish of all the finest kinds filled the waters; the climate was dry and healthful, although cold in winter, hot in summer. But the picture of ease and plenty drawn by the early travelers to New Netherland must have seemed almost an earthly paradise to the less fortunate Europeans. It was so real as to win back Stuyvesant to his bouwery and to console the Bayards, Beekmans, and their Dutch contemporaries under the rule of their alien governors. No one was willing to go back to the Fatherland.



It was Nicolls's aim to soothe and win the support of his new subjects by a perfect religious toleration. The Dutch ministers were allowed their stipends and their pleasant homes on Beaver and Pearl streets undisturbed. The usual services were performed in the church built by Kieft in the fort. But it was arranged that after the Dutch service was over, the Episcopal should be read by the chaplain of the English forces; and for thirty years, we are told, this practice was observed, the two religious bodies occupying the same building. But the Governor had more difficult duties to perform: he was to secure the submission of the wide tract of territory reaching from the Hudson to the Delaware, over which he was expected to enforce the English rule. To assure the control of the Hudson an expedition was sent up in September, under Colonel Cartwright, to reduce to obedience the Dutch settlements at Esopus, Fort Orange, and Rensselaerswyck. In our golden autumnal days the English for the first time sailed up the broad river, beside the Palisades, through the deep shadows of the Highlands, and reached after a weary voyage the Dutch fort and settlements. No resistance was made; the town was named "Albany," a garrison was placed in it; Van Rensselaer was not disturbed in his possessions, but was required to take out a new title, or to prove his claim in New-York. With Cartwright went Willett of Plymouth, who was to aid him in treating with the Indians, and Captain Breedon; his two military aides were Captains Manning and Brodhead. The only opposition they met with at Albany was from the Dutch councilor De Decker, who was afterwards summarily

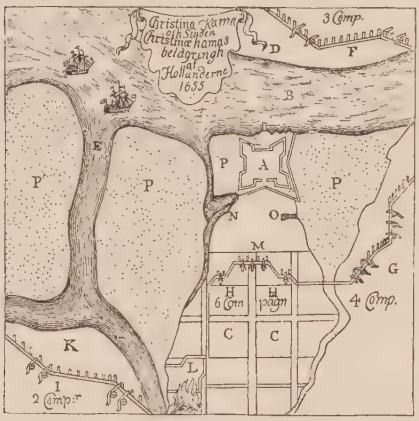
banished from the province by Nicolls. On their way down the river they landed at Esopus, and were well received. They made little change in the officials: William Beekman was retained in office as sheriff and Thomas Chambers as commissary; Captain Brodhead and an English garrison were left in charge of the fort. So peaceful had been the change to the English rule that no one had yet any reason to complain.

Unfortunately the expedition sent to enforce the submission of Delaware was not so free from blame. Sir Robert Carr, the least reputable of the four commissioners, was placed in command. He wanted wholly Nicolls's prudence and self-restraint. After a long and weary voyage around the capes of Delaware Bay, the frigates arrived in front of Amstel,— now Newcastle,— the chief fort of the Dutch. Carr summoned it to surrender; a part of the garrison would have yielded, but the Commander Hinnoyossa refused to capitulate. With less than fifty men he resolutely held the fort. The English ships opened their broadsides upon it, the English soldiers stormed the works, and the place was taken by assault. Three of the Dutch were killed and ten wounded. Then began a barbarous pillage and sack of the Dutch settlement; Carr seized upon the farms of Dutch officials, and kept one for himself; one he gave to his son, and others to his officers. He sold the Dutch soldiers into slavery in Virginia; he sacked the village of the Mennonites, and robbed them of all their poor possessions. He even declared himself independent of Nicolls and sole governor of Delaware. When Nicolls and his colleagues heard of his conduct, they at once sent orders to him to return. But he refused. And Nicolls went himself to Delaware in November, to repair the wrong. He rebuked Carr and obliged him to give up part of his plunder; but he was still left for a time in charge of the place. The name was changed to Newcastle and a garrison stationed in it under Captain John Carr, the son of the commissioner. Delaware was for several years a part of the province of New-York.



The next important act of the governor was to determine the eastern boundary of New-York. His wise foresight led the way to the compromise by which all future disputes were settled. Under the charter of 1664, granted by Charles to James, the Connecticut River was made the eastern limit of his territory, and New-York would thus embrace more than half of Connecticut, a large part of Massachusetts, including the Berkshire region, and all Vermont. But Connecticut, by its earlier charter of 1662, was entitled to all the land to the Pacific ocean,—"the South Sea," as it was called,—or at least to the borders

of the Dutch; and now it pointed out to the commissioners that to limit its boundary to the Connecticut River would deprive it of the best portion of its domain. The Connecticut government, under Governor John Winthrop, had in fact laid out for itself an extensive province; it ruled over all the east end of Long Island; it claimed control over "The New Haven Colony" and Stamford, and it had even intruded its officials into Westchester County and occupied a part of New Netherland. But under Stuyvesant a line was drawn limiting it on the west. New Haven, under Davenport's guidance, still refused to submit to the Hartford government, and Stamford professed to be independent of both. The quarrel between the rival settlements was at its height when Nicolls, by his prudent compromise, founded the present State of Connecticut.



VICINITY OF FORT CHRISTINA.[1]

It furnishes a comic element in history to trace the easy assurance with which the kings of this early age bestowed whole empires of wild lands upon their relatives or dependents and fixed the title to property to which they themselves had no possible right; it may be equaled or surpassed perhaps in our own day by the readiness with which the European powers have hastened to parcel among themselves vast districts of the interior of Africa and the coasts of New Guinea. Charles II., in 1662, had plainly granted to Connecticut a tract of land reaching across the continent; in 1664 he revoked his gift and had presented the larger part of Connecticut to the Duke of York. No one ventured to doubt the royal prerogative. Connecticut, unlike Massachusetts, was too weak or timid to oppose the will of the King. Her officials pleaded chiefly the ruin that must follow to their trade should the grant be confirmed. They showed their earlier charters and claims. But they appealed to the better feelings of the commissioners and found a friend in Nicolls. Had he insisted on the plain words of the patent New-York would have gained a large territory. But he represented to his master the injustice of despoiling Connecticut of the better part of its lands, and induced his associates to yield to his arguments. It was decided that a line should be drawn as nearly as possible twenty miles east of the Hudson.

[1] The fort was at the confluence of the Fishkill (now Brandywine) and Christina Creek. It had been supposed that no one would think of attacking it on the land side, for it was left comparatively defenseless there. But Stuyvesant disappointed this expectation, and erected four batteries over against this vulnerable side. EDITOR.

This decision gave a new impulse to the growth of Connecticut. New Haven colony, to the disgust of Davenport, yielded its claim to independence, and was absorbed in the Hartford government. Even Stamford submitted, and Connecticut, united and peaceful, was enabled to bear its part in the Indian wars that followed and to produce some of the rarest intellects that have helped the prosperity of the New World. But still greater results followed from the example of Nicolls. New-York yielded the same boundary to Massachusetts that it had given to Connecticut: the line was not run until 1787, and when the dispute arose between New-York and the settlers in Vermont as to their rival titles — the well-known controversy of the New Hampshire grants — New-York appealed to the charter of 1664 and the settlers chiefly to the line of twenty miles east of the Hudson which had been laid down by Nicolls and his associates. New-York abandoned its claim with a graceful compromise, and in 1790 Vermont came into the Union, the only State that had ever from its first settlement condemned slavery as a crime.

John Davenport

At the same time that Connecticut received this addition to its territory it was deprived of its authority on the islands. All except Block Island were included in the grant to the duke. All Long Island with Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard were joined to New-York. Even Fisher's Island was held to belong to it. But the change of government was distasteful to the people of Southold and the Hamptons: they preferred the free institutions of Connecticut.

It was a sight of singular interest when in October, 1664, the chief citizens of New Amsterdam came to take the oath of allegiance that made them subjects of the British crown. At first they offered some opposition, fearing they must renounce wholly their connection with the fatherland; but Nicolls assured them that every article of the capitulation should be strictly observed, and they yielded. The chief citizens within five days hastened to take the oath. Stuyvesant and the two Dutch clergymen led the way; Beekman, the three Bayards, Van Rensselaer, and other leading citizens followed: in all two hundred and fifty of the Dutch inhabitants swore allegiance to the English king. Many did so, no doubt, unwillingly; some refused; but the city authorities joined in a letter of compliment to the Duke of

York, praising the "wise and intelligent" Nicolls, and asking that their commerce might be as free from burdens as that of Boston. Nicolls was now sole master of an immense territory. He called the province "New-York"; Long Island was named "Yorkshire," and to the fertile lands across the Hudson he gave the name of "Albania." Thus everywhere the faithful follower strove to perpetuate the memory of the Duke of York and Albany.

Meanwhile the news of the capture of New Amsterdam had reached Europe, and De Witt sent over an order to the ambassador, Van Gogh, in London, to demand its restitution from the King. Charles listened to him with impatience, denied the title of the Dutch to New Netherland, and prepared for war. Downing, the English envoy in Holland, sent an insolent memorial to the States-General. De Witt insisted that "New Netherland" must be restored. He sent out De Ruyter with a strong fleet to recover the Dutch settlements on the African shore, taken by the English; and Charles in turn ordered his fleet to seize Dutch merchantmen wherever they could be found. Teddeman, the English commander, attacked the Bordeaux fleet and made many prizes. On November 21st Pepys writes: "The war is begun: God give a good end to it." A fine English fleet put to sea with the Earl of Sandwich on board. But Pepys tells us the English had now begun to fear the Dutch as much as they had once contemned them.

The West India Company, enraged at the loss of their fine possessions in the New World, now sent a summons to Peter Stuyvesant and his secretary, Van Ruyven, to come home and explain the causes of the surrender. Stuyvesant went in May to Holland. He carried with him a certificate of good character from the burgomasters and schepens and a long defense of his own conduct. He threw the blame of the loss of the colony on the West India Company, who had left it without any means of defense, without a single ship of war, and with only a few barrels of powder. He pointed out his own helpless condition when the English besieged him—cut off from all succor, left alone upon the hostile continent, surrounded by foes on land and sea. He said he would rather have died than surrender. He yielded only to the prayers of the inhabitants and to save women and children from the terrors of assault. To all his arguments the directors of the Company replied by violent charges of cowardice and treason. They asserted that he should have fired his guns upon the hostile fleet and sent his troops to dislodge the few companies at the "Ferry." But Stuyvesant was evidently right. He saved the city from sack and perhaps destruction. The Dutch were too few to resist the forces of New and Old England, and the fate of New Netherland was not to be averted. Stuyvesant, after two years' absence, came back to New-York to his fond wife and children, his fine bouwery, and wide pos-

sessions. While in Europe he had prevailed on the English king to allow several ships to carry goods between Holland and New-York — a seasonable relief to its trade. He lived in retirement the remainder of his life. He planted the pear-tree on the Bowery which some of us have seen. He died at a great age, and lies buried in the vaults of St. Mark's Church.

But his successor began now to feel the cares and weight of his wide command. De Ruyter was at sea, and every moment a powerful Dutch fleet might be looked for in the harbor. Nicolls repaired the ancient fort and would have quartered his soldiers on the citizens, but the officials interposed, and provided that each citizen should pay a weekly sum for their support. Stuyvesant paid four guilders a week, others three and two. Yet the soldiers suffered various hardships, and Nicolls complains that owing to the poverty of the city they slept on straw and had scarcely a tolerable bed. Trade had nearly ceased, yet Nicolls was obliged to impose new taxes. He was engaged in preparing a system of laws for the province; he divided Yorkshire or Long Island into districts or ridings with Staten Island and Westchester, and appointed a sheriff and justices to hold "Courts of Sessions." He obliged the Dutch inhabitants to renew their titles to land in the name of the Duke of York. He seized on all the property of the Dutch West India Company.

Nicolls, a bachelor of about forty, was a scholar, fond of quoting Latin, and wrote letters that are full of good sense and good feeling. His mind was active, his knowledge considerable, and in the leisure moments of his first winter in New-York he employed himself in planning a code of laws for his wide domain that should be in unison with the wishes of the duke and not displeasing to the people. On one point the duke had insisted—there should be no trace of a popular assembly. He probably remembered the vigorous measures of the Long Parliament and felt a natural dread of popular rule. Nicolls formed his constitution and laws upon the principle of a perfect despotism. All officials were to be appointed by the Governor; all taxes were laid, all laws were imposed by him. There were to be no elec-

tive magistrates. There could be no opposition to his autocracy. He was endowed with more complete authority than any Persian satrap or Turkish bey,—a despot, but a benevolent one.

In producing his digest he had studied the laws of Massachusetts and Connecticut and borrowed their best traits. He was humane, and insisted that every one else should be so; perfect religious freedom he granted to all; he would have wrong done to no one. His code was arranged in alphabetical order, like the New England codes, and was known generally as the "Duke's Laws." The Court of Assize met in New-York City; trials were by jury; each person was assessed according to his property; all land was held by license from the duke, and all persons were required to take out new patents and pay a fee when the seal was affixed; all conveyances were to be recorded in New-York. These are only a few of the leading articles. When his code was ready, Nicolls summoned a deputation from all the towns on Long Island to meet at Hempstead on the last day of February and listen to the new plan of government. The deputies, full of expectation, came punctually to the meeting. There were Dutch from the Holland towns, English from the east end,—a respectable list of names, many of whose descendants are still known in their ancient seats. Nicolls, as Governor, began the proceedings by reading his commission and distributed among the deputies his code of laws. They no doubt received it with eager interest. But great was the disappointment of those who had lived under the Connecticut charter and elected their own rulers. They asked to be allowed to choose their own magistrates, but Nicolls showed them the duke's instructions by which all officers of justice were to be selected by the Governor alone. The deputies found that they had only assembled to hear the laws of an autocrat. They passed a loyal address to the Duke of York and separated. Nicolls proceeded to appoint sheriffs and other officers for the various towns; but the people murmured: they felt that their liberty was gone.

To amuse them or himself the Governor introduced the favorite sport of the English, and founded the Hempstead race-course. The broad plain around the town offered a level, convenient site, well covered with soft grass: it was known as "Salisbury plain." The race-course was called "Newmarket," after that famous scene of license in England. Nicolls gave a cup to be run for at the annual meeting in June. Newmarket has long passed away, but Long Island has always been famous for its fine horses, its races, and its bold riders, male and female: they may well trace their origin to the sport-loving Governor of the seventeenth century.

Besides the conquest of New Netherland, the four commissioners were intrusted with a duty almost equally ignoble. They were to take away, if possible, the charters and liberties of New England. Two

separate instructions had been given them,—one to be shown publicly, the other to be known only to themselves. In the first the King expressed his warm affection for his New England subjects, directed his commissioners to consult their wishes, win their regard, and act as arbiters of their differences and disputes. In the second and secret one they were instructed to induce them to give up their charters, to allow their governors and officials to be appointed in England, and to reduce them to an entire and perfect obedience to the crown. It seems that by some unknown means the Massachusetts officials had obtained copies of both papers, and were well acquainted with their secret purpose. And hence, when on a fair Sabbath eve in July the English frigates sailed into Boston harbor, they were met with no eager welcome. The stern Puritan officials received the commissioners with cold civility. Never before had an English frigate sailed into Boston harbor; the event was ominous of change, and Endicott and Bellingham saw with alarm the first footsteps of European tyranny. A second time Maverick and Cartwright now went to Massachusetts. They had gone through Connecticut and Rhode Island and been received everywhere with evidences of respect. But when they reached Boston, in February, they met with a worse reception than before. Endicott had now passed away; the sternness of the earlier generation was softening with time. But Maverick and Cartwright soon roused the fierce tempers of the Puritans: they knew their object and contemned them. Bellingham was chosen Governor and Willoughby to the second place, in the face of the commissioners. The people defied them: they read their declaration of rights by the sound of the trumpet, before the house where Maverick and Cartwright stayed. Nicolls came to Boston to their aid by a long and tedious journey, but could be of little use. Massachusetts, "presumptuous and refractory," drove off the royal commissioners.

Cartwright and Maverick went eastward to Maine and Nicolls back to New-York. In June Cartwright sailed for England, carrying with him papers and despatches that would give no favorable account of the Massachusetts rulers. His violent temper was roused by disappointment; he suffered from the gout, and he left America in no pleasant mood. But, fortunately for Massachusetts, he was captured by a Dutch privateer and carried into Spain. His papers were lost, and when at last he reached England the dangers of the war engaged all the attention of the English ministers. In vain Carr, Maverick, and Secretary Morrice urged them to take away the charter of Massachusetts; they felt that it was no time to rouse the angry spirit of the New England republicans.[1]

[1] There were antagonisms and jealousies between New England and New-York even after its conquest. In 1666 Nicolls writes to the Earl of Clarendon advocating a direct trade between Holland and New-York City, and uses as an argument these words: "The strength and flourishing condition of this place will bridle the ambitious saints of Boston!" EDITOR.

A memorable day now came in the history of New-York City, when its Dutch government forever passed away. By a single proclamation of its autocratic Governor, Burgomaster, Schout and Schepens were removed from office, and the English system of Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriff took their place. They have remained ever since — except for the brief period of the reconquest — the officials of New-York. It was the 12th of June, 1665, when Nicolls issued his proclamation. "I, Richard Nicolls," it ran, "do ordain that all the inhabitants of New-York, New Harlem, and the Island of Manhattan are one body politic under the government of a Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriff, and I do appoint for one whole year, commencing from the date hereof and ending the 12th day of June, 1666, Mr. Thomas Willett to be Mayor."[1] Willett was from Plymouth, a useful and active man. The first Aldermen were Delavall, Van Cortlandt, Van Brugh, Van Ruyven, and John Lawrence. The Sheriff was Allard Anthony, who had been the Dutch Schout. Three of the new officials were English—Willett, Delavall, and Lawrence; four were Hollanders. Yet the Dutch murmured when their old government passed away. They wished at least to retain the right of appointing their successors; but this Nicolls would not allow. All officials must be appointed by the Governor alone. With pleasant words he soothed his angry opponents, and on the 14th of June the magistrates took the oath of office and the new government began; the bell in the fort rang three times to celebrate the new birth of the city.

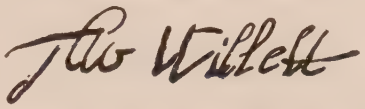
SEAL OF NEW AMSTERDAM.[2]

One looks back naturally over the long line of mayors, aldermen, and sheriffs with an intense interest to the first meeting of the first officials of the city. Through that far survey we meet with many well-known faces and characters, nearly all honorable and worthy of their place. The mayors under the English rule were of only local fame; but after the Revolution they rose in reputation. Duane,

[1] I have abridged the proclamation. It may be read in the records of the City Hall in New-York. See too the proclamation of Nicolls, June 12, 1665, Albany Records.

[2] Ten years before the English conquest, in 1654, the city of New Amsterdam having been duly incorporated in the preceding year, a seal was granted, as shown in the text, which in heraldic language is thus described: "Argent per pale, three crosses saltire, crest a beaver proper, surmounted by a mantle on which is a shield argent bearing the letters G. W. C., under the base is the legend, Sigillum Amstelodamensis in Novo Belgio." The three crosses form a prominent part in the arms of Amsterdam in Holland, and the letters G W C. are an abbreviation of "Geoctroyeerd Westindische Compagnie"—*i. e.*, "Chartered West India Company." When Nicolls, having changed the form of the municipal government, abolished the use of this seal, another, known as the Duke of York's seal, was substituted. A representation of it appears on another page. It is a copy of the royal arms of the House of Stuart, and may be described as "Quarterly 1st and 4th, France and England quarterly. 2d Or, a lion rampant within a double tressure flory, counter flory, gules, Scotland. 3d Azure, a harp stringed argent, Ireland." The motto is the well-known legend "Honi Soit Qui Mal Y Pense," under which run the abbreviated words, "Sigill. Provinc. Nov. Eborac." The seal was first put to use in 1669, and continued until that of 1686 (see p. 413) was granted to the city EDITOR.

Varick, De Witt Clinton were among the leaders of their time. In a later day Laurence, Havemeyer, Opdike, Gunther were honorable citizens. An instructive book might be written on the mayors of New-York. The first meeting of Willett and his associates was on June 15, 1665. The Dutch language was proscribed; the English was to be used in future in all civic matters. To translate from the English to the Dutch Johannes Nevius was first appointed secretary, and when he resigned Nicolas Bayard took his place.

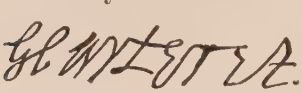


Seated on his uneasy throne, the ruler of immense regions, peopled by only five or six thousand persons, most of whom were his avowed or secret enemies, with a small garrison and a crumbling fort, Nicolls might well feel at times all the perils of a despot. War began; he was ordered to put his poor stockades in order to resist invasion. He knew that De Ruyter was abroad. His people were already murmuring and rebellious. When he urged them to fortify the city with palisades along the river-side, some said the defenses were already sufficient, others that they would not work until their arms were restored to them. Nicolls found himself perfectly neglected by his countrymen at home. No ship from England directly had entered the harbor; no supplies nor soldiers had reached him since the surrender in August, 1664. Nearly a year had passed. He seems to have been in want of everything; money he could only raise by borrowing, and he soon came to be deeply in debt. The cares of his government weighed heavily upon him, and he would have been glad to resign his office. He had given liberal grants of lands to his fellow-officers; for himself, he had wasted his private fortune to feed and pay his soldiers, and now war was to still further diminish the resources of his province and cut off what little trade had lingered after the port was closed to the ships of the Dutch.

Suddenly a blow came upon him that he had scarcely looked for, and the larger and fairer part of his dominion was taken from him. Across the Hudson lay the broad tract of territory now known as New Jersey. It was as yet an unknown wilderness; no traveler had penetrated the fertile wilds where now great cities flourish and railways of unequaled speed bind together the two chief seats of Eastern trade. A few Dutch settlements were struggling for life on the river. Thin tribes of savages roamed over the interior. The country was believed to be fertile beyond Long Island, and the shores of the Hudson rich in furs, fish, and game. But as yet no one had settled on the banks of the Raritan and the Hackensack, and imagination painted the interior

country in its fairest colors. Perhaps Nicolls had already planned to obtain a grant of Albania for himself, and hoped to leave behind him to his collateral heirs a fine estate. He had already given tracts of land at Elizabethtown to four families from Jamaica, Long Island, and had confirmed another purchase from the Indians near Sandy Hook. He was evidently preparing to extend his authority over the fair lands of Albania.

The Duke of York in June, 1664, before the fall of New Netherland, had conveyed all of what is now New Jersey to two court favorites—Sir George Carteret and Lord Berkeley of Stratton. Carteret, brave, passionate, impulsive, had deserved well of his king. When Charles was an exile Carteret had given him a refuge on his island of Jersey, of which he was governor and where his family had been eminent for many centuries. He had boldly resisted the parliamentary forces and yielded only at the command of his king. He came back at the restoration, to become a favorite servant of Charles and James, and to live forever in his true colors. In the amusing portraiture of Samuel Pepys, no one can forget the bold, fierce controller of the navy, or the rare art with which Pepys brought his son Philip Carteret to marry Lady Jemina Montague.



Berkeley, too, had deserved rewards and favors. But the grant to the two patentees had been kept secret from the commissioners and was a perfect surprise to Nicolls. The first news of it came to him from Virginia. Here Philip Carteret, a cousin of Sir George, had been driven by storms into the Chesapeake. He had been appointed governor of the new colony, which was to be called New Cesarea, or New Jersey, in honor of the Carterets and their native island. Carteret brought with him a letter from James to Nicolls directing him to aid the grantees and give up the province. He obeyed, but evidently with intense disappointment and regret. He even ventured to write a remonstrance to the duke, pressing him to give Carteret and Berkeley other lands along the Delaware. He urged that New Jersey was the most valuable part of the duke's possession, capable of receiving "twenty times more people than Long Island." "I gave it the name of Albania," he adds, and the blow was one that he felt most keenly. Yet it was a most fortunate event for the future progress of the country. Carteret by the "concessions" was able to give free institutions to his people. Carrying a hoe on his shoulder, he landed at the head of thirty emigrants he had brought over and founded Elizabethtown. It was named in honor of Sir George's wife. New Jersey under his liberal government soon began to flourish; New-York, however, under

the despotic rule of Nicolls, scarcely advanced. Many towns grew up on the Jersey shore: Elizabeth, Perth Amboy, Middletown, and Newark were settled by active and cultivated immigrants. Carteret had no easy place at the head of his free and turbulent people. He lived amidst perpetual discord. But his temper was mild, his disposition liberal. He married an intelligent and wealthy wife, and lived and died at Elizabeth. To the free spirit of his laws New Jersey owes much of its greatness and of the vigorous growth that has made it always a bulwark of union and independence.

THE CARTERET ARMS.

Late in August Nicolls sailed up the Hudson for the first time, surveyed its wild and desolate shores, and reached Albany in safety. He went there ostensibly to quiet the Indians, but more probably to observe the conduct of the Dutch inhabitants. He placed Captain Baker in charge of the fort at Albany, with instructions to keep strict watch and discipline, to live in peace with the Dutch, and avoid all disputes and differences. Captain Manning he removed to New-York. He licensed the first English school-master at Albany, one of Baker's soldiers. On his return down the river in October, he stopped at Esopus, where Brodhead was in command, and gave him some wise counsel. He was to be patient, prudent, forbearing. But Brodhead forgot the advice, and was soon in open hostility with the Dutch settlers. At Esopus, Nicolls bought large tracts of land from the Indians. The loss of New Jersey had evidently led him to wish to draw settlers to the banks of the Hudson. He wrote a prospectus, a taking account of the advantages offered to planters under the "Duke's Laws" and of the fertility of the lands. This paper he was obliged to print at Cambridge. Here the only printing-press existed in all the English possessions of America; New-York had not a printer then.

One of the peculiar traits of the time when printers were few was the trial of Ralph and Mary Hall for the "abominable crime" of witchcraft. It was held before the Court of Assize of New-York in October, 1665. A jury of respectable merchants and others was summoned, of whom Jacob Leisler, afterwards so conspicuous and so unfortunate, was one. The sheriff, Anthony, produced his prisoners. They were from Seatalcott or Brookhaven, Long Island, and were charged with having procured the deaths of one George Wood by wicked arts and of the infant child of Ann Rogers, "widdow of ye aforesaid George Wood." Several witnesses testified to the facts. "Then the clarke calling upon Ralph Hall, bad him hold up his hand and read as follows: 'Ralph Hall, thou standest here indicted for that, not having the fear of God before thine eyes, thou didst upon

the 25th day of December, as is suspected, by some wicked and detestable arts, cause the deaths of the said George Wood and the infante childe.'" The wife, Mary Hall, was summoned in the same way. Both prisoners pleaded not guilty. The jury, who had some intelligence, gave them the advantage of the doubt. Hall was acquitted. Some suspicion, they allowed, rested upon his wife, and he was directed to give bonds for her good conduct. But Governor Nicolls in 1668, with his usual moderation, set them both free. Some years later Katherine Harrison, a widow from Wethersfield, Connecticut, was charged by the people of Westchester with witchcraft. They were anxious to drive her from their borders, but she proved her innocence so clearly that she was allowed "to remaine in the towne of Westchester." New-York officials were free from the mad superstition that covered Old and New England with judicial murders; her juries never condemned a witch.

Nicolls in November wrote to the duke that his government was satisfactory to the people, and that even the republicans could find no cause for complaint. He urged his patron to send over merchant ships, for the trade of the city was nearly lost. Yet he foretold the future greatness of New-York; he saw that it must become the chief port of the continent. Hither, he said, and not to Boston, must come the commerce of America. But he complained of the neglect shown towards him by the ministry; no supplies had reached him from England, he had nearly ruined his private fortune to save his soldiers from want, and now he begged to be relieved of his command. He proposed as his successor Captain Harry Norwood, who had gone to England, but who, he thought, would be acceptable to the soldiers and the country. To this request Clarendon replied in a complimentary letter, but refusing it. No one but Nicolls, he thought, could so well fill the place of Governor.

At this moment there was good reason why no troops nor supplies came from England. Charles had entered upon the war with the Netherlands, hoping to crush them easily. He chose a moment when the plague raged in its cities, when fifteen hundred persons died of it in one week at Amsterdam, when the Orange faction was clamoring against De Witt, and the republic was still borne down by an excessive debt. At first he had been successful. De Witt had sent out one of the finest fleets the Dutch had ever possessed. It was commanded by Obdam, a brave if not a skilful officer; Cortenaer was his vice-admiral, and the most famous Dutch captains, except De Ruyter, who was on a distant expedition, appeared in the fleet. The crews were well fed with increased rations, and promised pensions to the wounded and double pensions to their wives and children in case of death. A great reward was offered to any one who captured a flag-

ship. One hundred and three line-of-battle ships, eleven fire-ships, and twelve galliots, besides a reserve squadron of forty ships more, all manned by twenty-two thousand men, completed this unequaled armament. All was hope and ardor, we are told by D'Estrades, among the Dutch soldiers and sailors; they were full of cheerfulness and certain of success. The English fleet numbered one hundred and nine line-of-battle ships, twenty-one fire-ships, seven galliots, and twenty-one thousand men. The Duke of York, the Earl of Sandwich, and Prince Rupert were in chief command. The fire-ships used in these naval contests were often of great service; they closed with the larger vessels and were then set on fire.

CORNELIUS DE WITT.

The two fleets met off Lowestoft, on the Surrey coast, on the 2d of June. A frightful combat followed; Cortenaer, the Dutch vice-admiral, was shot early in the battle, and his squadron fled; Obdam assailed the Duke of York, on his flag-ship, but his own ship blew up, and all on board were lost. The Dutch were beaten. They fled to their harbors with great loss, and the enraged people met their defeated officers with outcries and ill-usage. The brave Evertsen they nearly killed, throwing him into one of the canals, whence he was taken by some soldiers.

The English were full of triumph. "It is the greatest victory that ever was," wrote Pepys in his secret diary; and the king ordered medals to be struck inscribed "et pontus serviret"—"the sea shall obey him." The English were plainly masters of the sea. But not for a long time. John De Witt was now the ruling statesman of the Netherlands. He formed a happy contrast to the corrupt kings and ministers of his age. Honest, firm, unyielding, pure in morals, an excellent husband and father, learned, and the friend of all men of letters, but above all a patriot, De Witt for twenty years, as Grand Pensionary of Holland, led on his countrymen to unusual prosperity. Dutch fleets covered the seas. Dutch commerce supplied the wants

of Europe. The cities of Holland were full of activity and wealth, the envy and the models of their contemporaries. But it was as the teachers of republican virtue and simplicity that the Dutch had chiefly alarmed and offended the profligate rulers of France and England. A sense of their own moral inferiority sharpened the rage of Charles, James, and Louis against De Witt and his associates. The republic must be subdued, the monitor blotted from existence, and the conscience of nations deadened and destroyed. Happily the event was very different, and the corrupt monarchs succeeded only in rousing again an impulse of reform that became at last irresistible.

De Witt, unshaken in defeat, succeeded in awakening the patriotism of his people. He went in person to the fleet, punished the cowardly, rewarded the brave, celebrated the memories of the two brave admirals Obdam and Cortenaer. The fleet was fitted out anew, and suddenly the return of De Ruyter with twelve line-of-battle ships, a great number of prizes, and two thousand tried sailors added to the general confidence and joy. The people crowded to see their famous hero, women kissed and embraced him. He received them all with his usual good humor; they hailed him as the savior of the republic. He was made at once admiral of the fleet.

De Ruyter was the chief naval commander of his time. He was born in extreme poverty at Flushing, the son of a brewer's journeyman. He went to sea at eleven as a cabin-boy, was then a common sailor, and soon made his way by his skill and courage to the highest place in the navy. Modest, honest, sincere, amiable, he was often unwilling to take the high positions offered him. He was a faithful friend of De Witt and always eager to obey him. But every one felt his real superiority as a commander and a citizen; his return at once roused his countrymen from their depression. He was of middle stature, we are told, but good figure, his forehead broad, his complexion ruddy, dark eyes and beard, and a grave yet gentle countenance that reflected the brave spirit within. He reminds one of the faithful Batavians who formed the most trusted portion of the Roman legions in Britain.

But the Dutch found another and a dreadful ally to avenge their miseries. The plague broke out in London; at first it was scarcely noticed. Pepys relates that there were several houses shut up, with the cross and the "Lord have mercy upon us" on them—a thing he had never seen before. But soon the pestilence raged with unexampled violence. In the hot months of August and September ten thousand persons sometimes died in a single week. London was abandoned by all who could escape—except a few honorable and noble men and women who remained to aid the sick and bury the dead. It was a deserted city, the grass growing in the desolate streets. People passed through it in horror. But as the winter came on the disease decreased,

the citizens came back slowly, trade once more revived, and at last Charles and his courtiers returned to indulge in all the wild excesses that shocked even the pleasure-loving Pepys.

The war in Europe and its disasters prevented any effectual aid from being sent to Nicolls. He was left to his own resources. From his residence in the fort, June 22d, he issued his orders to all the officers, civil and military, of the East Riding of Yorkshire to prepare for the defense of New-York. De Ruyter, he said, was about "to attempt the recovery of this place." He directed every town to be ready at the

THE DUTCH FLEET AT CHATHAM.[1]

first alarm to send their soldiers in arms to the Ferry opposite New-York. A physician and surgeon, Peter Harris, who had arrived in the city about this time, he authorized to "exercise his art," by probably the first medical certificate ever given in New-York. Nicolls received the news of the great victory off Lowestoft with a satisfaction that was scarcely shared by the majority of his subjects; the Bayards, Beekmans, Neviuses, and others must have heard with secret grief the danger of the Fatherland. But soon Nicolls found a new cause for anxiety: Louis XIV., who was bound by treaty to assist the Dutch, roused by the boastful claims of the English king, had resolved to in-

1 The illustration in the text is copied from a picture in Wagenaar's "Vaderlandsche Historie," Vol. XIII., which itself was a reproduction of the oil-painting in the Town Hall of Dordrecht, made by order of the magistrates to commemorate this exploit of their former burgomaster, Cornelius De Witt. EDITOR.

terfere. He thought, he said, the Dutch were entitled to New Netherland; he proposed terms of peace which Charles haughtily rejected. Louis then declared war against the English; but his aim was only to weaken both Holland and England and to profit by their disasters. Denmark, too, had formed an alliance with the Dutch, and Holland was no longer alone. An invasion made by the Bishop of Munster into the Dutch territory, with fearful ravages, was checked by the interposition of the German powers.

Nicolls, neglected by his superiors, was next to provide for the safety of his northern domain. The Mohawks were the fiercest, boldest, most overbearing of all the Indian tribes. Cruel beyond belief, cannibals who fed on the flesh of their prisoners, cunning, daring, merciless, they ruled over the lands from Saratoga to Canada, and terrified the other people of the woods into abject submission. It is said that a single Mohawk would by his presence alone subdue a whole tribe of the river savages. They sent their messengers into Long Island and exacted tribute even of the Canarsies. With the Dutch they had been friendly; with the French they waged almost perpetual war. Their massacres and their treachery roused the French ruler of Canada to revenge. He planned an expedition that was to enter the Mohawk country, destroy their castles and villages, and break forever their haughty spirit. Courcelles, in the depth of a Canadian winter, gathered his troops for his mad expedition. It was January, the ground was covered deep with snow, the soldiers were often frozen and rendered helpless when they went to pay their devotions at the shrine of St. Michael the Archangel. Even already they dropped frozen and benumbed in the snow and were carried away to places of shelter. But Courcelles persisted in his plan of marching several hundred miles into the wilderness, to burn the Mohawk villages. The soldiers, provided with snow-shoes on which they were to travel, were laden with thirty pounds of baggage; their provisions were carried on sledges drawn by dogs. They passed over the frozen lake of Canada, through Lake Champlain, along the borders of the Adirondacks, and reached the hostile territory. Nearly all the Mohawks had gone on a foray against the Southern savages. But enough remained to annoy the half-frozen but still courageous French.

The guides proved treacherous or incompetent, and led the invaders far away from the Mohawk castles. A party of Mohawks were seen retreating; the French pursued with sixty of their best fusileers, fell into an ambush, and were shot down by two hundred savages who hid behind trees. The Indians carried the heads of four of the slain to Schenectady, and an express was at once sent to Albany to announce the approach of the French. Courcelles had been led by his guides to within a few miles of the Dutch settlements. He must have wandered

for two months at least in the frightful wilderness, his soldiers often dropping by the way. The Dutch received him with kindness, furnished him with wine and provisions, "especially peas and bread." They offered him shelter for his troops, but he was afraid to trust to the luxury of a fire and a home "his weary and half-starved people," who were already too willing to leave their ranks, and with whom he had marched and camped "under the blue canopy of heaven full six weeks." At length, when refreshed and fed, Courcelles turned back to march through the frozen wilderness, still courageous and sanguine. The Mohawks now fell upon their retreating foes, but killed or captured only a few. Five Frenchmen they found lying dead on the way with cold and hunger. They brought back their scalps.

To Nicolls the expedition of Courcelles was a plain invasion of the English territory. He wrote a remonstrance to Tracy, the governor. He pointed out that a foreign army had come upon his lands without his permission; but the letter is full of his usual humanity and tenderness. He recalls the days when he and Tracy had served in the French army together with the Duke of York, his master; thanks him for the civilities his countrymen had shown them in their low estate, and signs his letter, "Your affectionate servant." It was this strain of tenderness that marks all his career. Tracy replied with politeness, excusing the error of Courcelles; he had not even heard, he said, that the English were in possession of New-York. He thanked Nicolls for his obliging expressions, but said it was his son who had been his acquaintance in the French wars; he signs himself, "Your thrice affectionate and humble servant." Unhappily the French did not remember the kind deeds of the people of Schenectady. The town was the scene of a fearful massacre by the French and Indians in February, 1690.

In March, 1666, Nicolls was obliged to forbid the export of wheat from New-York, owing to the poor harvest and the quantity furnished to Courcelles. He wrote letters to the duke explaining the unfortunate condition of his province. He thought the Dutch would prove good subjects if they were only allowed some privileges of "time and trade." But the effect of the war and the English navigation laws had been fatal to the commerce of New-York. They would destroy and drive away the present inhabitants unless some relaxation of the restrictions on trade were made. Nicolls went to the races at Hempstead in June, and here made a treaty with the chiefs of several Long Island tribes. In these early days an Indian sachem was a high dignitary in the eyes of the white colonists. He was their near and often dangerous neighbor. He lived in his palisaded castle, surrounded by his wives and children, his warriors, and his tribe, like some feudal lord with whom they had been familiar in Europe. From the chiefs they

took the title to their lands; with them made peace or war. The great sachems of Connecticut were still unsubdued. The wars of extermination had not yet begun. Nicolls was very successful in his treatment of the savages, and preserved constant peace with them by mildness and generosity.

In respect to the people of the eastern end of Long Island, or the English settlers, he was not fortunate. Southampton, Southold, and Easthampton positively refused to receive their local town officers under the "Duke's Laws" and to pay taxes to them. They still regretted the loss of their free meetings, and remembered their disappointment at the assembly of deputies at Hempstead. Some active leaders stirred the popular discontent. Underhill, appointed High Sheriff of the North Riding, complained that the people were enslaved under an arbitrary government. A very active controversy arose. Censures were uttered, sharp criticisms on the Hempstead meeting, libels, and almost treason. Nicolls, who was a soldier, knew how to enforce obedience: the Court of Assize met and laid down rigid penalties against those who "vilified" any of the officials of his Royal Highness, or any of the deputies at Hempstead. Sedition was punished by fines and imprisonment. Smith of Brookhaven was put in the stocks for saying the "king was none of his

king nor the governor his governor." Richard Woodhull and William Lawrence of Flushing were fined. It is not likely that these severe measures added to Nicolls's popularity.

Another decree of the Court of Assize, over which the Governor presided, had nearly produced a rebellion. It directed all persons who held lands under titles from the Dutch Government to have them confirmed under the seal of the Duke of York, and pay the fees by the 1st of April, under penalty of forfeiture. No grants after that date were to be valid. The ordinance was vigorously enforced; nearly all the delinquent towns on Long Island complied except Southold and Southampton, which still resisted, and only submitted some years later. Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, who claimed Albany, was warned by Nicolls not to ask too much. The fees and quit-rents gave the Governor some relief.

About this time Charles dissolved the commission which had so long disquieted the colonies. The four commissioners were dismissed with gifts and thanks. Connecticut and the other colonies were praised for their loyalty and submission, but Massachusetts was given only sharp words and bitter rebukes. She was ordered to send over Bellingham and Hathorne to answer for her misconduct. But Massachusetts refused to send abroad her best men; and Maverick, Cartwright, who had now escaped to England, and Nicolls joined in loud accusations against her. The reader may desire to know the fate of these once-powerful commissioners who came to rule and divide the New World among them. Sir Robert Carr, weak and dissolute, went over to England, and soon after died in obscurity at Bristol. Cartwright was always ready to give his testimony against the colonies. As late as June 21, 1671, Evelyn notices "One Colonel Cartwright, a Nottinghampshire man (formerly in commission with Colonel Nicolls), who was brought before the council in London, and gave a 'considerable relation' of the 'colonie' of New England." We may well suppose that Cartwright advocated decided measures with the republicans. Maverick we find was granted a house and land on Broadway in New-York, at the request of Nicolls. Thus of the four commissioners Nicolls alone remained in office, still more eager than ever to be released. The year 1666 had been a disturbed and dangerous one for the unstable rule of the English in New-York. The French were now hostile and ready to invade the English territory. Courcelles and Tracy, at the head of a large force, had penetrated into the Mohawk country, and with terrible ravages had wasted their lands and reduced them to submission. A design was entertained of conquering New-York. But Nicolls, undismayed, told the Mohawks to resist the French and tell them they were subjects of the

English king. His bold words must have concealed much secret apprehension. All over his territory there was secret or open dissatisfaction. At Esopus the undue severity of Brodhead had nearly roused the Dutch settlers to rebellion. He arrested on some slight provocation a well-known burgher, the village brewer, a sergeant of its militia. The people gathered in fierce excitement; one of them was killed by a soldier, and Nicolls was only able to suppress the rising by severe measures. He declared that he would proceed against every man "who shall lift his arm against his majesty's garrison as rebellious subjects and common enemies." He censured Brodhead, but did not remove him.

It seems probable that the news from Europe had roused the spirit of the subject Dutch. Once more the flag of Holland ruled the seas. With great sacrifices and at a vast expense De Witt had prepared a fleet of a hundred war-ships; at its head was De Ruyter. In June, 1666, a frightful contest again followed on the narrow seas that were so often stained with useless slaughter. Monk and Prince Rupert commanded the English. A French squadron joined the Dutch, but carefully avoided the enemy. De Ruyter began with a fierce attack on Monk's ship, which was disabled. The English retreated to their own coasts, but the next day Prince Rupert joined Monk, and again the fierce contest was renewed. De Ruyter gave the signal for a general attack. But the English fleet was too shattered to await it. Monk and the prince retired to their harbors. Some of the finest of the English ships were taken or sunk. Some were lost on the Galloper sands. For a time the Dutch ruled the seas and blockaded the mouth of the Thames. De Witt had already planned a descent upon the port of London. But again the fortunes of war changed; the English vessels, repaired and strengthened, sailed down the river and met the Dutch. Monk and De Ruyter again assailed each other. Tromp, on the Dutch side, broke the line by an imprudent attack, a part of the Dutch ships fled. De Ruyter with the remainder kept up the unequal contest, and Monk, surrounding him, had nearly captured his rival. In a moment De Ruyter, in despair, longed for death. But the Zealand sands were near; he escaped into the shallow waters, and left the victory to his foes.

The English pursued their victory with unpardonable cruelty. They broke into the harbor of Texel, and burned, ravaged, and destroyed. They set fire to villages; they massacred the inhabitants of Flosdorp. Led by a traitor, Heemskerk, they were enabled to enter the Dutch ports; but at the mouth of the Elbe a Dutch squadron turned upon them, burned four of their ships, and drove them from their shores. Heemskerk perished in one of the burning vessels. Soon again the Dutch fleet was at sea, the English retired before it,

and in this varying scene of warfare the Dutch were once more rulers of the waves. The English now plotted with the Orange faction to destroy the republic from within. Downing, the envoy, was the source of the traitorous attempt, and was at last driven in terror and shame to fly from The Hague. De Witt showed no mercy to the Dutch traitors.

LOUIS

England was now weary of the war into which Charles had led it with laughter and hopes of wide conquest, and which had begun with the treacherous capture of New-York. King and people were eager for peace. The nation was impoverished and almost ruined. The seamen, unpaid and starving, refused to fight, and threatened to go over to the Dutch, who in all their misfortunes had never failed to pay their sailors liberally and supply them with abundant food. Charles had wasted a large part of the great sums given him by Parliament in his follies and his pleasures. He seldom paid an honest debt. Even the servants and retainers of his court were left three or four years without their salaries and a support. They begged with tears for some part of what was due them in vain. Pepys evidently thought the country was undone, when just at this moment the burning of London seemed

to complete its ruin. On September 2d Pepys saw the first faint glow of the fire in the east. The summer had been hot and dry, and a strong east wind fanned the rising flames. They leaped from house to house, consumed churches, warehouses, the Exchange and St. Paul's, and for three days the city was wasted and destroyed. Two hundred thousand of its people lived in tents or in the open air in the fields. Stupefied and hopeless, the ruined citizens surveyed the wreck of their city. "London," wrote Evelyn, "was, but is no more."

Courcelle

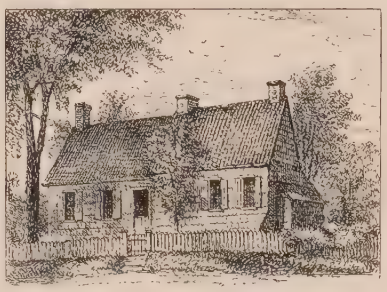
These events were necessarily felt in America; they stimulated Massachusetts to new courage, while she sent aid to the suffering people in London; they were told in New-York, and were the theme of conversation, no doubt, in every bouwery and every hamlet of the Dutch. It is not to be supposed that the Stuyvesants, Bayards, De Peysters, and Jacob Leisler had not watched eagerly the course of events in Europe or shared in the general pride with which their countrymen looked up to John De Witt. The dangers that now gathered around Nicolls aroused him to new exertions. A Dutch fleet under Krynssen in March, 1667, recovered Surinam, sailed along the Southern coast, entered the James River, and captured twenty-six English vessels, one of them a man-of-war. He did not visit New-York, or it must have fallen easily into his hands. But he stripped Virginia of its chief wealth and carried home eleven ships laden with tobacco. Nicolls, alarmed, at once began new preparations for defense. He could not venture to put arms in the hands of his Dutch subjects, but he sent orders to the English settlers on the east end of Long Island to form one-third of their militia into cavalry, ready to aid him at his first summons. Connecticut, fearful of a French invasion, also armed itself. Massachusetts stood proudly aloof. But Nicolls sent out some vessels under Exton, who seized and burnt French forts in Acadia and brought some prizes into New-York.

Tracy

Courcelles was now governor of Canada, and much might be feared from his activity, if not discretion. The Mohawks again formed a barrier for the English colonies on the north, and the rest of the Iroquois protected the western boundary. Nicolls was at Albany in October for the purpose of preventing a war between the Mahicans and the Mohawks. Massachusetts interfered and forbade the Mohawks from making war upon the civilized Indians. The government of Boston could not have forgotten the part Nicolls had taken in the royal commission. From them he could only look for perpetual ill-will. Utterly helpless amidst his many foes, Nicolls still maintained a bold attitude, showed no trace of alarm, and promised his patron in England to die in defense of his crumbling fort and wretched pali-

sades. But he knew that the fate of New-York must be decided in Europe, and towards the autumn came news of some new and terrible disaster that had befallen his Majesty the King. The story is well told by Pontales, in his "Life of John De Witt."

Charles, eager for peace, fearful of utter ruin, had engaged in negotiations with the Dutch, and Breda was the place chosen for the meeting of the envoys. It was forced upon him by De Witt. It was a humiliation for the King to be obliged to sue almost humbly for peace in the city whence, seven years before, he had set sail to assume the English crown. He must have remembered his own ingratitude to the Dutch, from whom he had received many favors, and whom in return he had striven to destroy. The negotiations moved on slowly. The Dutch, indignant, were resolved to spare the King no humiliation. They insisted upon terms that he could only yield with shame; they forced from him already the confession of defeat. But De Witt had a still more serious blow to inflict upon his treacherous foe, and New Amsterdam was to be bitterly avenged.



THE DE SILLE HOUSE.[1]

While the negotiations were slowly advancing, Charles, covered with debt, thoughtless of danger, had laid up his ships in ordinary and prepared no means of defense for his English harbors. At Chatham on the Medway were some of the finest vessels of the English navy; others were half dismantled on the Thames. Some earthworks had been thrown up, but the defenseless condition of the English coast was well known to De Witt. Unlike the English king, he had passed the winter in making ready a powerful fleet for the invasion of England and the capture of London itself. He had careful surveys of the entrance to the Thames, which he had long studied himself, and knew that a bold attack would be successful. A fine fleet of sixty-six warships and ten fire-ships set sail in June to surprise the English capital. De Witt had intended to go with it himself: had he done so London would probably have fallen. But he was detained by the negotiations at Breda, and sent in his place his brother Cornelius, with rigid instructions to lose no opportunity of conquest—to dare everything for the sake of victory.

The fleet blockaded the mouth of the Thames and cut off the commerce of the capital. They sailed up the river, took Sheerness, entered the Medway, and forced their way to Chatham. The English to pro-

[1] In 1668 Nicasius De Sille, with Jacques Cortelyou and others, was confirmed in his patent for New Utrecht on Long Island. This was one of the last public acts of Nicolls. EDITOR.

tect their fine ships had raised batteries on both banks of the river: they sank vessels in the channel, leaving only a narrow passage which was closed by a heavy chain. A strong squadron of ships of war guarded the passage. But De Ruyter gave the signal of attack, a Dutch captain, Van Brakel, ran his vessel up to the chain and boarded one of the frigates that guarded it; another drove his ship against the chain and broke it. The Dutch now silenced the batteries on the shore and captured and burned the finest English ships of war. The Royal Charles, that had brought Charles II. over to England, was taken by the Dutch.

THE FLAG OF HOLLAND.

They pressed on up the river, burned the ships under the fire of Upnor Castle, spiked the guns of the batteries, and left the Medway filled with the burning wrecks of England's navy.

The guns of the Dutch ships at Medway were heard in London, and soon came news of the fearful disaster. A panic followed such as it had never known before, such as we may hope it will never know again. The people, mad with terror, thought only of escaping with their valuables and furniture to the country. Pepys gathered his gold together and sent it to be buried in his father's garden. But it was so hastily buried that, when he came to dig for it, he found that it might easily have been seen by the neighbors. His silver he scattered among his friends. Had De Witt sailed up the river that day, London must have fallen. There were no soldiers to guard it; the river was free. But Cornelius De Witt wanted his brother's energy. Had he pressed on, New-York would again have been Dutch.

George Monck

The English had leisure to sink ships on the Thames at Woolwich, and build batteries along its shores. "A sight of shame," said Pepys. "A disgrace never to be wiped away," said Evelyn. But the King and his ministers, insensible to shame, still kept up their mad revels and their wild extravagance. The Dutch fleet meanwhile held the sea, blockading the mouth of the Thames and threatening the various harbors. But it was noticed that the Dutch committed no acts of inhumanity and did no harm to the innocent people. They refused to retaliate for the cruel deeds of the English on their own shores. At last, after much duplicity on the part of Charles and many humiliations, the treaty of Breda was signed and peace proclaimed at London on the 24th of August, St.

Bartholomew's day. By its provisions New-York was to remain English, the Dutch taking in exchange for it the island of Poleron and Surinam. The bells rang in London, but there was no rejoicing among the people. They felt their guilt and shame. In Holland all was joy and hope. De Witt, the savior of his country, and De Ruyter, its hero, were covered with the applause and the gifts of their fellow-citizens. Numerous medals were struck in commemoration of the peace. On one was inscribed in Latin: "When God is angry there is war, when appeased peace." It is thus that men attribute to an unseen power the evil results of their own savage passions; the lesson of every war is that it ought to be the last.

Holland, the last refuge of European freedom, was thus permitted a few years of repose from the malice of its royal foes. Four years later began the great war that the kings of France and England planned, hoping once more to overwhelm the republic in endless ruin. Amsterdam, amidst the inundations and the friendly waves, kept alive the spirit of freedom. The kings were driven back discomfited. William of Orange appeared, the representative in many traits of character of the genius of his native land. And fifteen years later he carried to England the Dutch principles of honesty and toleration, and laid the foundation of the future greatness of the English race in Europe and America.

By the treaty of Breda, Nicolls too was relieved from his many cares. He was recalled with kind and flattering words from the King and his ministers. Francis Lovelace was appointed Governor in his place. He remained for some time in New-York, with his usual good nature, to aid Lovelace in his new duties. He rewarded some of his subordinates with gifts of islands and tracts of land. With Lovelace he

visited Albany in July. He arranged the affairs of the Delaware province. He granted thirty lots of land to each soldier of the garrison of Esopus. He did some favors for Stuyvesant; at last when he was to leave forever the city he had named and declared a body politic, of which he had been the gentle conqueror, the lenient master, he was evidently followed by the good will of the citizens. They parted from him with respect and regret. In August, 1668, Nicolls sailed for England, to resume his place by the side of his master the duke, and probably to regret at times the simplicity and the sterner virtues of the people he had left behind.

Gillyn. Wolton 14 July 1704

We should be glad if we were able to enter the city of New-York and discover the amusements, the labors, and the manners of its people. It could not have made any advance in the four years of Nicolls's rule. It wanted the free impulse, the sentiment of personal independence that had made Connecticut and Massachusetts already populous provinces, while New-York had only a thin and scattered population. In the New England colonies there were already forty thousand inhabitants; in New-York only five or six. Under the rule of the West India Company it had been allowed none of those privileges of self-government that in Holland, the Fatherland, were the choicest treasures of the people. Its lands had been distributed in great estates, under patroons who aspired to be feudal lords and who drove off immigration, and nearly all lost their possessions. The Dutch governors had been autocrats: the people had neither rights nor power. Under the rigid instructions of the Duke of York that system had been necessarily continued by Nicolls, and the people felt and complained that they were enslaved. Immigration turned away to Connecticut and New Jersey. In seven years, Andros tells us later, not twenty families had come to New-York from England or Ireland.

The trade of the city was chiefly in wheat, furs, and provisions: it sent its ships to the West Indies and brought back rum and molasses. Wines were imported from Madeira. But ships came seldom from England. Formerly it had exported large quantities of tobacco from the Southern colonies to Holland; but this trade died out. Its imports of "Indian goods" must have been considerable. They consisted of blankets, woolens, guns, powder, lead; in return they were paid for in beavers and other furs. It was chiefly by the fur trade

and the activity of the Indians that New-York and Albany were said to live. Six or seven sloops sailed between the towns up and down the Hudson and carried the peltry and Indian goods. It was a far longer and more dangerous voyage in those early days than is now the voyage to Europe.

Of our ancestors and predecessors, the diligent men who cultivated the farms of New-York or carried on its trade, we know little. They were a hardy, bold, determined race, fierce in rage, resolute of purpose. The Dutch burghers bore with impatience the English rule, and in 1673, at the reconquest, four hundred of them rose in arms, to aid their countrymen, and drove the garrison from the fort. But this feeling soon died away under the later rule of William of Orange, and the Dutch became quiet citizens. At the close of Nicolls's administration we meet with many well-known names, English or Dutch, still preserved among us. Of the Dutch were the Van Cortlandts, the Bayards, Van Rensselaers, Stuyvesants, Kips, and many others. The Kips had a fine house and estate at Kip's Bay; the Beekmans, at Corlaer's Hook; two of the sons of Peter Stuyvesant held two fine lots of land below Trinity Church which he had given them. Van Der Grist's house was on Broadway, just below. The ground where Trinity Church now stands was known as the "Governor's Garden." Wall street was only a line of palisades. Lovelace afterwards purchased the farm of Domine Bogardus; it came into the possession of the crown, and was then given to Trinity Church. Of the scanty English population many names survive. Matthias Nicolls, the Secretary, left some descendants. Willett, the first mayor of New-York, was very much liked by his contemporaries, and the name is still well known. John Lawrence, a merchant from Long Island, held various important offices, and left several descendants. Allard Anthony, the Dutch Schout and English Sheriff, is commemorated in Anthony street. Van Brugh and Van Ruyven, the first Schepens under Nicolls, are lost in collateral lines. Robert Livingston was Indian agent in Albany; and many other well-known names have come to the city from the banks of the Hudson.

THE KIP HOUSE.

Nicolls returned to England to mingle in the pleasures and pains that followed the royal court. It is scarcely likely that he could have found any satisfaction in them. He may have gone in retirement to Ampthill, his ancestral seat. He never married. He had two brothers

who died before him. One of his uncles was Dean of Chester, and several of his relatives were noted scholars. When the second Dutch war broke out, he went on board the fleet, served on the Royal Prince, and was killed at the battle of Solebay, May 28, 1672. He was then forty-seven years old. In his will, which is dated on board the Royal Prince, May 11, 1672, he gives various legacies to his cousins and seems to have not been in want of money. He was buried at Ampthill. He will be remembered as the first English governor of New-York, the first to point out the rare advantages of its situation and foretell the future greatness of the metropolis of the New World.

A DIRECTORY FOR THE CITY OF NEW-YORK IN 1665.

't Marcktvelt (east side of Bowling Green, now the beginning of Broadway).

The Hon^ble^ Peter Stuyvesant,
Annie Kocks,
Capt. Martin Crigier,
François Boon,
Cornelius Van Ruyven,
Antony De Milt,
Allard Anthony,
Frederick Arentsen,
Lizzie Ackermans,
Jonas Barteltsen,
Matty Grevenraat.

Heeren Straat (now Broadway).

Luke Andriessen,
Dirck Wiggerzen,
Paul Leendertsen Vandiegrist,
Henry Van Dyck,
Jacob Swart,
Thomas Major,
Abraham Pietersen,
Garret Fullwever,
Pieter Simkam,
John Fries,
John Jelizen Kock,
John Henry Van Gunst,
Peter Ebel,
Paul Turck,
Albert Jansen,
Martin Hofman,
Alida Unstaples,
Barbara Unstaples,
John Joosten,
Adam Onclebagh,
Peter Jansen,
Adrian Andriessen.

The Strand (along the North River).

Jacob Leendertsen Vandiegrist.

The Cingel, or Outside City Wall (north side of Wall street)

John Johnson Van Langendyck,
John Teunizen Molenaar,
John Videt,
Abraham Kermer,
Gertie Schoorsteenvegers,
Jacob Jansen,
Dirck De Wolspinder,
Barent Eghbertzen,
Peter Jansen,
Dirck Van Clyf.

De Waal (south side of Wall street).

Guliam d'Honneur,
Henry Obe,
Balthazar De Haart,
Charles Van Bruggh,
Garret Jansen Stavast,
Hans Stein,
Sybrant Jansen Galina,
Cornelius Jansen Van Hoorn,
Adolph Pietersen,
Jacob Hendricksen Varravanger,
Renier Rycken.

Hoogh Straat (Pearl, between Broad and Wall streets).

Annie Litsco,
John Laurens,
Andrew Joghimsen,
Abraham Lubbertsen,
Remout Remoutsen,
Govert Loockermans,
John Van Brugh,
Wernaer Wessels,
Dirck Jansen Vandeventer,
Jeremiah Jansen,
Abraham Clock,
Isaac Bedlo,
Evert Duyckingh,
Stoffel Hooghlant,
Abigail Verplanck,
David Joghimsen,
Asher Levy,
Barent Cours,
Arian Huybertsen,
Wessel Evertsen,
Arent Isaacsen,
Cornelius Jansen,
Cornelius Jansen Plagvier,
Cors Jansen,
Henry Asuerus,
John Nevius,
Peter Jansen Schol,
Nicholas De Meyer,
Hugh Barentsen Clem,
Walraven Claerhout,
Frederick Hendricksen,
Alexander Stultke,
Sybout Clazen,
Arian Van Laar,
Aldert Coninck,
Jacob Van Couwenhoven,
John Van Couwenhoven,
Lambert Barentsen,
Henry Vandewater,
Lawrence Vanderspygel,
Walter Salter.

't Water (now west side of Whitehall from State to Pearl street, and north side of Pearl from Whitehall to Broad, then facing the river).

Hans Dresser,
Francis Jansen Van Hooghten,
Nicholas Jansen Backer,
Samuel Edsal,
John De Witt,
Jurian Jansen Van Auweryck,
Herman Wessels,
Timothy Gabry,
Matty Wessels,
Paul Richard,
Lawrence de Sille,
Hans Kierstede,
Jacob Laislar (Leisler),
Arian Appel,
Daniel de Honde Coutrie.

Perel Straat (Pearl street from State to Whitehall streets).

Peter Wolfertsen Van Couwenhoven,
Henry Jansen Vandervin,
Jacques Cousseau,
Peter Aldricks,
Thomas Coninck,
Henry Bas,
Garret Van Tright,
Peter Cornelissen,
Claas Bordingh,
John Gerritsen Van Buytenhuysen,
William Kock,
Esterne Guineau,
Waldwin Vanderveen,
Thomas Fransen Karreman,
Jurian Blanck,
N. Tybout,
Peter Jacobsen Marius,
Thomas Lambertsen,
Thomas Laurens.

Behind the Pearl street (now the part of State street curving to the south).

Simon Barentsen,
John Schouten,
Isaac Grevenraat,
John Evertsen Bout,
Peter De Rymer,
John Dircksen Mayer,
Louis Post.

Brouwer Straat (now Stone street).

Frederick Flipsen,
Renier Willemsen Backer,
Matthew De Vos,
Jerome Ebbinck,
Isaac De Foreest,
Oloff Stevensen Van Cortlant,
John Jansen Van St. Obin,
Isaac Kip,
Frederick Gysbertsen Vandenbergh,
Hubert Hendricksen,
Evert Pietersen.

Winckel Straat (running parallel to Whitehall street, not now in existence).

Henry Jansen Backer,
Arent Juriansen Landtsman,
John De Peister (De Peyster),
Michael Esnel,
Ægidius Luyck.

Brugh Straat (Bridge street).

Cornelius Steenwyck,
Barent Jacobsen Cool,
Jacob Vermont,
Jacob Teunissen Kay,
Henry Kip, Sr.,
John Adriaansen Duyvelant,
Henry Willemsen,
Peter Jansen,
Peter Nys.

Heeren Graft, or Gracht (Broad street, with canal in center).

Cornelius Melyn,
Ambrose De Weerhem,
Teunis Kray,
Simon Jansen Romeyn,
Luke Dircksen,
Bartholdus Maan,
Stoffel (Christopher) Van Laar,
Claas Paulussen,
Nicholas Verbraack,
Peter Winster,
Conrad Ten Eyck,
David Wessels,
Aggie Jans, widow of P. Van Naarden,
Nicholas Du Puys,
Joachim Beekman,
Jacob Backer,
Albert Reuninck,
Simon Felle,
Adrian Vincent,
Teunis Davidts.

Prince Graft, or Gracht (now the part of Beaver street one block east of Broad, with canal or creek in center).

Boile Roelofsen,
Nicholas de la Plaine,
Cornelius Barentsen Vanderhuit,
Jacob Mens,
Paulus Andriessen,
Abel Hardenbroek,
Thomas Lodowycksen,
John Hardenbroek,
Jacob Kip,
John Arentsen,
Rutger Karreman,
Frederick Hendricksen Boogh,
Claas Tyzen,
Dennis Isaacsen,
William Abrahamsen Vanderberde,
Bay Roosvelt,
William Deturnier (Turneur ?).

Prince Straat (next block east in Beaver street, beyond the canal).

Albert Pietersen Swart,
Daniel Verveelen,
Garret Manate.

Bever Graft, or Gracht (Beaver street, west of Broad to Bowling Green, with canal or creek in center).

Roelof Jansen Van Meppelen,
Henry Van Bommel,
Dirck Storm,
John Jansen Van Brestee,
Egbert Woutersen,
Egbert Meindertsen,
Thomas Sandersen,
Teunis Tomassen Quick,
Jacob Teunisen.

't Marcktvelt Steegie (Marketfield street).

Claas Van Elsant, Sr.,
Isaac Abrahamsen,
Andrew Claassen,
John Van Gelder,
Alice Barens,
Lambert Henry Van Campen,
John Adamsen,
John Meindertsen.

Smee Straat (William street between Broad and Wall streets).

Meindert Barentsen,
Gertie Jans,
John Roelofsen,
George Dopsen,
Andrew Rees,
Immitje, widow of Francis Clazen,
William Van der Schuyr,
Andrew Andriessen,
Cornelius Hendricksen,
Garret Jansen Van Aarnhem,
John Woutersen.

Smits Valey (along the East River from Wall to Fulton street).

Thomas Hall,
Abraham Verplanck,
Lambert Huybertsen Mol,
Abraham Lambertsen Mol,
John Vigne,
Stoffel (Christopher) Elswart,
Joost Carelsen,
Harry Bressar,
Widow of Lawrence Laurensen,
Peter Laurensen,
John Ariaansen,
Cornelius Jansen Clopper,
Peter Harmsen,
Peter Jansen,
Martin Claassen,
John Jansen Bos,
James Wel,
Augustin Herrman.

Outside the Land Gate.

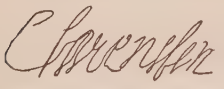
Dirck Siecken,
Cornelius Aarsen,
Peter Stoutenburgh,
Garret Jansen Roos,
Jacob Fransman.

CHAPTER IX

FRANCIS LOVELACE, AND THE RECAPTURE OF NEW NETHERLAND
1668–1674

CHARLES II. is said to have been caricatured in Holland with a woman on each arm and courtiers picking his pocket—this latter the last place, perhaps, they would have thought worth the trouble of picking. Nevertheless, to be a court favorite during his reign presented opportunities for profits and perquisites, of which the shrewd or needy — colonels, younger sons, and others — were not slow to avail themselves. If nothing offered at home, there were governorships, proprietorships, and land grants in America to be had almost literally for the asking. It was such an easy way for Charles to silence importunity and reward or gratify friends, to give them what they sought,— whole provinces, sometimes, as large as France — a less costly gift to himself than would have been a snuff-box. Of Virginia in 1669, says Bancroft: "To satisfy the greediness of favorite courtiers, Virginia was dismembered by lavish grants, till at last the whole colony was given away for a generation, as recklessly as a man would give away a life-estate in a farm."

Some of these men — as, for instance, Sir William Berkeley, Lord Clarendon, and others associated with them — very well knew what they were asking, if Charles did not; knew that they were obtaining valuable prospective estates, if they could only retain them; knew that there were perquisites of office open to a Governor, such as might compensate for a few years' absence from court and court life. Few if any of them, we may be quite sure, had in mind Addison's idea, that "the best perquisites of a place are the advantages it gives a man of doing good." Yet, it must be said that, though the most of them fished the streams of the New World thoroughly and well, few, if any, brought home any satisfactory amount of fish. Colonel and late Governor Nicolls did not, for the reason that he was really an honorable and loyal soldier, and advanced, from his own means, to put the



fort in a state of defense, more than he could collect by taxes. Colonel and Governor Lovelace did not, for a reason not so honorable.

The "Right Hon. Francis Lovelace, Esq.," of whom and his administration we are now to introduce the history, was the second son of Sir Richard, who had been elevated to the peerage in 1627 by Charles I., as Baron Lovelace of Hurley, Berks County. There Francis was born, and was about thirty-eight years old when he became Governor. He is not to be confounded with another Colonel Richard Lovelace of the period, who had repute as a dramatist and poet, and some of whose effusions have survived to our own day; nor with his grandson, the fourth Baron, who died Governor of New-York in 1709. Nor was it the same family, since the title had lapsed therein and been later revived, from which came Lord Lovelace, Byron's son-in-law. Of this family the special founder was a lucky knight, and comrade of Sir Francis Drake in the Spanish main, who, with the rich spoil there obtained, had built an imposing country mansion about thirty miles from London, in the parish of Hurley, and on the Berkshire side of the Thames. Evidently he had taste, for he surrounded it with spacious grounds and terraced gardens, and its hall looked upon the river. Greatly improved by his son, the first lord, the father of Francis, the old baronial residence of the Hurley Lovelaces, like the family itself, does not now exist; but we have a memento of it in this State, in the little town of Hurley, on the right bank of the Esopus, Ulster County, where Governor Francis Lovelace endeavored to build up landed interests for himself, but did not succeed. Living, however, as he had done, within such easy access to London as was Hurley and "Lady Place" (the name of the house), with aristocratic breeding and influence, and with such a personality as history assigns to him, there is no wonder that he should have been a favorite at the court of Charles II., one of those able to secure the plums of office. An ardent supporter of the royal cause against Cromwell, he had early become a colonel and a Knight of the "Royal Oak." Handsome, agreeable, and a polished man of the world, withal generous and amiable, with-

BIRTHPLACE OF LOVELACE, HURLEY, IN 1832.

out being prominent or able enough to excite envy, the gay life of the court certainly suited him, if it did not his finances; and he knew how to make friends of those in place and power. At the time of his appointment he was even a gentleman of the king's "honorable privy chamber." As Governor he is said to have "lacked energy and discrimination," whatever the latter may mean. But he nevertheless had the rare "discrimination" for the year 1668 or 1673, when he left, of a profound conviction of the future destiny of New-York. This prevision of a future for New-York, yet remote and dim, was not, however, what brought him hither, and with him his younger brothers Dudley and Thomas, but a motive much more personal and immediate. They were emigrants for the profit and advancement to be thus acquired. And, indeed, in that day it needed a strong motive and considerable courage to induce one, not bred nor used thereto, to adventure the vicissitudes of the voyage to America. The same uncanny ocean had to be crossed, but without that knowledge, even in the captains, or those appliances of the present, which make a voyage comparatively safe, rapid, and a pleasure. Seven weeks might be considered a fair passage; and amid what discomforts of the vessel—which might be of two or three hundred tons! What a passage was that of the Mayflower in 1620—occupying four months! Here, in a vessel of one hundred and eighty tons burden, were crowded forty-one men, and about sixty women and children—two of the latter being born during the voyage; whilst in addition must be counted the necessary provisions and stowage. Not all godly pilgrims, influenced by the highest of motives, these forty-one men; since, within a few weeks, two of them (servants) fought with sword and dagger, the first duel recorded in the New World; whilst another committed the first murder, and for it graced the first gallows! As for the vessel itself, so leaky were its upper works, and its middle beam so bowed and wracked by the winds and storms they encountered, that but for "a great iron screw" which a passenger had brought from Holland,

DUKE OF YORK MEDAL.[1]

SEAL OF THE DUKE OF YORK.[2]

[1] This medal was struck in honor of James, Duke of York, to commemorate his appointment as Lord High Admiral. It exhibits a first-rate ship-of-war under full sail, with the duke's arms on the main course. EDITOR.

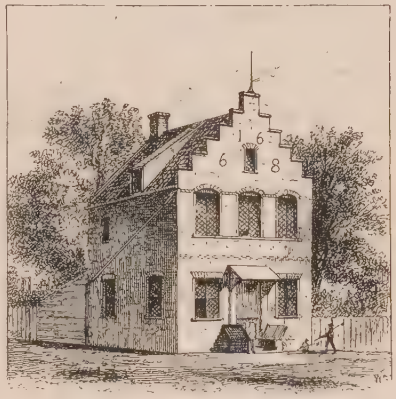
[2] For description, see p. 318.

and which enabled them to raise it into place, they must have turned back in despair.

So in 1636 another company, not so famous in history, a company of persecuted Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, men, women, and children, set sail in the Eagle Wing, of about one hundred and fifteen tons burden, "purposing (if God pleased) to pitch their tents in the plantations of New England." They numbered about one hundred and forty, more than did the Mayflower pilgrims; and among them were Blair and Livingstone, celebrated ministers in the north of Ireland. Much of the bread, not being well baked, had to be thrown overboard. Off Newfoundland they "foregathered with a mighty hurricane," during which, with damaged sails and broken rudder, they seemed at the mercy of the waves. From this danger, however, they escaped, but deemed it best to return; and did so — more fortunate throughout than the brave Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who, in those same seas, but earlier, went down uttering the gallant words: "It is as near to Heaven by sea as by land." It is true that in New England, prior to 1640, there was at least one vessel, a "large ship," of five hundred tons; and when the Dutch retook New-York in 1674 they found there two ships (and only two) loading, one of five hundred tons and thirty-five guns, the other of one hundred tons. Mostly, however, they crossed the Atlantic in those days in vessels of two hundred tons. So, in 1663, crossed Mr. John Josselyn to Boston, in the Society, of two hundred and twenty tons and sixteen iron guns (most of them "unserviceable," he says), with thirty-three sailors and seventy-seven passengers, men, women, and children; and again, in 1671, he returned home in a vessel of one hundred and ninety tons, the voyage taking seven weeks and four days. Scant quarters and long discomfort for a royal Governor and courtier of King Charles in 1668, with no Majestic or Teutonic yet in sight, nor for two hundred and twenty-four years — palaces upon the waves and a transit of five days and sixteen or eighteen hours! Nevertheless, being by nature, as Lossing says, "phlegmatic, indolent, and good-tempered," he doubtless bore it and took his dose of mal de mer with commendable philosophy. In fact, he already knew something of what he was to expect in getting to and in the New World; since it appears that in 1652, as a young man of twenty, he had once made the voyage under a pass from Cromwell's Council of State, had visited Long Island, and passed

THE MAYFLOWER.

thence, doubtless by water, into Virginia. New-York was then a Dutch dependency; but in Virginia were many who had themselves come over under the auspices of the nobility and were warmly attached to monarchy, of which he was an adherent, and among whom, therefore, he would be welcome. But of New-York, city and province, of which he was now to be the second English Governor, he certainly knew nothing when he came, either as to its limits or condition. And, indeed, as to its limits, amid the different charters and claims, it was a hard matter even yet to tell what was exactly the province of New-York. The Dutch did not know when Stuyvesant surrendered. Massachusetts was claiming an indefinite right of extension to the west; and Connecticut, on its part, claimed that by its charter it extended to the Pacific. "Where, then," said the Dutch commissioners in 1663—"where is New Netherland?" To which the Connecticut people replied, with provoking frankness, "We do not know!" King Charles gave his brother of York from the Connecticut to Delaware Bay for a possession, in 1664; and he, within three months, and without consulting Governor Nicolls, conveyed the whole of New Jersey to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, of his Majesty's Privy Council, for ten shillings, "to him in hand paid," and a rent of "one pepper-corn," to be paid "on the day of the nativity of St. John the Baptist, if legally demanded." Verily, a charter of King Charles was an immense instrument! "During the first four years of his power," says Bancroft, he "gave away a large part of a continent," and this without right, title, exploration, or knowledge. "Could he have continued as lavish, in the course of his reign he would have given away the world." One might have asked, as did Francis I. of France when the Spanish and Portuguese were making exclusive claims to this whole new hemisphere, to see "the clause in Adam's will" which made it his thus to give. But it was providential; it stimulated colonizing, and placed the country, ultimately, in the very best of hands.



HOUSE BUILT IN 1668.

Equally ignorant was Lovelace of the condition of his new government when he arrived during the spring of 1668. But as the duke had requested Nicolls to remain till he came, and to assist him in this, in July they together took a trip up the Hudson to Albany, stopping on the way at Esopus, where the location and look of things seem to have suggested to him the new town of Hurley, which, how-

ever, had originally been laid out by Stuyvesant. They then went on horseback over Long Island, and into Connecticut to Hartford and New Haven — a first visit to Governor Winthrop. And so, having, with Nicolls, taken a bird's-eye view of the whole, its three principal towns and outlying villages, upon the 28th of August Lovelace himself assumed the government of "his Highness's territories," these being, as he writes to Lord Arlington, "the middle position of the two distinct factions, the Papist and Puritan." That New-York, at this time, should have attracted his cultivated tastes was hardly possible. It contained but about three hundred and eighty houses and fifteen hundred inhabitants. It 1643 it was said by the Director-General that "eighteen different languages" were spoken among them, and it is not likely that this difference had decreased, although the majority were Dutch, English, and French. And thus, as he found it, New-York resembled one of those islands of the South Sea, where birds of alien tribes build along the streets of the same feathery metropolis, where the air resounds with the din and jargon of their dissonant voices, but where (tolerant if not akin) the same nest receives and shelters a diverse brood. They were huddled mostly below Wall street, and were, by a large majority, women and children. Yet, even within that short space, and notwithstanding repeated orders, he could not get obstinate or wilfully negligent people to pave the streets, or keep them and the wharves and dikes clean from filth and garbage — evidently the same city in such respects when young as now that it has grown to be a home for all nationalities and conditions. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if — within three months of his coming — a severe epidemic ("fever, and ague, and fluxes") visited the city. It led him to proclaim a day of humiliation and prayer, and to reprove "the swearing, intemperance, and impiety which he observed to prevail." Indeed, for a courtier of Charles II., he seems to have had unusual religious proclivities, and in this respect was much before some of his successors. One of his earliest efforts was to procure a printing-press, for the purpose of having published a catechism and some chapters of the Bible, which the Rev. Thomas James, the first minister at Easthampton, Long Island, had prepared in their own tongue for use

John Winthrop.

among the Indians. And he it was who, in 1670, by his official action and interest in the matter, not only enabled the Dutch church to secure a minister (from Holland), "an accomplished scholar and divine," the Rev. Wilhelmus Van Nieuwenhuysen, but to provide for him handsomely a salary of one thousand guilders Holland money, a dwelling-house rent-free, and firewood. It cannot be said, however, as Brodhead seems to think, that by his pledges relating thereto, "under his hand and the seal of the province," and by his order in council authorizing the Consistory to tax the congregation, he "virtually established" the Reformed Church in New-York. It merely shows how, in those days and till the legislature grew into power, everything depended upon the disposition, and was under the control, of the Governor, subject, of course, to the approval or orders of the duke. The duke's rôle at the time, as best for his interests, was toleration; and Lovelace allowed the Rev. Jacobus Fabricius, the first Lutheran minister, to practise his profession in Albany, although he afterwards removed him for bad conduct. It is to his credit that, throughout, he consulted the interests of religion and morality, and did not make his power offensive.

In things most congenial to the polished gentleman, however, in New-York in 1668, evidently his scope was limited. Above Wall street were mostly commons, woods, and swamps, and in the latter, says Mr. John Josselyn, "frogs sitting on their breeches a foot high." The island was almost overrun with horses bred wild in the woods and commons, and from small and "unproportionable" stallions. One of his early "orders in Council" was directed against this evil, and to secure a better breed of horses. Moreover, there was, as yet, no fit wagon-road even to Harlem, where had

NEW-YORK OR NEW AMSTERDAM, 1673.

already settled a number of families destined to continue in the history of New-York; the means of communication, such as they were, being merely the development of some old Indian trail. Ignorant as are most people of the short time which covers the great growth of New-York, mainly since 1825, and considering the great duties and aspirations which now occupy the thoughts of a New-York Governor by night and by day, it seems almost ludicrous to read how, on the 22d of February, 1669, "Governor Lovelace and his Council, with others of the bench at New-York, held a Court at Harlem," to consider first and principally "the laying out of a wagon-road, which hath heretofore been ordered and appointed, but never as yet was prosecuted to effect," though "very necessary to the mutual commerce with one another" of New-York and Harlem; or again, to find him referring to the mayor and aldermen the important question of appointing a certain man, one Johannes Verveelen, ferryman across the Spuyten Duyvel, "from the Island to the Main," before he issues his own warrant — the subsequent "articles of Agreement indented" between the Governor and Verveelen covering two full pages, in small type, of the history of Harlem! Such primitive matters, however, or his many and most profusely worded "orders in Council" to the mayor and aldermen, as to, for instance, how many cartmen, and who, were to be employed in the city — orders written mostly, no doubt, by Secretary Bayard or his brothers Thomas and Dudley — or other occasional if more important duties of his administration, evidently did not free his life in the city from dullness. To his familiar, Arlington, he writes that nothing had happened lately except an Indian murder, and that was six weeks before — and evidently nothing of importance; that one might as well have crossed Lethe as the Atlantic; that the conveyance from England was as slow as the production of elephants, once almost in two years, since vessels were uncertain as to the most convenient port; and he craves news, about theatricals, or any other matters of interest abroad. Indeed, just then, vessels of any kind in the harbor — a harbor fit to float navies — were but an occasional sight. After the treaty of Breda in 1667, Stuyvesant, being then in England, had obtained a "temporary permission for seven years," but "with three ships only," during which the Dutch could "trade freely" with New-York. Van Cortlandt and others ordered one of these, "a large ship," and

THE PLAGUE MEDAL.[1]

[1] In commemoration of the Plague and Fire of London in the "Annus Mirabilis," 1666, a medal was struck. In the center is the eye of God, with a comet on either side, one showering down pestilence, the other flame. In the foreground death on horseback meets a knight in combat. EDITOR.

the three came at intervals during that period; but nine or ten vessels in port at once, even of traders to Boston, the South, or the West Indies, was in 1669 an event to be recorded. Of the latter the Governor himself and some others in partnership built one, "a very strong and handsome vessel, but costly, the Good Fame, of New-York." But such were the "Navigation laws" in 1669 that, although the king authorized the trading of two Scotch ships between Scotland and New-York, as an encouragement to emigration, the English farmers of the revenue defeated the enterprise. Lovelace had gone so far as to arrange for settling two hundred Scotch families at Esopus, but no ship came; and so he had the garrison disbanded and parceled out in the two new adjoining villages of Hurley and Marbletown.

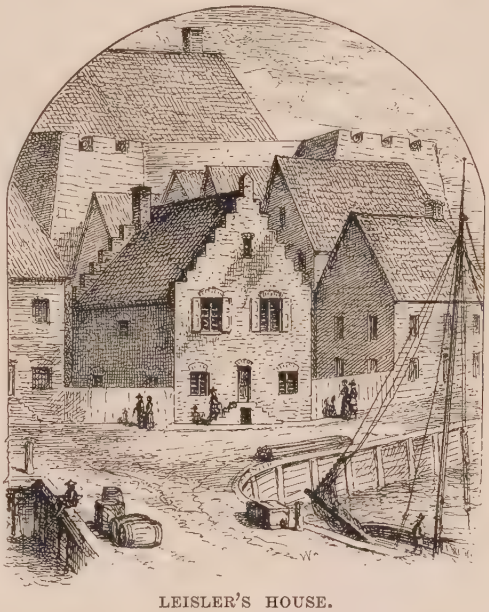
In population the city itself remained almost at a stand-still; for although several people from Boston showed a disposition to invest in land, and one of them actually bought five houses, and although some from Bermuda and Barbadoes were attracted thither, yet others were being enticed away with "fair and specious pretenses" to new plantations further south. It received no additions of any particular account—remaining, except as changed in some ways by Nicolls, substantially as it had been under the Dutch rule, with a larger but by no means predominant English element; so that, cut off as he was from intercourse with England, the Governor had to find such amusement and such society as he could among these old settlers. And, for a place so limited and so populated, and where the advantages of superior education were so limited, there was remarkably good society. Lovelace himself wrote to the king in 1668: "I find some of these people have the breeding of courts, and I cannot conceive how such is acquired"—coming from him, a compliment of the highest kind. Their libraries were meager, for they had no printing-press to give them books. What they had came from abroad. The only printing-press in the colonies was, at the time, at Cambridge, Mass., and under rigid censorship of the General Court, producing only Puritan literature, which did not circulate in New-York. Yet, in 1670, the three daughters of Anthony De Milt were known as the best Latin scholars in the city—not even excepting the Dutch minister, who had been educated in Holland. Mrs. Stuyvesant (Judith Bayard) spoke French (naturally,

as the granddaughter of a French Huguenot minister) and also Dutch and English, was a rare musician, in dress a French woman of fashion; whilst Mrs. Bayard, herself Dutch, was, for her day, highly educated, and able to teach her three sons in almost every branch of a practical business education.[1] With such women among them, and others who might be mentioned, no wonder there was society, and of the genuine kind — society which had even more than courtly breeding, which had intelligence and refinement, with solidity of thought and character. Moreover, several of them had "good houses." That of Cornelius Steenwyck, who had moved from Harlem in 1652, had handsome carpets, marble tables, velvet chairs, fine paintings and silver. And so, during the winter of 1668–1669, at the Governor's instance, they established a "club" of ten French and Dutch and six English families, to meet at each other's houses, twice a week in winter and once a week in summer; he himself being generally present and making himself "agreeable." They met from six to nine in the evening; the entertainment was "simple" — chiefly Madeira wine and rum and brandy punch, served in silver tankards, and "not compounded and adulterated as in England"; and to speak French and Dutch and English was almost indispensable. But it was two hundred years ago. Neither their English, French, nor Dutch, written or spoken, was quite the language of to-day. When Mr. Harmanus Bleeker, of Albany, went as minister to The Hague some forty years ago, they told him that he spoke the Dutch of two hundred years before — that is, as the first settlers had brought it over and perpetuated it, such of them as continued to speak it at all. But there was one young woman in Holland who so thoroughly understood his old-time speech and loved it (and him), that, when he returned, she came too, as his *vrouw!* Nevertheless, how scant of material in the little city, in the time of Lovelace, was "society" — that which, under subsequent governors, grew into such pride and power as "persons of quality," "people of figure" — may be seen from the small number composing this club — ten French and Dutch and six English families. Stuyvesant had, indeed, endeavored to introduce into New Amsterdam the "great" and "small burgher" system of Amsterdam in Holland; but the list of the "great citizenship" never exceeded twenty names. It became unpopular, besides leaving so very small a number who were eligible to office. Therefore in 1668

THE BAYARD ARMS.

[1] Mrs. Samuel Bayard, Stuyvesant's sister, also taught her three sons and daughter, Catherine, French and English, after discharging the incompetent tutor who accompanied them from Holland. EDITOR.

it was abolished, and every "burgher" became entitled to equal privileges with his neighbor. Of the list of 1657 (which includes one woman) Cornelius Steenwyck (whose house we have mentioned, and whose portrait, copied from the original in the New-York Historical Society, appears on page 349) was, undoubtedly, the chief figure under the administration of Lovelace. He was mayor for three years under him, one of his wisest and most influential councilors, a man of sterling character, and wealthy. He owned a bouwery on the east side above Stuyvesant's, and ultimately, by the extinction of the Archers, became owner of the "Manor of Fordham" and a "Heer," subject to no jurisdiction but that of the Governor and his Council and the General Court of Assize.



LEISLER'S HOUSE.

But of that original list of "great citizenship," as distinguished from the "small," by 1668 several names had disappeared. How many of them remain in this changing city, and in what walks of life? Stuyvesant, Kip, Strycker, Van Dyck, Van Wyck, Bogardus, we have—long-lived names. It is interesting, however, to notice how many afterwards prominent, or still existing, begin to appear just at this time. Nicholas Bayard comes in, as a young man and Secretary of the Council, a post he held for many years—and an official always. Johannes De Peyster, the first of the name, but already wealthy, emerges into public affairs, and by Colve, in 1673, was chosen Burgomaster—to suffer for it much petty tyranny from Andros. And in 1670, sitting in the same church-consistory with Governor Stuyvesant and Olof Stevensen Van Cortlandt, they as elders and he as a deacon, is one, who, twenty years later, will accomplish a name more long-lived in State history than Lovelace, one not in the "court circle" around him—Jacob Leisler. In 1663, two years after his arrival, he had married the widow of Vanderveen, a well-to-do merchant trader, who had built the first brick house in the city, near the fort; and having inherited his goods as well as his widow,—in other words, having stepped into his shoes,—there Leisler now lived, an active, busy, and growingly respected citizen, but not one of the Governor's kind, not one adapted to shine in "society." In Harlem, also, small as it was, families were

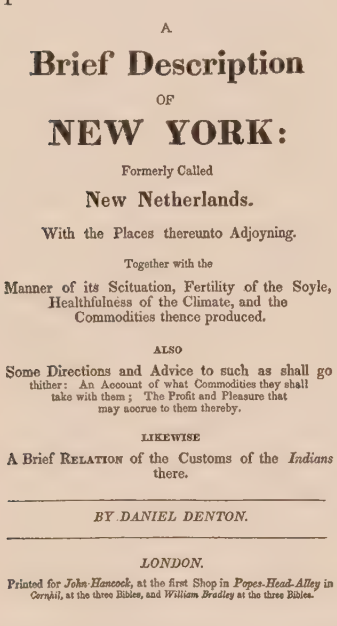
appearing whose names are still well known in business and other circles. Just at this time Colonel Lewis Morris, a merchant of Barbadoes, secured a valuable tract, which his brother, Captain Richard Morris, came to occupy, thus becoming a prominent man under Lovelace. Dying, however, within two years, he left an infant of a year old, a "poor blossom," at nurse in Harlem, but who ultimately became that distinguished Chief Justice Lewis Morris, proprietor (in 1697) of the newly created Manor of Morrisania (1920 acres), the father of the more distinguished Gouverneur Morris, and ancestor of the still existent family. How many more in the city, not in the Governor's "set," nor holding office, nor rising speedily, but industrious and honest "carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, tailors, weavers, shoemakers, tanners," etc., were yet the lower stones of good families in the future, we cannot tell, although some names might be mentioned. Daniel Denton, who visited New-York in 1670, says that such "lived happily" in the city, in fact found it an "earthly Canaan." Nor, because they were not among the Governor's budding aristocracy, which so dominated the city under later governors, are we to regard them as deserving generally the slur it so loftily cast upon them as "the lower classes, the rabble." It applied, if at all, to the Dutch, the original and larger element. But we must remember Motley's declaration that "the New England pilgrims, during their residence in the glorious country of Holland, found already established the system of free schools which John of Nassau had recommended"; the famous decree, also, which the Synod of Dordrecht, anxious to promote the well-being of Church and State, had in 1619 passed in behalf of education, and which led to church-schools throughout Holland; and that (as told by Brodhead) "schools were everywhere provided at the public expense, with good schoolmasters, to instruct the children of all classes in the usual branches of education; whilst the consistories of the churches took zealous care to have their youth thoroughly taught the Catechism and the Articles of religion." This was in Holland, full of intelligent and patriotic citizens, so noted as to attract scholars from every part of Europe, and therefore called in the learned world "Compendium Orbis"; and in Holland had the earlier Dutch settlers been instructed. It is true that their children had not quite the same advantages, and that wealthy families sometimes employed "private tutors"—which implies tutors to be had. But in 1630 the West India Company had bound itself "to maintain good and fit preachers and schoolmasters," in order to encourage immigration—however inadequately it may have carried out its pledge. What, however, it failed to do, the church was painstaking in doing. If it could not readily send a minister, it sent a schoolmaster, who as "voorleser" acted both as teacher and as

conductor of religious services. Even before the church, there were a school and schoolmaster. So early as Stuyvesant's administration, says O'Callahan, "schools existed in almost every town and village" in New Netherland. Nor, when the government changed hands, did the Dutch surrender either their church or their schools, but maintained both even in the face of opposition and at their own expense. In 1673 they obtained a special charter from the English Government authorizing them to erect churches and school-houses (which were often under the same roof); and in order to maintain the standard of instruction, they procured the teachers from Holland, at a "heavy and unusual expense." Evidently, therefore, it is a mistake to suppose that the better-known and wealthier families monopolized the education and intelligence of the city, and that all the rest were illiterate "lower classes." Leisler himself, in later times of intense partizanship, was branded by his opponents (and some histories have repeated it) as an "ignorant and illiterate" man. But, himself the son of a clergyman (as it has been recently discovered), it is hardly credible that in 1670 an "ignorant and illiterate" man could have found his way, and by their votes, into a Dutch consistory composed of a learned clergyman and such men as Peter Stuyvesant (an earnest advocate of education) and Olof Stevensen Van Cortlandt. Indeed, the city was as fairly intelligent as most young cities for its day.

STEENWYCK'S HOUSE.

It must now be said that the public acts of Lovelace, as Governor, were few of them historically important, although matters troublesome to himself occasionally came up. These, however, he seems to have left, as much as possible, to others to arrange, commissioners and agents appointed by him, to whom he gave voluminous orders. And certainly he could not have had a more useful subordinate than his brother, Captain Dudley Lovelace, who frequently represented him, and sometimes received the same honors. Thus, when at Hurley and Marbletown, as head of a commission to arrange about the lands, they gave him an artillery salute," when the President took horse to depart for New-York." It was one indication of that spirit of display and subserviency to viceroyalty which was growing up, which later became still more marked, and through which certain families themselves grew into importance and power. But, to counteract this, there was another spirit in the community, which would not down, which troubled Lovelace, and which, in future years, made itself felt as a

power; a spirit which, in 1691, was one and the principal reason for the execution of Leisler — that reason, as given by the Council of that day, being "the assertion of the government and authority, and the prevention of insurrections and disorders for the future." Its focus, under Lovelace, was Long Island. If, in the spring of 1669, he obtained amusement and pleasure out of the "general training" and the race-course established by Nicolls's fiat at Hempstead, and which he named Newmarket (so old is racing on Long Island), at the November assizes of that year he was not so well pleased when eight towns (Hempstead, East and West Chester, Oyster Bay, Flushing, Jamaica, Newtown, and Gravesend) presented a list of "grievances." There was Puritan and English blood in those towns, as well as Dutch. They wanted the promises made by Nicolls at the time of their "submission" kept. They wanted the privilege of "advising about and approving" laws, by "deputies yearly chosen by the freeholders of every town and parish"; in other words, they wanted a popular assembly in addition to the Governor and a "subservient Council." But it was denied that Nicolls had made any such promise, and the Governor (by his instructions) could make no changes in the laws as already established when he came. And as they also asked to be informed what was required of them under the duke's "Commission," — a question which might interfere with the "Governor's pleasure," — they were told bluntly that there was "nothing required of them but obedience and submission to the laws of the Government." That was all, submission. That it did not satisfy the Long Islanders, they very soon made evident. Taxes were necessary for the support of the government and (ostensibly at least) for repairs at the fort, the latter of which were imposed on the several towns of Long Island; as to which Woods, in his history of Long Island, says that Lovelace "imposed duties according to his pleasure for the support of the government, and attempted a direct tax for repairing the fort." But the towns objected. "If they yielded in this they might be taxed to maintain the garrison,



A

Brief Description

OF

NEW YORK:

Formerly Called

New Netherlands.

With the Places thereunto Adjoyning.

Together with the

Manner of its Scituation, Fertility of the Soyle, Healthfulness of the Climate, and the Commodities thence produced.

ALSO

Some Directions and Advice to such as shall go thither: An Account of what Commodities they shall take with them; The Profit and Pleasure that may accrue to them thereby.

LIKEWISE

A Brief RELATION of the Customs of the *Indians* there.

BY DANIEL DENTON.

LONDON.

Printed for *John Hancock*, at the first Shop in *Popes-Head-Alley* in *Cornhil*, at the three Bibles, and *William Bradley* at the three Bibles.

The above fac-simile of the title-page of the first printed description in book form in English of New-York is copied from one of the few existing copies of the original edition. I have met with but four. The rare work was reprinted by William Gowans in 1845, with notes by Gabriel Furman. Daniel Denton was among the early settlers of Long Island, and as there was not, at that time, or for more than a score of years after, a printer in New-York, his little quarto was sent to London for publication. He was a son of the Rev. Richard Denton, a Presbyterian clergyman and a graduate of Cambridge, England, who accompanied Governor Winthrop to America in 1630. EDITOR.

and they knew not what else." Southold, Southampton, and Easthampton were willing to contribute "if they might enjoy the privileges of the New England colonies" (Bancroft); Huntington refused, because her people were deprived "of the liberties of Englishmen." All of which, when presented to the Governor and his Council, was adjudged "scandalous, illegal, and seditious, tending only to disaffect all the peaceable and well-meaning subjects of his Majesty"; and the papers were ordered to "be openly and publicly burned" before the Town Hall at the next Mayor's Court, and "the principal contriver thereof inquired into and proceeded against." Nevertheless, the tax failed, as other attempted impositions on Long Island failed, the fort was not repaired, and the spirit of the people and their democratic desires burned on.

But if Lovelace suppressed liberty, as, being the duke's agent, he was bound to do, whether in Long Island or on the Delaware (where also, among the Swedes and Finns, its spirit gave him trouble), one truly progressive and important act, one in which he took real interest, may be set down to his credit. And it was one of the few things he undertook which were carried to completion. It was the opening of a post-road and better correspondence between New-York and Boston—very important in view of European complications and wars. He wrote to Governor Winthrop and enlisted him in the scheme, and at length put it in operation. That often-ordered but slowly evolved wagon-road to Harlem was, by the last of 1672, finished or made usable, and a monthly mail was officially announced to start for Boston the 1st of January, 1673. It is recorded as creating great excitement in the little village of Harlem, when that first postman drew up at the tavern door to refresh himself, as he undoubtedly did, with some good home-brewed Harlem beer—his "portmantles" (portmanteaux) crammed with "letters and small portable goods." He himself was "active, stout, and indefatigable"; had been "sworn as to his fidelity"; and was to receive an "annual salary," which, with his letters and packages, might afford him a "handsome livelyhood." Hartford was the first place where he might change his horse. And meanwhile, before his arrival in Boston, Governor Winthrop is requested by Lovelace (whom we are quoting) to "discourse with some of the most able woodmen, to make out the best and most facile way for a post, which in process of time would be the King's best highway; as likewise passages and accommodation at rivers, fords, and other necessary places." But meanwhile the poor fellow, thus laden with letters, portable goods, and "divers bags" for the different towns, is to jog on, through deep forests, through rivers, and in all weathers; to mark trees "that shall direct passengers the best way"; and "to detect and cause to be apprehended all fugitive soldiers and servants"

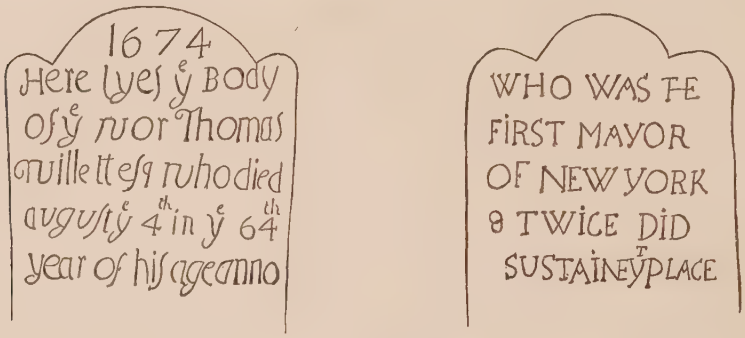
from New-York. Meanwhile also the "locked box" stood in the office of the Colonial Secretary in New-York to accumulate his next month's mail; and what he brought, being "post-paid," was carried to the "coffee-house," as a popular gathering-place, and left on the table, to be well thumbed and critically examined, till called for or removed by neighbors or friends. Of course, at first letters were few. But that "locked box," quietly awaiting its mail, was the small germ of the present bustling and surcharged New-York Post-office. That postman, who needed to be "stout and indefatigable," was merely marking out a way. It was better when, in 1727, Ebenezer Hurd began his remarkable riding-career of forty-eight years, between Saybrook and New-York—making thereby, through letters and parcels, a goodly property. And it was still better when, in 1775, he closed up his service (as seems probable) by bringing the first or second despatch of the Watertown Committee with news of the battle of Lexington. But that first postman was doing more than he dreamed of, as he made his solitary and laborious ride. He was aiding to draw together colonies that would soon be States; and to whose great struggle, in 1775, and its success, nothing would be more important than good post-roads and speedy intelligence—a fact clearly discerned by Jefferson and Franklin. For this incipiency of communication, then, we have to thank Lovelace, as really the great act of his administration.

One other act of his has been called so, the "most memorable," which, however, it was not. It was his purchase from the Indians, April 9, 1670, of Staten Island (Aquehonga Manacknong), "in the Hudson's river" (of which the "kills" were supposed to be a part), and which was then considered "the most commodiosest seate and richest land" in America. It was a good thing to have the Indians a little further away and their title extinguished, to prevent collisions. Had he waited a little longer, however, he might have saved his money. The Island must, apparently, have dropped into his hand as a ripe plum; for Daniel Denton informs us (1670) that "wherever the English came to settle, the hand of God mostly removed the Indians, either by wars among themselves or some raging mortal disease!" Still, the price was not heavy—some "wampum" (which was exchangeable money), with some "coats, kettles" (second-hand, we may be sure), "powder, lead,

guns, axes, hoes, and knives"; the city was not as yet flush of old tin cans. To read of it, how sorry such a ground-floor chance must make intending purchasers of lots at the island, that they were not born when land was so reasonable! Lovelace bought it officially for the Duke of York, whose title to it, and through him that of New-York State, was good. But Lovelace had a good eye, not alone for horses, but for choice spots. Moreover, the courtier of Charles II. had not come over to this "wilderness" out of mere philanthropy, or duty to the crown; and, as subsequently appeared, his accounts with the duke in this and other matters were sadly mixed. If he bought the island for the duke with one hand, he must have sold its very best part to himself with the other, and forgot or failed to pay. For we find him owning a large farm where the Quarantine grounds now are, and having there a water-mill, with sheep and cattle; on all the latter of which, when the Dutch subsequently sailed into the bay (as he writes to Winthrop), they "breakfasted." Lovelace is also said to have had a "garden house" on Broadway; but it probably refers to the "Domine's Bouwery," a plot of about sixty-two acres lying between the present Warren and Christopher streets, and the greater part of which he bought in 1671. It belonged to the heirs of Domine Everardus Bogardus and his widow—the Anneke Jans estate. It was an evidence of his foresight concerning New-York, since it was not esteemed of very great value at the time. It is said, however, that one or more of the heirs did not join in the sale to Lovelace—a cause of persistent litigation down to recent years by "the heirs of Anneke Jans." And since (first by confiscation of Lovelace's estate to the Duke of York and then the vesting of this part in the crown, and, second, through the generosity of Queen Anne) it became a part and a chief part of the estate of Trinity Church. Lovelace bought it as an investment which promised a great future for his family. But within a few months died a Dutch ex-Governor, also the possessor of a "Bouwery"—Peter Stuyvesant. There are now no Lovelaces; but there are still Stuyvesants enjoying the fruits of the sturdy old ex-Governor's latter-year labors on his farm.

It would appear that in addition to buying—whereby he evidently got in debt to the duke—he must be building. Governor Nicolls had found the Governor's house, built by Stuyvesant about four years previous to the surrender, "very comfortably furnished and quite attractive for a new country." Yet, for some reason, Lovelace seems to have erected another inside the fort—it being on one side the church and the prison on the other. He never furnished it, and Andros, when he came, found "the stairs and some rooms quite rotten." Nor was it, apparently, paid for, or other work within the fort, what-

ever money may have been raised therefor. In fact, debt to the duke and everybody else ultimately worked his ruin. When the city was recaptured by the Dutch fleet (August 9, 1673), his vessel, the Good Fame, had already been taken in Europe. The Dutch commanders now seized and confiscated his property; his house had already, in the heat of conquest, been plundered; he himself, as we shall see, was absent; and, as Governor Leverett wrote to Lord Arlington, "it was expected that he would have kept himself out of their hands, though he had not kept the fort; but by one of their Dutch Domines he was col-



INSCRIPTIONS ON THOMAS WILLETT'S GRAVE.[1]

logued with, whereby they got him in (to the fort) for three days; and then—the inhabitants laid arrests upon him for debts due to them!" This, after confiscating all his property; and the commanders told him that, if he paid his debts, he might leave the country in six weeks! He was ultimately permitted to sail, with Admiral Binckes, for Holland, and not England, as he wished and had intended, "unlesse prevented." Before doing so he wrote to Winthrop, "Would you be curious to know what my losses might amount to—I can in short resolve you. It was my all which ever I had been collecting; too greate to misse in this wildernesse." So he had feathered his nest, and everything might yet have come out well with him, but for his debts to the Duke of York. For his apparent inefficiency in losing the fort, he was at home severely reprimanded; but that might have been satisfactorily explained, or condoned with a little loss of honor—especially as the city was so soon restored. Not so with his accounts. One of the duke's last orders to Andros (August, 1674) was to seize his estate. He was charged with owing him £7000; and Andros was to hold the estate till that sum was satisfied. Lovelace died before it was done—that is,

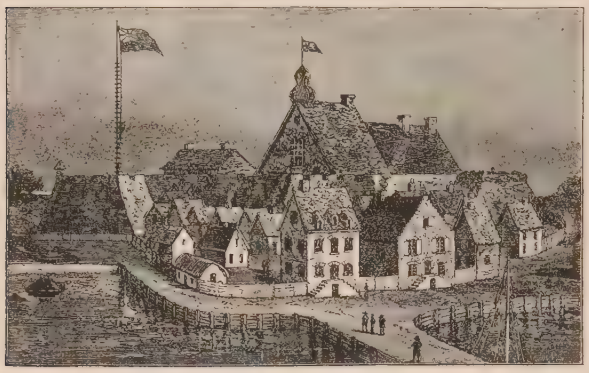
[1] Thomas Willett, the first Mayor of New-York, died on August 4, 1674. His property having been confiscated in 1673, on the recapture by the Dutch, as he was then one of the Royal Council, he moved to Rhode Island, and was one of the founders of the town of Swansey. He and his wife were buried in what is now known as "Little Neck Burial-ground," within the present limits of East Providence, R. I. The illustration in the text shows the rude characters upon the head-stone and foot-stone of his grave there. EDITOR.

before January 21, 1679, when the accounts of his estate were exhibited. Besides his debts, so loosely and generally contracted for goods, labor, and the like, whilst he was himself "collecting" much property, there is little to be charged against his memory as a Governor. He

principally angered the Duke of York, from whose exchequer he borrowed his means. But to offend the Duke of York was substantially disgrace, and, as to any public employment for the future, ruin. The bright light from that cloud fell, ultimately, upon Trinity Church.

It is now as introductory to Anthony Colve, the next Governor, that we relate Lovelace's loss of New-York to the Dutch. One

thing is certain, that, when the war between England and Holland began in 1672, he had been warned by the king to put his whole government in a state of defense; and that the declaration of war had been read at the fort gate and the City Hall. Moreover, the fortifications were vigorously pushed forward for a time. But it was a year (March, 1673) before the news came that a Dutch squadron was coming from the West Indies to Virginia and thence northward. He himself was away on postal business, but was summoned home. Unfortunately he did not believe it. Soldiers were, indeed, summoned from Albany and elsewhere, and one hundred and thirty men enlisted; there were in all three hundred and thirty. But they were sent home, and only eighty left in garrison at Fort James. Nor was the fort put any further in condition, although he had the money contributed for the purpose when the declaration of war was made. This was in March. In July, "having urgent occasions," he set out to visit Winthrop at New Haven. Captain John Manning, an experienced man and sheriff, was, as usual, left in charge of the fort, but still, "without any order to repair the same to make defense" against an enemy. Yet the enemy, consisting of fifteen ships (Brodhead) under Cornelius Evertsen, a son of the Admiral, and four ships under Captain Binckes, was, that July, already in the Chesapeake. Nor was their steering for New-York and its subsequent capture a "mere accident" and without "orders," a "lucky accident wholly due to the enterprise of the two commodores," and based upon information received from a sloop as they were going out of James River —as Brodhead relates it. On the contrary, from documents now accessible it appears that the whole affair was planned before the fleet left Holland. In the secret instructions a cipher was used, and in the accompanying key "163" stands for New Netherland. It was to be taken and held, or, if that was impracticable, to be devastated. The information obtained on the way only showed it to be a good time to attack. That it would have been taken by such commanders, with such a fleet and nearly sixteen hundred men, and with a population not wholly indisposed to be conquered, is altogether probable, even if Lovelace had used the interval discreetly. At the same time, his neg-



THE STRAND, NOW WHITEHALL STREET.

lect and unreadiness and unfortunate absence made the task an easy one, if, at the same time, it saved the city from devastation. He could hardly call the capture, as he did to Winthrop, "*digitus Dei*, who exalts and depresses as he pleases, and to whom we must all submit"—a pleasant philosophy, and like him, but he should first have tried to "tie his camel"! So now, again, for a year and three months, New-York is back in possession of the Dutch, with Captain Anthony Colve as Governor, and with the experienced Cornelius Steenwyck as councilor, in so far as the Governor shall "deem proper to ask his advice and assistance." Bayard is again Secretary. The change, however, made little difference in the colony or province. The time was too short. Nevertheless, for so brief an administration, Colve, an old sea-dog, showed himself to be a man of firmness and vigor, whom Massachusetts and Connecticut, and the recusant towns on Long Island which were not disposed to submit, found themselves obliged to respect. He did not burn paper, as Lovelace did, but was more likely to burn powder, if occasion offered. "We have come for our own," he said, "and we mean to have it." The man who ordered one "whipped" at Oyster Bay for disturbing public worship on the Sabbath was not to be trifled with. One of his first acts was to put the fort in order, and he went at it with a will. Houses and obstructions that interfered with it were at once demolished, including the new Lutheran church; and where the works were of earth, the owners of hogs (we read) were forbidden to allow them to roam, "lest they should damage them." But as everything depended on events abroad, in due time the Treaty of Westminster brought peace between England and Holland, and with it the restoration of New-York to England. Colve received "for his last year's services" two hundred and fifty florins, and Governor Andros stepped in—a man of more note in history than either Nicolls or Lovelace had been.[1]

[1] Since the above was put in type, it is proper to state, another account of the ancestry of Governor Lovelace has come into the writer's hands, which differs materially from the received statements, but is from excellent authority. It is impossible for the author at present to determine a question which requires an extended search into English works on the peerage.

"Francis Lovelace was of a race of gentlemen who, in the military line, acquired great reputation and honor, . . . from whom descended those of this name seated at Bayford, in Sittingbourne, and at Kingsdowne, in the County of Kent, the Lords Lovelace of Hurley, and others of Berkshire. Hitherto he has been described as belonging to the family of the Lords of Hurley, and made to be not only the uncle of the third Lord Lovelace, . . . but also the grandfather of that Lord Lovelace who died at New-York in the office of Governor in 1709. There was a connection between the families, but it was very remote, and the Royal Duke's Governor lived and died a bachelor. His immediate ancestor was Sir William Lovelace, of Woolwich, who was killed in Holland. His wife was Anne, daughter of Sir William Barne, also of Woolwich, by whom he had six children (five sons and one daughter), of whom Francis was the second. His elder brother was that bright particular star in the galaxy of the minor poets of England in the seventeenth century—Richard Lovelace." ("Historical Notes on the Introduction of Printing into New-York," by George H. Moore, LL. D., pp. 4–5. New-York, 1888.)

A TAX LIST OF NEW-ORANGE (NEW-YORK) IN 1674, DURING THE OCCUPATION BY THE DUTCH.

New-York having been recaptured in the course of a war between England and Holland, while it was held by the Dutch extraordinary expenses were incurred to place the fort in a condition to make a vigorous defense in the case of an attack. A direct tax was accordingly imposed early in the year 1674 on those citizens whose estates were worth more than one thousand florins ($400). The following list, preserved in the Colonial Records, was made out by a board of six special assessors:

Names.	*Value of Estate.* Florins.	Dollars.	*Names.*	*Value of Estate.* Florins.	Dollars.
Adolph Petersen	1,000	400	Hartman Wessels	300	120
Andrew Jochems	300	120	Harmen Smeeman	300	120
Albert Bosch	500	200	Henry Bresier	300	120
Abraham Carmar	300	120	Johannes Van Brugh	1,400	560
Allard Anthony	1,000	400	Johannes De Peyster	15,000	6,000
Abraham Jansen	600	240	Jerome Ebbingh	30,000	12,000
Anthony Jansen Van Sale	1,000	400	Jacob Kip	4,000	1,600
Adrian Vincent	1,000	400	Isaac Van Vlecq	1,500	600
Abel Hardenbroeck	1,000	400	John Meleynderse Karman	300	120
Abraham Verplanck	300	120	Isaac De Foreest	1,500	600
Asher Levy	2,500	1,000	Junan Blanck	1,600	640
Abram Lubbertsen	300	120	Jacob De Naers	5,000	2,000
Anthony De	1,000	400	John Henry Van Bommel	1,500	600
Anna Van Borssum	2,000	800	Jacob Leumen	300	120
Barent Coersen	3,500	1,400	Jeremiah Jansen Hagenaer	400	160
Balthazar Bayard	1,500	600	Jacob Vande Water	2,500	1,000
Boele Roelofsen	600	240	John Dirckse Meyer	600	240
Barnadus Hasfalt	300	120	Isaac Van Tricht	2,500	1,000
Bay Rosevelt	1,000	400	Jacob Abrahamse	2,000	800
Balthasar De Haert's House	2,000	800	John Van Breestede	500	200
Claes Lock	600	240	Jonah Bartels	3,000	1,200
Carsten Leursen	5,000	2,000	John Herberdingh	2,000	800
Cornelius Steenwyck	50,000	20,000	Jacob Teunis Key	8,000	3,200
Cornelius Van Ruyven	18,000	7,200	John Spiegelaer	500	200
Cornelius Janse Van Hooren	500	200	John Jansen	300	120
Claes Bordingh	1,500	600	John Lawrence	40,000	16,000
Conrad Ten Eyck	5,000	2,000	James Matheus	1,000	400
Christopher Hoogland	5,000	2,000	John Reay	300	120
Cornelius Chopper	5,000	2,000	John Coely Smet	1,200	480
Charles Van Brugge's Houses	1,000	400	John Schakerley	1,400	560
Cornelius Van Borssum	8,000	3,200	John Joosten (Banker)	2,500	1,000
David Wessels	800	320	Jacob Leyslaer [Leisler]	15,000	6.000
Cornelius Dircksen	1,200	480	John Vigne	1,000	400
Cornelius Barentse Vander Cuyl	400	160	Jacob Varrevanger	8,000	3,200
Dirck Smet	2,000	800	Lawrence Jansen Smet	300	120
David Jochems	1,000	400	Luke Andries (Banker)	1,500	600
Daniel Hendricks	500	200	Lawrence Vande Spiegel	6,000	2,400
Dirck Van Cleef	1,500	600	Lambert Huybertse Moll	300	120
Dirck Wiggerse	800	320	Lawrence Holst	300	120
Dirck Claessen	400	160	Luke Tienhoven	600	240
Dirck Sieken	2,000	800	Martin Kregier, Sr	2,000	800
Ægidius Luyck	5,000	2,000	Martin Jansen Meyer	500	200
Egbert Wouterse	300	120	Matthew De Haert	12,000	4,800
Evert Pieterse	2,000	800	Nicholas De Meyer	50,000	20,000
Evert Wesselse Kuyper	300	120	Nicholas Bayard	1,000	400
Evert Duyckingh	1,600	640	Nicholas Du Puy	600	240
Ephraim Harmans	1,000	400	Nicholas Jansen Backer	700	280
Elizabeth Drisius	2,000	800	Olof Stevensen Van Cortlandt	45,000	18,000
Elizabeth Bedloo	1,000	400	Peter Jacobs Marius	5,000	2,000
Francis Rombouts	5,000	2,000	Peter Nys	500	200
Frederick Philipse	80,000	32,000	Paul Richard	5,000	2,000
Frederick Arentse	400	160	Peter De Riemer	800	320
Frederick Gisberts	400	160	Paul Turcq	300	120
Gulian Verplanck	5,000	2,000	Peter Vande Water	400	160
Gilliam De Honioud	400	160	Peter Jansen Mesier	300	120
Gabriel Minvielle	10,000	4,000	Philip Johns	600	240
Garret Gullevever	500	200	Reynier Willemse Backer	5,000	2,000
Mary Loockermans	2,000	800	Stephanus Van Cortlandt	5,000	2,000
Harmanus Burger & Co	400	160	Simon Jautz Romeyn	1,200	480
Henry Kip, Sr	300	120	Sibout Claes	500	200
Henry Bosch	400	160	Souwert Olphertsen	600	240
Henry Wessels Smit	1,200	480	Thomas Leurs	6,000	2,400
Henry Gillesse	300	120	Thomas Louwerss Backer	1,000	400
Henry Willemse Backer	2,000	800	William Beeckman	3,000	1,200
Herman Van Borsum	600	240	Wander Wessels	600	240
Hans Kierstede	2,000	800	William Vander Schueven	300	120
Henry Van Dyke	300	120			

Hobbes

THE ANDROS DOUBLE SEAL.

CHAPTER X

THE ADMINISTRATION OF SIR EDMUND ANDROS
1674–1682

THE new régime in New-York, under Edmund Andros, her first Governor after the retrocession by the Dutch, dates from the year 1674. Andros was a public officer of ability; and, while pure in life and of spotless integrity, has been known in history for an imperious and despotic disposition. He was born in London, England, on the 6th of December, 1637, and married in 1671 Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Craven and a sister of Sir William Craven of Appletrenick in Yorkshire, and of Combe Abbey in Warwickshire. His family, for many years, had held a distinguished position in the Island of Guernsey. His father was an officer in the royal household; and the son, as a reward for his family's fidelity to the house of Stuart, was made a gentleman-in-ordinary to Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia, and had been brought up at Court, in which he had become a favorite of the king, Charles II., and his brother, the Duke of York. At an early age he chose the profession of a soldier, in which capacity he served in the regiment of foot sent to America in 1666, and in 1672 was commander of the forces in Barbadoes. The same year he was made a major in the dragoon regiment of Prince Rupert,—the first regiment in the English army to be armed with the bayonet,—and two years later, on the death of his father, he became Seigneur of the Fiefs of Sausmarez and succeeded him in the office of Bailiff of Guernsey, the reversion of which had been granted him by his Majesty in his father's lifetime.

He was, withal, a thorough linguist, especially versed in the French and Dutch languages, to which qualifications he added one of supreme importance to his rising fortunes—that of being an accomplished courtier and warmly attached to the royal family.

It is, therefore, not strange that upon the retrocession of the Island of Manhattan by the Dutch, the Duke of York should have selected his young friend, who already had the reputation of being skilled in American affairs, to represent him in the territory which had again been granted him by his royal brother, Charles II. Accordingly, as soon as the treaty which gave the Dutch possessions in America to the English had been signed, on the 9th of February, 1674, and ratified at The Hague a few weeks later, Andros and his retinue set sail in the frigates Diamond and Castle, and anchored off Staten Island, October 22d of the same year. As soon as their arrival was known in the city, the Dutch Governor, Anthony Colve, having first taken the advice of his Council, asked of Andros to be allowed eight days in which to make arrangements for formally delivering up to him the insignia of his office. Meanwhile Cornelius Steenwyck, Johannes Van Brugh, and William Beekman were sent as a committee on board the Diamond for the purpose of obtaining certain privileges for the Dutch inhabitants of New Amsterdam. The new Governor received the delegation with courtesy and hospitality. He insisted upon their remaining to dine with him on board the vessel; treated them, as the old chronicle expresses it, "to ye best of victuals and drink," and dismissed the committee with the assurance that "every Dutch citizen should participate in all the liberties and privileges accorded to English subjects." In order, likewise, that there should be no misunderstanding regarding the matter, Andros, the next day, issued from his vessel a proclamation in which it was distinctly stated that if any one had any doubts as to the intentions of the king he would, once for all, say "that all former grants, privileges or concessions heretofore granted, and also all legal and judicial proceedings, during the late Dutch Government, are hereby confirmed, and the possessors by virtue thereof shall remain in quiet possession of their rights." These "privileges" related chiefly to the settlement of debts during the Dutch administration, the maintenance of owners in the possession of their property, and the retention of Dutch forms and ceremonies. The promises which Andros then gave that these privileges should be continued were afterwards fulfilled to the letter.

At length, on the 9th of November, Governor Colve, having completed the preliminaries for delivering, in a formal manner, the keys of the city to the representative of the Crown of England, called together at the City Hall all the officers of the municipal government and, having officially released them from their oaths to the States-

General and the Prince of Orange, informed them that, on the following day, he should deliver the fort and the province to the newly appointed Governor and Commander-in-chief. Accordingly, at the time set (the 10th of November, 1674), Andros, accompanied by his wife, landed and, amid much ceremony, received the welcome of the Dutch ex-Governor, who, still further to show his good will and sincerity in the matter, presented him with his own coach and three richly caparisoned horses. The colors of England were then, amid salvos of artillery, run up on the flagstaff of Fort William Henry,—the name of which was at once changed to Fort James,—and the Dutch city of New Orange once more received, at the same time, the name of New-York, a name which it has ever since retained.

Before entering upon a history of the administration of Governor Andros, it may be desirable to acquaint the reader with the limits of New-York at the time the Dutch surrendered it to the English. As a guide we will take a map of the "Towne of Mannados, or New Amsterdam, as it was in September, 1661,"[1] a copy of which now lies before the writer. This is, so far as known, the only plan of the city executed in the early Dutch times, and was found in 1863, in the British Museum. The town windmill stood on a bluff, within the present Battery, opposite Greenwich street. On Water, between Whitehall and Moore streets, was the "Government House," built by Director Stuyvesant of stone, and the best edifice in the town. When Governor Dongan became its owner he changed its name from the "Government House" to "Whitehall," and hence the name of the street. It was surrounded by a large inclosure, one side of which with the garden was washed by the river. A little dock for pleasure-boats ran into the stream at this point.[2] Here, also, was located the Governor's house, between which and the canal in Broad street was the present Pearl street (so called from having been originally paved with oyster-shells), then the great center of trade, and known as the "Water-Side" and sometimes as the "Strand." Near the Governor's house was the "Waegh" or "Weigh House," at the head of the public wharf at the foot of the present Moore street. A very short distance off, and parallel with Pearl, ran the "Brugh straat" (the present Bridge street), so named from the fact of its leading to the bridge across the canal in Broad street. This canal was but a narrow stream running towards Wall street for a quarter of a mile. Both sides were dyked with posts at the distance of twelve feet from the houses. This canal originally went up to "Verlettenberg Hill" (the present Exchange Place). This was the head of tide-water; and here the country people from Brooklyn, Gowanus, and Bergen brought their marketing to the center of the city. Further along the East River, at the head

[1] See illustration on page 307.

[2] See illustration on page 280.

of the present Coenties Slip, was the *Stadt-Huys* or City Hall, a stone structure first erected as a tavern, but later assigned to the municipal government. In front of the City Hall was placed a battery of three guns. Passing Hanover Square, the "City Gate" or "Water-Gate," at the foot of Wall street, was next seen. The Water-Gate seems to have been quite an imposing structure, doubtless because Pearl street was the great thoroughfare and main entrance to the town. Most of the strangers or visitors to New Amsterdam came from Long Island. Vandercliff's orchard was bounded by the East River and Maiden Lane. Its original owner was Hendrick Ryker, who sold it in 1680 to Dirck Vandercliff. During the Revolution this tract received the more pleasant-sounding name of Golden Hill, so named, it is said, from the fine wheat grown on it. Proceeding past Golden Hill, we come to a large edifice, close to the site of the present Fulton Market, and marked on the map as "Allerton's Buildings," surrounded by a high fence. This was the store-house of Isaac Allerton, who resided at New Amsterdam, and carried on an extensive trade with the New England colonies. He was one of the immigrants in the Mayflower, and a notable character in the early history of the city. Continuing our walk, we reach the present Peck Slip, known for a long time as the "Old Ferry." This was the earliest Brooklyn ferry, and its rates were regulated by the city authorities, in 1654, at three stivers for foot-passengers, except Indians, who paid six. The Commons (the present City Hall Park) was a well-known spot in early New-York. Through it passed the post-road to Boston, the present Chatham street, and for many years this was the place for public executions. North of the Commons lay the Fresh-Water Pond. Near this pond or Collect (the present site of the "Tombs") rose Potter's Hill. Towards the East River was the present Ferry street and neighborhood, a low marshy place covered with bushes.

The city wall was a row of palisades, with embankments nine feet high and four wide, on which several cannon were mounted. Two large stone "points" or bastions were afterwards added, one on the corner of Broadway and Wall, and the other on the northwest corner of Wall and William streets. These completely commanded the whole front of the city wall. Two main roads led from the fort at the Battery towards the northern part of the Island. One of these, afterwards the "Boston" or the "Old Post Road," followed Broadway to the Park, and then extended through Chatham, Duane, William, and Pearl streets to the Bowery. Along the Bowery road lay "Steenwyck's" and "Herrman's" orchards with the well-known Stuyvesant's "Bouwery" (farm), whence the name. Near the last, and in the neighborhood of Gramercy Park, came Crummashie Hill. Still further towards the north, near Thirty-sixth street and Fourth Avenue, rose the "In-

cleberg" or Beacon Hill, the Murray Hill of later times. From this latter point there was a commanding view of the whole island. The other main road also started from the fort, and, passing through Stone street to Hanover Square, led along the East River to Brooklyn ferry.

The instructions which were given to Andros to guide him in his new government were, considering the times, of a liberal character. "You are not," said Clause 5 of these Instructions, "to molest or vex any person of ye inhabitants there, upon pretence of their having lately dealt treacherously in taking the fort [*i. e.*, at the time of New-York's recapture by the Dutch]. Only, if you shall find any of ye Dutch have been active in that matter, ye shall observe them circumspectly; and if you consider them dangerous, then you are to use all lawful means to remove them to other places as beneficial to them, but less hazardous to ye public safety." Another clause, and which, indeed, was to form the temporary political constitution of the New-York colony, was one that specially directed that he should display all the humanity and gentleness that consisted with arbitrary power; and further, "to use punishment not from wilful cruelty, but as an instrument of terror." Indeed, in the charter from the king, in all matters regarding justice, revenue, and legislation, the Governor was left responsible only to his own conscience and the interest of his employer.

CITY HALL AND GREAT DOCK, 1679.

Endeavoring to carry out the spirit of these instructions, and desirous also of establishing himself on a popular basis with the people, one of the first acts of Andros was to appoint a native Hollander—Nicholas De Meyer—Mayor of the city.[1] This selection was an admirable one. De Meyer was an enterprising trader, and withal a most respectable burgher. His wife was a daughter of Hendrick Van Dyck—likewise an old and respected citizen; and although the duties of his office could not have been particularly onerous at a time when only three hundred and one names were recorded upon the list of taxpayers, yet what little he did was done honestly and well.

Notwithstanding, however, these efforts on the part of Andros to conciliate, the sentiments of the sturdy religionists of New England were not without influence on their neighbors, the Dutch; many of whom were relations of those who had sheltered the Puritans in Holland, and were consequently imbued with the constitutional principles of the States-General. They were, therefore, in no mood to yield what they considered their fundamental rights without a struggle; and Andros had scarcely become fairly seated in the gubernatorial chair, when the citizens of New-York petitioned the king through the Duke of York for an Assembly of Representatives. The duke received this petition as might, from his character, have been expected. He was a strange mixture of wickedness and goodness; his inherent and innate vicious propensities fighting continually with his bigoted fear of his soul's salvation. He was in fact, as Bancroft has well described him, "a libertine without love, a devotee without spirituality, an advocate of toleration without a sense of the natural right to freedom of conscience—in him the muscular force prevailed over the intellectual. He floated between the sensuality of indulgence and the sensuality of superstition, hazarding heaven for an ugly mistress; and, to the great delight of abbots and nuns, winning it back again by pricking his flesh with sharp points of iron and eating no meat on Sundays." The Duke of Buckingham truly said that "Charles would not and James could not see." Consequently, Charles, influenced by his brother James, who regarded popular bodies as most dangerous, refused the prayer of the petitioners with the question—"What do they want with Assemblies? They have the Court of Quarter Sessions presided over by the Governor; or, if this is not enough, they can appeal to me!" Such was the English spirit of oppression a century before it was resisted at Golden and Bunker Hills. On hearing of this reply of Charles to the petitioners, Sir William Berkeley, then Governor of Virginia, "thanked God that there were neither free schools

[1] "He was," says Mrs. Lamb, "so ambitious for the prosperity of New-York, and projected so many improvements, that Andros laughingly called him his 'new broom,' and charged him with sweeping all the rubbish into the ditch at Broad street."

nor printing-presses in the Colony," fervently adding, "God keep us from both!"

Andros, however, was not, in this matter, in sympathy either with Berkeley or with his royal master. Indeed, it is a most singular fact that the position of Andros in this matter has, up to the present day, been entirely misunderstood. It has always been assumed both by contemporary and later writers that Andros, if indeed he did not advise Charles II. to this course, at least fully approved of it. The direct contrary, however, was the case. Andros not only approved of this petition, thinking it most reasonable, but advised the king to grant it. His advice in this matter was not taken — the only concession he could obtain from the king being to the effect that if he could produce any further arguments in support of an Assembly he would give them careful consideration.[1]

Hardly, however, had the petitioners for an Assembly received their answer, when another question arose, having its origin in an order issued by the Governor, compelling every citizen to take the usual oath of fidelity — the 13th day of March, 1675, being designated for this purpose. To this order several of the leading men of the city demurred, requesting, as a preliminary condition to their taking the oath, that Andros should confirm the pledge of Governor Nicolls "that the capitulation of August, 1664, was not in the least broken or intended to be broken by any words or expressions in the said oath." Nor was this demand unreasonable; for, as it had been generally understood, this capitulation had been confirmed by the 6th Article of the Treaty of Westminster; and such appears to have been the opinion of the royal brothers.

The committee appointed to confer with the Governor upon this question explicitly declared that they "only wished to be assured of future freedom of religion and of exemption from the duty of fighting against their own nation in time of war." But Andros, not yet feeling secure in his government, and sincerely believing that the reasons thus set forth were but a pretense for sedition and rebellion, flatly refused their request, and demanded that they should immediately take the required oath. For reply, the committee, utterly ignoring this refusal, drew up a petition praying the Governor to exempt them from taking an unconditional oath of allegiance to Charles Stuart, and requesting permission to dispose of their estates and remove, with their families, out of the colony. This petition was signed by Alderman and Sheriff Anthony De Milt; Burgomasters Johannes Van Brugh, Johannes De Peyster, Schepens William Beekman and Jacob Kip; Cornelius Steenwyck, for three years Mayor of New-York; Nicholas Bayard, formerly Secretary of the province,

1 "New-York Colonial Documents," 3 : 235.

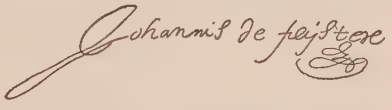
and Ægidius Luyck, a teacher of Latin, and who had studied for the ministry in Holland — all of them Dutch citizens of repute, and some of whose descendants are prominent even at the present day. The only answer vouchsafed to the petition was the prompt arrest and imprisonment of the signers on the charge of "endeavoring to foment Rebellion." De Peyster took the required oath and was acquitted; and the other seven, although convicted of a "violation of an Act of Parliament in having traded without taking the oath," were released on bail, and afterwards also acquitted upon following the example of De Peyster.

COL. ABRAHAM DE PEYSTER.

Among the instructions given by the Duke of York to Andros on his leaving England was one that he should watch closely the proceedings of the colony of Connecticut, and, if necessary, make a demand on the Governor of that province for all the land on the west side of the Connecticut River as being comprised within the patent granted to him by his brother Charles in 1664. Scarcely, therefore, had Andros become fairly settled in his government, when he sent Captain Salisbury to England to obtain more definite directions for adjusting the boundaries between the two colonies. Meanwhile the duke, having consulted the Crown lawyers, was not inclined to act hastily, and in reply he told Andros that, provided the people of Connecticut did not settle within twenty miles east of the Hudson River, he wished him to hold the matter for the present in abeyance — though, at the same time, he wrote most emphatically that it must not be supposed, for a moment, that he intended to relinquish his rights in the matter. Andros, however, before the duke's answer arrived, had, late in the spring of 1675, written to Governor Winthrop claiming for his master the country west of the Hudson — at the same time sending copies of the king's patent to the duke and his own commission by way of enforcing his demands. This correspondence producing no effect, Andros, in July, suddenly appeared with an armed force off Saybrook Point for the purpose of annexing the colony to the Government of the Duke of York. His intention was to occupy the deserted fort at that place, and eventually to build a new one on the same site. To his surprise and chagrin, however, on his arrival, he found it occupied by two companies of foot under Captain Thomas Bull of Hartford, on their way to put down a local Indian in-

surrection. The king's flag, raised by the Hartford captain, was also flying over the fort. Accordingly Andros, not daring to fire on the flag, sailed back to New-York; but not before he had highly complimented "Bull" upon his spirit and bearing, remarking, "It is a pity your horns are not tipped with silver!"[1]

Another of the Governor's early official acts, in the winter of 1674, was to try Captain James Manning on the charge of having treacherously surrendered the fort to the Dutch Admirals Benckes and Evertsen on the 29th of July of the previous year. Colonel Francis Lovelace, for his share in the surrender, had not only received from the English Government a severe reprimand for his cowardice, but his large estates had been confiscated. Manning, however, more fortunate, had come out of the affair with greater credit. On returning to England soon after the capitulation of the city to the Dutch, he had been summoned into the private closet of the king, subjected to a severe examination by the royal brothers, and would probably have shared the same fate as Lovelace, if not a worse one, had not Charles interceded in his behalf. "Brother," said the king to the Duke of York, "the ground could not be maintained by so few men"; and before the interview was concluded, his Majesty further testified his confidence in him by signing a warrant on the Treasury for £56 to reimburse him for his passage from New-York to London.[2]



But while Manning, through the royal favor, was thus acquitted of treachery, he found, on his return to New-York, that he was regarded not only with suspicion but with intense hatred by those whose private fortunes had suffered by the reëstablishment, even for so short a time, of Dutch rule. Especially was this the case with Alderman Dervall, a son-in-law of Thomas Delavall, at this time Collector of the Port of New-York, and he and other influential citizens demanded of the Governor that Manning should be brought to trial on the charge of "neglect of duty, cowardice, and treachery." At first, Andros was unwilling to proceed in the matter; but, in the end, he was forced to take notice of the charges and arrest the offender. On his trial, Manning denied that he had been guilty either of cowardice or treachery, and pleaded the fact that the king and his Council, with a full knowledge of all the circumstances of the case,

[1] Mr. Sylvester Bliss, in a paper on the Charter-Oak, read before the New England Historical Society, October 1, 1856 (published in the "Historical Magazine" for January, 1857), and other writers since, have stated that the Government of Connecticut had sent Captain Bull to the defense of Saybrook; but Governor Dongan, in a letter to the Lords of Trade written a few years after this event, gives the facts as related in the text. "N. Y. Doc. Hist.," 2: 187. This expedition, which has always been adduced as one of the proofs of Andros's tyranny, was recommended to be again undertaken by the "liberal-minded and moderate Governor Dongan" in his letter above referred to.

[2] Manning's own statement, "Colonial History of New Jersey," First Series, Vol. 1.

had not even administered a reprimand. As an additional defense, he exhibited several papers relating to the surrender of the fort, one of these being a sworn deposition signed by four non-commissioned officers and eighteen privates of the garrison testifying to the fact that, at the time of the surrender, the fort had but four sponges and rammers; that only six guns were available, for lack of platforms and carriages; and, concludes this paper, "there was neither bed nor koynplank, spad [spade], hand-spik [hand-spike], nor any material to help to defend us"; and, further, that, thus destitute of any means of defense, he had no alternative save to surrender and obtain the best terms possible. Having put in this justification of his conduct, Captain Manning, with quiet dignity, rested his case. But, notwithstanding his frank and manly statement, such was the bitter feeling against him, that he was adjudged worthy of death, although acquitted of treachery. He was sentenced to have his sword broken over his head by the public executioner in front of the City Hall, and to be forever incapacitated from holding any office, civil or military, in the gift of the Crown; but whether the first part of his sentence was ever carried out is not known.[1]

While thus disentangling political skeins — for the Manning affair was, to a certain extent, of that nature — the Governor was called upon to interfere in doctrinal disputes which had arisen among the clergy. At this time the different sects in the province were by no means harmonious, either among themselves or with one another. The only English minister in the entire Colony was attached to the garrison. This was the Rev. Charles Woolley, a graduate of Cambridge.[2] In addition to which Presbyterians and Dissenters generally, though without a pastor, kept up through laymen an acrimonious discussion with the Dutch ministers at New-York, viz.: Domines Megapolensis and Drisius; who even between themselves were so much at variance as greatly to retard the welfare of their flocks. At Fort Orange (Albany, N. Y.) the case was the same. Domine Schaats at that place was a coarse and intemperate person.[3] The Lutheran minister, Domine Bernhardus Frazius, a high Dutchman, had not spoken for

[1] Manning, who owned a large island in the East River, after his trial settled there, and until the close of his life dispensed a large hospitality. "Before his death," says Mrs. Lamb, "he settled this island upon Mary, the daughter of his wife by a former husband. This lady married Robert Blackwell, from whom the island received the name it still holds."

[2] Rev. Charles Woolley returned to England in July, 1680. He was the author of a small volume with the title of "A Two Years' Journal in New-York," published in 1701, and republished some years since, by Dr. E. B. O'Callahan. In granting him permission to return to England, Governor Andros gave the clergyman a certificate, "that the said Mr. Woolley hath in this place comported himselfe unblameable in his Life and Conversation." General Entries in Secretary of State's office, Albany, 33 : 93. See also Hist. Mag. for 1857, p. 371.

[3] The following realistic sketch of Domine Schaats is from the Journal of a Labadist, who visited New-York in 1679 with a view of establishing a colony for his sect: "We heard a minister preach [in New-York] who had come from the up-river country, from Fort Orange, where his residence is, an old man named Domine Schaats, of Amsterdam. . . . This Schaats then preached. He had a defect in the left eye, and used such strange gestures and language that I think I never in all

six years with the Calvinist minister, Domine Wilhelmus Van Nieuwenhuysen, a low Dutchman, and, as a consequence, Fort Orange was divided between the partizans of each.

Such was the state of things when Nicholas Van Rensselaer, a Dutch clergyman, was sent over to New-York with a letter from the Duke of York to Andros, recommending him for a living in one of the churches either in New-York or Albany. No place being open in the former city, the Governor sent him (or, more properly, judging from the expressions of disgust made use of by Andros on this occasion, "shipped" him) to Albany as a colleague of Domine Schaats. He had not, however, long been installed in this position when Domine Nieuwenhuysen, who was, notwithstanding his many eccentricities, a conscientious and godly man, disputed Rensselaer's right to administer the sacrament on the ground that he had received Episcopal ordination in England, not having been regularly appointed by the Classis of Amsterdam. Nieuwenhuysen even went so far as to forbid Van Rensselaer to baptize children. Finally, after much correspondence, Andros, with great moderation, referred the matter to the Dutch consistory at Albany, which body, after a prolonged discussion, obliged Nieuwenhuysen to admit the validity of English ordination.[1] In the following year, however, 1676, Van Rensselaer was imprisoned by the Mayor of Albany for "dubious words" delivered in a sermon; but upon being brought to New-York for trial by the orders of Andros, he was acquitted—the magistrates of Albany themselves barely escaping imprisonment by the Governor. The action of Andros in this matter has been often brought forward against him as an instance of

Beekman Mayor

my life heard anything more miserable; indeed, I can compare him with no one better than with one Domine Van Ecke, lately the minister at Arnemuyden, in Zeeland, more in life, conversation, and gestures than in person. As it is not strange in these countries to have men as ministers who drink, we could imagine nothing else than that he had been drinking a little this morning. His text was 'Come unto me, all ye,' etc., but he was so rough that even the roughest and most godless of our sailors were astonished." This Journal was published by the Long Island Historical Society in 1867.

1 "As to my part, I think Sir Edmund Andros showed great moderation in referring the matter at last to the Dutch consistory at Albany." Cadwallader Colden to his son, "New-York Historical Society Collections," 1: 188.

his tyranny. This, however, is not the view taken by Cadwallader Colden in a letter to his son. "The third instance mentioned by Mr. Smith in his 'History of New-York before the Revolution,'" writes Colden, "is that he called the magistrates of Albany before him because they had imprisoned Rensselaer for 'dubious words' delivered in a sermon. Had Sir Edmund imprisoned any person for 'dubious words,' I think it would have been a stronger proof of his tyranny than the punishing the magistrates under him for doing it."

Andros, however, did not allow these political and ecclesiastical controversies to divert his attention from the interests and the welfare of the city. Indeed, from the time of his first landing, he seems to have devoted no small portion of his personal attention to the needs of New-York, then in a very inchoate state. At the time of its reconquest by the English, the city presented an extremely dilapidated appearance. The fort had fallen completely into decay; all the guns were off their carriages; the public buildings as well as the large stone Dutch church, which stood within the fort inclosure, were all out of repair, and not one of the three windmills was in operation; and, accustomed as Andros had been to the excellent municipal regulations of London (though, of course, primitive as compared with the London of the present day), he was, as appears from his letters to the Duke of York, greatly struck with its deplorable condition.[1] Nor did Andros strive to be popular alone. Aware that no government can be either stable or prosperous unless its foundations rest on private virtue, immediately upon his arrival he established, through his Council, ordinances for regulating public morals. Profanity and drunkenness were strictly forbidden; and all persons by proclamation were seriously enjoined to abstain from "fighting, calumny, and all other immoralities," as the guilty would be punished and "made a terror to evil-doers."

The improvement of the municipal government next called for attention. The books of record and official papers belonging to the city, which had been loosely stowed at the private residence of Nicholas Bayard, late Secretary to the Dutch Government, were taken away and deposited in their proper place in the Secretary's office at the City Hall. The militia of the city were formed into companies of one hundred men each; and, although but indifferently provided with firearms, and these of all sizes and patterns, they were drilled and rendered excellent marksmen by continual practice in firing at a mark. The city gates were ordered to be closed at 9 o'clock in the evening, and to be opened at daylight. The citizens were required to

[1] In one of these letters, Andros urges upon the duke the building of a new church outside the fort, on the ground that the church, though large, is not only sadly out of repair, but much too small for the congregation.

keep a vigilant watch at night by turns, and were fined for absence or neglect of duty. Each resident was obliged to keep a musket or fire-lock in thorough repair in his house, together with at least six charges of powder and ball, and to appear with his arms in good condition before the captain's colors at the first tap of the drum. All peddling was forbidden, except by freemen and burghers, who were required to take out a license. So excellently also were the poor-laws carried out, that Andros was enabled to write the Duke of York on the 16th of April, 1678: "There are no beggars in the city, but all the poor are cared for."

During his administration, moreover, a number of handsome and substantial buildings were erected; and all those who owned vacant lots were not only required, but compelled, to improve them under penalty of having them sold at public auction. With an eye, also, to the sanitary condition of the city, he had an ordinance passed that the streets should be kept clean; it being made obligatory on each citizen not only to keep the space before his own dwelling neat, but to put out before his door, on certain days of the week, the garbage and refuse of his premises, which were to be carried away in certain designated carts.[1] At a very early day the tanneries in Broad street had been declared a nuisance, and their owners ordered to remove them beyond the city limits, but up to the time of Andros's arrival this order had not been complied with. Now, however, the canal in Broad street was filled in and the tan-vats removed to the lower part of Maiden Lane, then a marshy valley. Four of these tanners (shoemakers by trade) purchased at the same time a tract of land bounded by Broadway, Ann, William, and Gold streets, and again began business. This region was thenceforth known as the "Shoemaker's Land,"[2] a name which it retained so late as 1696 when it was divided in town-lots. The tanners were next driven from this locality into what is even now known as the "Swamp." In all of these efforts for improving the city, Andros was ably seconded by Stephanus Van Cortland, whom he had, with consummate tact, appointed Mayor in 1677,[3] and during whose term of office Broadway was graded and laid out as far as the "Commons" (the present City Hall Park), and seven public wells sunk in different parts of the city as a protection against fire.

Perceiving, moreover, that a market was a great necessity, he established, in 1675, by the aid of his Council, a market-house which was erected under his personal supervision, at the place in Broad street where the bridge had formerly stood. The idea of a market,

1 Our city fathers, it would seem, have copied a good many of their regulations from those of Andros.

2 See map in the succeeding chapter. EDITOR.

3 Courtlandt street still bears his name. In this appointment (the first native-born Mayor the city had had) Andros followed out the policy which he seems to have adopted from the beginning, viz., of conciliating the Dutch citizens.

it is true, was not new. Years before, Governor Stuyvesant had instituted both market- and fair-days; but the business then carried on was merely an irregular sale of fish and vegetables brought over from New Jersey and Long Island, either in boats and sold by women along the canal in Broad street, or in market-wagons which stood part of the day in Hanover Square and in the present Bowling-Green. What Andros, by erecting a market-house, actually accomplished, was to introduce a regular and systematic sale of produce. Saturday of each week was made the regular market-day; and fairs for the sale of cattle, grain, and country produce were held on the first Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of November at Brooklyn, the market-house, and the plaza before the fort. As a further encouragement to the market and fairs, it was enacted that "any person coming to, or going from, these fairs and markets shall be free from arrest for debt on those days."

Foreseeing, also, the prominent place the city was destined to occupy at a future day, Andros enlarged and beautified its harbor. On the 30th of December, 1675, by a special message to his Council, he procured the adoption of a resolution, "that it is a very good and necessary work not only for ye city, but ye whole Government and [of] particular benefit of all traders that a harbour should be made before ye City of New-York." At the same time, the casting of any anchor or grapnel either within or near the sea-wall (the Battery), whereby any vessels might be endangered, was strictly prohibited under penalty of ten shillings, "halfe to ye Towne and halfe to ye wharfinger or Haven-meester"; and anticipating one of the city ordinances of the present day, it was further ordered that "no person should cast any dung, dirt, refuse of ye city or anything to fill up ye harbour or among ye neibours [*i. e.*, near the neighboring shores] under penalty of forty shillings." All vessels and boats, also, coming within the harbor were specially enjoined to choose their berths according to their burthen and draft of water, and not to inconvenience "any other vessels that might likewise be intending to anchor outside the mold" [mole].

A few days after the passage of these ordinances, the Governor sent to his Council a strong message advising the building of a substantial wharf. In it he said that not only was it a disgrace to the city and his Majesty's Government to be content with the one then in existence, but that trade was kept from the city and diverted into other channels on that account. He therefore urged that, as an encouragement to merchants and strangers, a new wharf should immediately be built, and recommended that it should reach from the "rocks opposite Mr. Delavall's house to the City Hall, having a convenient space for the largest ships to ride at anchor." It was further suggested, that the

work should be let by contract to those whose terms appeared the fairest, and that payment should be made in "beaver-pay," one-half of which should be in "ready wampum,"[1] a moiety of the price to be paid when the work was half done, and the remainder on its completion. These suggestions were at once adopted; and so expeditiously was the work pushed that by the end of the year (1675) the wharf was finished. The stockades, forming the northern boundary of the city and running from the East to the North rivers along the line of the present Wall street, were repaired and the fort put in a thorough state of defense.

OLD NEW-YORK HOUSES.

Indeed, a careful scrutiny of the MS. Records still preserved in the Secretary of State's office at Albany shows that of all the New-York governors, both before and after the American Revolution, not one has taken such a purely personal supervision of everything which looked to the improvement of the city as Governor Andros. To accomplish this end during his administration was the ambition of the Governor, and in its prosecution no detail, even the minutest, was overlooked. He constituted himself, for instance, what would now be called an "inspector of streets"; and, while acting in this self-imposed capacity, some of the entries jotted down in his diary on his return from his walks through the city are quite amusing—thus: "The wall defective between Mr. Balthazar and 'Mother' Daniels, and another at the other side of the corner. . . . A house of Dirck Smith like to fall, and nobody lives in it. The next has no chimney. . . . A parcel of rotten old houses next towards the fortification must come down." And on another day he, the chief executive of the great Province of New-York, is seen selecting in person the timber suitable for the stockades, and, with a little rule of his

[1] Wampum, or *sewant*, from its close connection with the early trade of New Netherland, requires special notice, which it has already abundantly received in the pages of this work. A string a fathom long was worth four guilders. A fathom was estimated at "as much as a man could reach with his arms outstretched." The savages, consequently, were shrewd enough (in trading with the whites) to choose their largest and tallest men for measuring sticks or standards. Small pieces of wampum were obtained by the deacons and sold at great value to the heads of the Dutch families, which, having been distributed among the different members, were then taken to church, and deposited in the collection-bags, which were attached to long poles. Nor, in some of the interior Dutch settlements, has it been entirely abandoned at the present day. A clerk of John Jacob Astor many years ago informed George P. Disosway that he had visited Communipaw, and purchased for his employer from the Dutch this article by the "bushel," to be used by the great fur-trader, in his purchases among distant Indian tribes. It might, perhaps, be a curious question, how many bushels of wampum are invested, for example, in the hotel which bears the name of the great millionaire?

own, measuring some particular piece of wood to see if it would answer for one of the posts which were required to be twelve feet long by nine inches square. In short, two years after his arrival, the city had undergone an entire and radical change for the better.

Having thus succeeded by persevering and personal efforts in bettering the condition of the city itself, Andros next turned his attention to developing her commercial interests, viz.: the excise, trade, and currency of the colony. The public revenue in New Netherland at this time was of two kinds, provincial and municipal — the former consisting of the export duty on furs, the impost on European goods, with the tenths of agricultural products, as butter, cheese, etc.; and the latter of an excise duty on liquors and slaughtered cattle. In the year 1655 the duty on exported furs is stated to have been twenty-two thousand guilders. The expenses of the Government became very large, especially from the Indian wars, which also cut off the supplies of furs, so that, by the close of Stuyvesant's administration, there was a deficit of fifty thousand florins, or twenty thousand dollars. The municipal revenue arising from the liquor excise was also of two kinds, the tapster's and the burgher's — the first paying a duty of four florins a tun on home-brewed and six on foreign beer; eight florins a hogshead on French and four on Spanish wine, brandy, or other spirits. These rates were doubled some years later. Thus, when New Amsterdam came finally under English rule, her income from these sources was estimated at but twenty-five thousand guilders. Such was the condition of the revenue upon Andros taking office.

In seeking for the means of increasing the revenue, Andros found that one of the chief causes of the excise on liquors falling off was the practice, which for a long time had obtained, of allowing any person to sell or buy to the quantity of a gallon. This custom had resulted in great disadvantage to wholesale liquor merchants; and the effect of the latter's representations was an enactment of a law that "none except licensed houses [taverns] should, in the future, retail at home or out of doors less than ten gallons under penalty of forfeiting all such liquors and treble their value"; and, by way of breaking up smuggling, it was likewise ordered that "all merchants or others, within the jurisdiction of the city, are not to presume to sell by retail any wine, beer, liquors, etc., without paying ye excise due for ye same, nor suffer any to be carried out of their warehouses or cellars by any persons except ye sworne officers and porters appointed for that purpose," under penalty of two hundred guilders (or eighty dollars) for each offense.

Another cause of the decrease in excise receipts had been the failure of those to whom the excise had been farmed out to pay for this privilege. A few paid promptly; but more were greatly behind with

their payments, or failed to pay at all. This state of affairs, accordingly, produced another order from the Council making it obligatory upon every farmer of the excise to give good and approved security for the faithful performance of his contract, and to hand over to the Governor every three months one quarter of the revenue collected. In case he failed to do this, he was, at the expiration of fifteen days, to be dismissed from his office, at the option of the Governor. The latter, also, by reserving to himself the right to select from the bidders for farming the excise any person irrespective of the amount of his bid, was enabled to secure honest men.[1] The salutary effects of these several ordinances were soon apparent. Within a short time after their enactment, the receipts from the excise on liquor were almost doubled.

Efforts were also made to do away, as far as possible, with the evils resulting from the liquor traffic. Already the sale of liquor, considering the population, had reached enormous proportions; and a map of the city, made out at this time for the Governor, and embodying, by a curious coincidence, the same idea as the one carried out, some years since by a prominent New-York journal, showed that nearly one-quarter of the town "had become houses for the sale of brandy, tobacco or beer"! An ordinance was accordingly passed forbidding the licensing of any taverns except by the unanimous consent both of the Governor and his Council; those already established, however, might "continue four years longer, if ye owners would abstain from selling to ye savages, report all brawls, and occupy decent houses, by which ye Towne of New-York will be adorned." And, by another order in Council, it was ordained, by way of putting an end to this unlimited sale of liquor, that "inasmuch as many great and grievous abuses have arisen through a licentious retailing of liquor by taverns which have no licenses, Mr. John Tudor is hereby appointed to keep a vigilant eye upon all such offenders and seize their liquor," and further, "that all persons who desire to retail liquors or keep a house of entertainment and who do not keep up these rules shall be proceeded against in the most vigorous manner, their liquor seized, and themselves imprisoned." But notwithstanding all these ordinances, the Indians, as we are told by the MS. Records in Albany, were "daily seen running about drunk through the Manhattans." New-York, now the metropolitan city, witnesses every day and night numbers of intoxicated savages in her streets; and it would seem that

1 It has often been said by European writers on political economy that the word "farmer-general" was unknown in North America. This is manifestly an error. All the English governors up to the Revolutionary war "farmed" the revenue to subordinate "farmers." Hence, each governor may be said to have been a "farmer-general." This argument, it will be recollected, was adduced, at the time of Louis XVI., when Necker (his prime minister) endeavored to control the farmers-general in France, as against the practice — but the statement was incorrect.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY
A
PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS His MAJESTY hath been graciously pleased, by His Royal Letter, bearing Date the sixteenth day of October last past, to signifie That He hath received undoubted Advice that a great and sudden Invasion from *Holland*, with an armed Force of Forreigners and Strangers, will speedily be made in an hostile manner upon His Majesty's Kingdom of *ENGLAND*; and that altho' some *false* pretences relating to *Liberty*, *Property*, and *Religion*, (contrived or worded with Art and Subtilty) may be given out, (as shall be thought useful upon such an Attempt;) It is manifest however, (considering the great Preparations that are making) That no less matter by this *Invasion* is proposed and purposed, than an absolute Conquest of His Majesty's Kingdoms, and the utter Subduing and Subjecting His Majesty and all His People to a Forreign Power, which is promoted (as His Majesty understands) altho' it may seem almost incredible) by some of His Majesty's *Subjects*, being persons of wicked and restless Spirits, implacable Malice, and desperate Designs, who having no sence of former intestine Distractions, (the Memory and Misery whereof should endear and put a Value upon that Peace and Happiness which hath long been enjoyed) nor being moved by His Majesty's reiterated Acts of Grace and Mercy, (wherein His Majesty hath studied and delighted to abound towards all His Subjects, and even towards *those* who were once His Majesty's avowed and open *Enemies*) do again endeavour to embroil His Majesty's Kingdom in Blood and Ruin, to gratifie their own Ambition and Malice, proposing to themselves a Prey and Booty in such a publick Confusion:

And that although His Majesty had Notice that a forreign Force was preparing against Him, yet His Majesty hath alwaies declined any forreign Succour, but rather hath chosen (next under GOD) to rely upon the true and ancient Courage, Faith and Allegiance of His own People, with whom His Majesty hath often ventured His Life for the Honour of His Nation, and in whose Defence against all Enemies His Majesty is firmly resolved to live and dye; and therefore does solemnly *Conjure* His Subjects to lay aside all manner of Animosities, Jealousies, & Prejudices, and heartily & chearfully to *Unite together* in the Defence of His *MAJESTY* and their native Countrey, which thing alone, will (under GOD) defeat and frustrate the principal Hope and Design of His Majesty's Enemies, who expect to find His People divided; and by publishing (perhaps) some plausible Reasons of their Coming, as the specious (tho' *false*) Pretences of Maintaining the Protestant Religion, or Asserting the Liberties and Properties of His Majesty's People, do hope thereby to conquer that great and renowned Kingdom.

That albeit the Design hath been carried on with all imaginable Secresie & Endeavours to surprise and deceive His *MAJESTY*, HE hath not been wanting on His part to make such provision as did become Him, and, by GOD's great Blessing, His Majesty makes no doubt of being found in so good a Posture that His Enemies may have cause to repent such their rash and *unjust* Attempt. ALL WHICH, it is His Majesty's pleasure, should be made known in the most publick manner to His loving Subjects within this His Territory and Dominion of *NEW-ENGLAND*, that they may be the better prepared to resist any Attempts that may be made by His Majesties Enemies in these parts, and secured in their trade and Commerce with His Majesty's Kingdom of *England*.

I Do therefore, in pursuance of His *MAJESTY's* Commands, by these Presents *make known* and *Publish* the same accordingly: And hereby Charge and Command all Officers Civil & Military, and all other His Majesty's loving Subjects within this His Territory and Dominion aforesaid, to be *Vigilant* and *Careful* in their respective places and stations, and that, upon the Approach of any Fleet or Forreign Force, they be in Readiness, and use their utmost Endeavour to hinder any Landing or Invasion that may be intended to be made within the same.

Given at *Fort-Charles* at *Pemaquid*, the Tenth Day of *January*, in the Fourth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord *JAMES* the Second, of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland* KING, Defender of the Faith &c. Annoq; DOMINI 1688.

By His EXCELLENCY's *Command.*
JOHN WEST. &. Secr'.

E ANDROS.

GOD *SAVE THE* KING.

Printed at *Boston* in *New-England* by *R. P.*

our legislators had not wisdom or strength enough to frame and execute laws either to subdue or prevent this great public evil. Finally, Andros, incensed at the manner in which his excise ordinances were nullified, issued a still more stringent order to the effect that, in addition to all former penalties, offenders against the temperance laws were to be "arbitrarily punished without any dissimulation." Indeed, to such strong measures did he resort to crush out drunkenness that he had the Council pass an act whereby, if a red or white man were seen on the streets intoxicated, and it could not be ascertained at what tavern he obtained his liquor, the *entire street was made finable!* This measure, it will be seen, was even more drastic than the law passed some six years since by the New-York Legislature, which makes the seller of the liquor responsible for all the evil consequences that may result from such sale. Other laws were passed regulating the sale of liquor by the ale-houses to the soldiers of the garrison, one of which was that "all the houses in the city which entertains [sic] boarders, soldiers, strangers, or travelers, do pay one half of ye excise for what they shall sell to their guests by retail under penalty of one hundred guilders for each canne [can] of wyne [wine], beare [beer] so sold, without due account being made for ye same." It will thus be seen that the principle of what, at the present day, is known as "high-license" seems, in its essential details, to have run through all the regulations, even at this early period, for the sale of ardent spirits.

The trade of the colony received the same careful attention. Stringent laws against selling, under severe penalties, strong drink and powder and ball to the Indians of Long Island and the Upper Hudson were enacted; the prices of grain established;[1] the exportation of breadstuffs, when there was a scarcity in the home market, prohibited, and the barter with the Montauk Indians of Long Island regulated. At first, Andros allowed vessels of all nationalities free access to the Indian tribes of the Hudson even beyond Albany; but this liberality having called forth a severe reprimand from the Duke of York, all foreigners and even the people of New England were henceforth forbidden to go up the Hudson as far as either Esopus or Albany. By this measure it was hoped that New-York would retain a monopoly of

The proclamation, of which a reduced facsimile appears opposite, was issued by Governor-General Andros while he was in Maine, busy repelling the Indians there. King James had written to him and to other colonial governors a letter dated October, 1687, advising them even then (two years before the actual event) of a contemplated descent by the Prince of Orange upon the shores of England. Hence Andros warns his people of New England and New-York to be on their guard against the Dutch. The document is of value as an interesting specimen of early American typography, being "printed at Boston by R. P." The original is the property of the New-York Society Library, having been presented in 1825 by Major William Popham, of Revolutionary fame. EDITOR.

1 The prices were regulated as follows:

	Per Bushel.
Merchantable Winter Wheat at	5s. 0d.
Summer Wheat at	4s. 6d.
Merchantable Barley at	4s. 0d.
Rye at	3s. 6d.
Pease at	3s. 0d.
Indyan Corne at	2s. 6d.

the trade in beavers. The law likewise determined the number of gallons in a hogshead — which was to be made of well-seasoned timber; an inspector was appointed whose duty it was to examine, at stated periods, the grade of bread sold by bakers, and see that weights and measures were kept up to the standard; the number of feet in a cord of wood was defined — which was the same as at present; and even the amount of brine to be used in pickling beef and pork was regulated by statute. Another ordinance which the Council was induced to pass, but the object of which at the present day is not so clear, though the Governor evidently thought it of the first importance, was that no butchers were to be permitted to pursue, at the same time, the trade of currier, shoemaker, or tanner. The reason which he gave in his message to his Council for desiring the passage of this law was that it "is consonant to ye laws of England and practised in ye neighbouring Colonys of Massachusetts and Connecticut."

The attention of the Governor was next directed to reforming the currency, which had become much debased, and the fluctuating nature of which had always been greatly detrimental to trade. Although wampum had always been almost the exclusive circulating medium of New Netherland, still beaver remained the standard of value. During the years 1651–2, Director Stuyvesant had endeavored to introduce a specie currency, and had applied to Holland for twenty-five thousand guilders in Dutch shillings and fourpenny pieces, but the West India Company there had disapproved of his project. The people were thus entirely dependent on wampum, as the people of the United States were on greenbacks a few years after the Civil War; and the value of wages, property, in fact of every commodity, was in consequence seriously disturbed. So it is in our day and ever will be, with an irredeemable currency, whether of clam-shells, thin paper, or anything else not equal to specie. At first, as has been stated on a preceding page, wampum passed at the rate of four black beads for one stiver; next, it was lowered to six; again, in 1657, to eight; and then it was ordered to be considered a legal tender for gold and silver. But Stuyvesant wisely objected to this, as it would bring the value of property to naught. In the year 1658, the white wampum was next reduced from twelve to sixteen, and the black from eight to ten for a stiver. What was the result? The holder was obliged to give more wampum for any article he purchased of a trader, who, in return, allowed the natives a large quantity of it for their beavers and skins; and, to use the plain record of the day, "little or no benefit accrued." Nominally prices advanced, when beavers which had been sold for twelve or fourteen guilders rose to twenty-two and twenty-four, bread from fourteen to twenty-two stivers (eight-pound loaves), beef nine to ten stivers per pound, shoes from three and a half guilders to

twelve a pair, and wrought-iron from eighteen to twenty stivers the pound. Meanwhile, beavers (the real standard of value) and specie remained of equal value; but the difference between these and wampum was fifty per cent. The effect on wages was almost ruinous. An old record says: "The poor farmer, laborer, and public officer, being paid in zeawan (*sewant*), are almost reduced to the necessity of living on alms." Those in the employ of the Dutch Company asked that their salaries might be paid in beavers, but this was refused. This depreciation of the currency, and the consequent disturbance of prices, caused much popular clamor, and various expedients were adopted by Stuyvesant to amend the unfortunate state of things. The directors of the West India Company would have the colonists consider wampum as "bullion," but would at the same time, with singular inconsistency, receive only beavers in payment of duties and taxes. Something of the same theory in our custom-house payments was adopted for the year succeeding the Civil War. At length, Director Stuyvesant raised the value of specie (or beaver-skins, as having the same mercantile value) in the country twenty to twenty-five per cent. "to prevent its exportation." Finally, however, the price of beaver in 1663 fell from eight guilders (specie) to four and a half; white wampum from eight to sixteen, and black from four to eight for a stiver. This, then, was the state of the public finances when the English came for the second time into possession of New Netherland. Some people even now are met with who fear a similar financial crash sooner or later in our enlightened land, with its hundreds of millions in paper-money obligations and promises — and this, too, notwithstanding the unlimited resources of the Government. The same thing, also, happened during and after the close of our Revolutionary struggle, when ten thousand dollars of paper currency (although bearing the Government promise to redeem) were paid for a single meal!

The problem which Andros was now called upon to solve was, in what manner the debased currency could be brought up to a definite standard of value. Yet Andros,— so little were the principles of political economy understood at that day,— notwithstanding the experience and lamentable failure of Stuyvesant, undertook to solve it on precisely the same principles acted on by some financiers, not only of our Revolutionary period, but of the present day, viz.: by an arbitrary order of Council declaring that certain quantities of wampum should be apprized and taken by all traders at a certain valuation. This standard was that three stivers of wampum should be taken at one penny silver, New England money, and that a beaver-skin should be taken at the same rate it was before its depreciation. Andros, however, succeeded no better than had Stuyvesant; and for years afterward the currency of New-York remained in a most

deplorable state — greatly to the chagrin of the grasping Duke of York, who, in letters to Andros, continually complained — even to the extent of severe reprimands — that by the time the wampum had been exchanged for the genuine gold of the realm, his returns were greatly decreased.[1]

Nor, while thus attending to the political, financial, and social prosperity of affairs within the city, did Andros neglect to provide against dangers which seriously threatened it from without. For several years previous to his taking the reins of government, the necessity of conciliating the Iroquois — the most powerful Indian confederacy at that time in America — had received little or no attention either from the people of New-York or their Government. The first two English Governors of the colony, or rather the lieutenants of the Duke of York — viz.: Colonels Nicolls and Lovelace — bestowed but inconsiderable attention upon the Five Nations,[2] not seeming to appreciate either the importance of their trade or of their friendship. Still, the mortal hatred they had borne for the French — ever since the invasion of their territory by Champlain in 1609[3] — inclined them rather to prefer the friendship of the English. But the Duke of York, in his affection for the Church of Rome, shutting his eyes to what unquestionably should have been the true policy of the English toward the Indians, had conceived the idea of handing the confederates over to the Holy See, as converts to its forms, if not to its faith. Hence the efforts to mediate the peace between the Iroquois and the French in 1667, which were followed by invitations to the Jesuit missionaries from the English to settle among the confederates, and by persuasions to the latter to receive them.[4] The Mohawks — smarting under the remembrance of the expedition of Champlain — were either too wise or too bitter in spirit toward the French to listen to the proposal. But not so with the other nations of the alliance; and the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas opened their country to the strangers in holy garb, causing infinite mischief in after years. The hollow peace of 1667 continued several years, during which time both the English and the French prosecuted their trade with the Indians to a great and a profitable extent. The French, especially, evinced a degree of energy and a spirit of en-

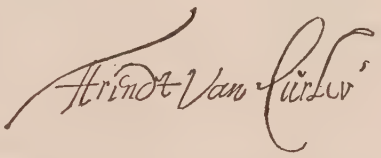
[1] Should any reader be curious on this subject, let him consult the N. Y. Col. Doc. (vols. 2 and 3), the Doc. Hist. of N. Y. (vol. 3), and the MS. Archives at Albany, where he will see that the burden of nearly all of the Duke of York's letters to Andros, during his administration of the government of New-York, was that his returns from the revenue, consequent on this depreciation of currency, were exceedingly small.

[2] Afterwards the "Six Nations," by the adoption into the confederacy of the "Tuscaroras," a nation which fled to them from the South about 1712.

[3] This expedition of Champlain was most unfortunate for French interests in America. Had it not been for that, the chances are that the Iroquois would have remained unalterably attached to the French — a circumstance which might have entirely changed the destiny of France in America.

[4] The curious reader on this point is referred to Kip's "Jesuit Missions in America."

terprise almost unexampled in the history of colonization, planting their trading-posts, under the lead of the adventurous La Salle, at all the commanding points of the Great Lakes, and across the country of the Illinois to the Mississippi; and stealing the hearts of the Indians by means of the missionaries of the Order of Jesus, whom they sprinkled among the principal nations of the country at that time explored. By these bold advances deep into the interior, and the energy which everywhere characterized their movements, the French acquired a decided advantage over the English colonists in the fur-trade, which it was evidently their design exclusively to engross; while the direct tendency of the Duke of York's policy, originating in blindness and bigotry, was to produce precisely the same result. In fighting men, the Five Nations at this time numbered ten times more than they did half a century afterward;[1] and the Governor saw the importance of their trade as a wall of separation between the English colonies and the French. This fact Andros at once perceived from his own observation, even if he had not been — as was the case — continually reminded of it by the letters from the Duke of York. He saw, also, that the French were intercepting the trade of the English upon the lakes, and that the priests had succeeded in seducing numbers of the Mohawks and the Connecticut River Indians away from their own country, and planting their colonies upon the banks of the St. Lawrence, in the neighborhood of Montreal, through whose agency an illicit trade had been established with the City of Albany, by reason of which Montreal, instead of Albany, was becoming the principal depot of the Indian trade. He saw, in a word, that the followers of Ignatius Loyola were rapidly alienating the affections of the Five Nations from the English and transferring them to the French; and that unless this policy was changed the influence of the English over them would, at no distant day, be at an end. Nor had the priests confined their efforts simply to moral suasion; but, as though aiming to separate the confederates from the English at a blow, and by a gulf so wide and deep as to be impassable, they had instigated them to commit positive hostilities not only upon the frontier settlements of Maryland and Virginia, but upon the City of New-York itself. All these things Andros conjectured; and had he lived until the present day he would have seen that his "conjectures" were certainties, since documents lately discovered among the French Archives show conclusively that at this very juncture the subjugation of New-York — in abrogation of all previous treaties — was seriously determined on by France.



[1] Memoir of Cadwallader Colden, concerning the fur-trade, presented to Governor Burnet in 1724.

Notwithstanding, however, these cogent reasons for proceeding, without loss of time, into the Indian country, Andros at first hesitated; and, in truth, he was placed in an exceedingly delicate position. While, on the one hand, he fully realized the supreme importance of securing the alliance of the Five Nations, on the other, he was continually receiving letters from the Duke of York, in behalf of French Catholics, commanding him to place no obstacles in the way of the French, who, as he well knew, were already beginning to invade the country of the Iroquois. While thus hesitating, he received an urgent letter from his vacillating master ordering him to proceed with all despatch to the country of the Five Nations and settle an "affair of so great importance to the service, inasmuch as the enmity of the Mohawks would be ruinous to the entire Province." Accordingly, Andros, not knowing but that the next mail would bring different instructions, set off immediately for the country of the Iroquois. Before leaving, however, he made the city secure from the south by treaties with several southern tribes; at the same time guarding against Indian attacks from the east by forwarding to Connecticut and Rhode Island munitions of war to be used in putting down an Indian insurrection in those colonies under King Philip. Having completed these arrangements for the security of the city during his absence, Andros went up the Hudson River to Esopus and thence to Albany and Schenectady. Tarrying a little time at each of those settlements, he finally penetrated the primeval wilderness of the Mohawk Valley as far as the site of the present city of Utica.[1] Here he received delegations from the Onondagas and Senecas, the most westerly of the Five Nations — representatives of the latter tribe coming even so far as from the shores of Lake Erie to be present on this occasion. Everything was done to make the occasion imposing and of deep solemnity. As soon as all the sachems were seated, Andros lighted the great calumet of peace, which had descended to the Senecas through a long line of chieftains, and, having taken a whiff from its hieroglyphic stem, handed it to each warrior in turn. Then, amid the profound silence of his hearers, he stood up, and,

[1] I am aware that it has been stated by some writers that Albany was the place where Andros held this conference with the Five Nations; but such is clearly not the case according to an account of this trip as given by him in a letter to Sir John Werden, Secretary of the Duke of York — See N. Y. Col. Doc., 3: 254, and Doc. Hist. of N. Y.

having "opened the door and made the road clear and smooth" by a richly ornamented belt of wampum, thanked them for their "disapprobation of those [referring to the French] who had lately endeavored to obstruct the good work of peace." Several days were thus occupied in ceremonial speeches and interchanges of good feeling, and the conference closed with results of the most satisfactory character — the Five Nations not only reiterating their former vows of allegiance, but renewing their alliance with the English and exchanging, as a seal to their promises, several strings of wampum.

It was on this occasion that Andros received from the Five Nations the name of "Corlaer," out of respect to the memory of their "good friend," Arendt Van Corlaer — a man of large benevolence and of unsullied honor, who, as commissioner of Rensselaerwyck (Albany), had for many years dealt with the Indians with perfect fairness up to his tragic death by drowning in Lake Champlain in 1667.[1] This name, for a century afterwards, was given by the Five Nations to the governors of New-York.[2]

On his return Andros stopped at Albany and organized the first "Board of Commissioners of Indian Affairs"—the favorable results of which action were clearly visible for a century afterwards. Robert Livingston, a shrewd Scotchman — at that time town clerk of Albany, and destined in after years to become prominent in colonial affairs — was appointed by Andros secretary of the board. Livingston was the son of a nonconformist Scotch preacher. At the age of nineteen, a bright lad, he had emigrated from Scotland to Boston, and thence drifted to Albany, where his marriage with a Schuyler — the widow of Domine Van Rensselaer — had closely identified him with the Dutch. Hence his appointment, which gave rise to no race jealousy, was an excellent one, and at once occasioned universal satisfaction. In this appointment, Andros, as in other instances of a similar nature, showed his perspicacity and knowledge of men, by thus surrounding himself

[1] His death was due to the capsizing of his boat by a sudden squall on Lake Champlain as he was returning from a visit to the Canadian Governor, Daniel De Courcelles. For many years afterwards Lake Champlain was known as "Corlaer's Lake."

[2] If the Editor of this work will allow me, I cannot permit this opportunity to pass without the remark that whenever the Indian has been treated with common fairness (to say nothing of justice) he never has failed to show by his conduct his appreciation of such treatment. In fact, I do not remember an instance where the whites encountered the Indians for the first time on the shores of this continent, in which they were not treated with kindness and hospitality; as it is with nations, so is it the case with individuals, and the great influence of William Penn, Lescarbot, and Sir William Johnson over the terrible yet fickle Iroquois, which has always been regarded as so extraordinary, arose simply from the fact that they knew the magic of kindness and its potency over all, but especially over the red men of the forest; also witness the reception of the Pilgrims on their landing half starved, by the noble Massasoit; and how was his generous hospitality rewarded!

with the best talent. Indeed, this was an element of his greatness; for, unquestionably, Andros, measured by the standards of his day, was a great man, possessing the faculty of employing material exactly suited to his purposes — thus, also, proving at the same time the Duke of York's wisdom in selecting him as his lieutenant in America.

In the autumn of 1677, Andros received permission from the Duke of York to visit England on private business. In granting this request, the latter took occasion to say that his permission was given "cheerfully" in token of his approbation of the able manner in which he had conducted the late Indian negotiations. Accordingly, on the 16th of November, 1677, Andros visited Governor Carteret in Elizabethtown, N. J., to bid him good-by,— their families having always been intimate,— and having spent the night with him, on the following day he went on board the vessel, lying off Staten Island, which was to convey him to England. In the quaint language of Andros himself, "I went down in ye Bay, neare Sandy-Point [Sandy-Hook], whence I sayled." In his absence, Brockholls, the Lieutenant-governor, exercised the functions of governor, Secretary Nicolls was placed next in authority, with the understanding that the mayor was to be consulted should questions of moment arise; and to Mrs. Andros was given a power of attorney "to manage her husband's private affairs"— a trust which she performed with ability.

The reception accorded to Andros by the king and his brother James was most flattering. Immediately upon his arrival he was summoned before the king and council and requested to give an account of the commerce of the port of New-York, the interior trade of the province, and the state of affairs in general. In response to this, Andros read a carefully prepared report of the receipts from the revenue, the number of bushels of wheat exported, the value of the furs bought of the Indians, the several incomes of each particular merchant in the colony,— presenting, in fact, a complete résumé of the financial condition of the entire province.[1] In the course of the interview, he told the king, duke, and council very plainly that if, in the future, the revenues of the colony of New-York were to be increased, a much more liberal policy must be pursued than had hitherto prevailed. Especially, also, did he urge upon them the immense advantages to be gained by a reciprocity of products between the different colonies. Indeed, his views on this subject — as may be gleaned from a perusal of the official report of his interview — were of a most enlightened and far-sighted kind — much too liberal to be appreciated by

[1] See his report to the king upon the commerce of New-York — N. Y. Doc. Hist., 1 : 90–4. It is curious to note, by way of comparison, that in the report Andros says that "a merchant worth £1000 or £500 is accompted a good substantiall merchant; and a planter worthe halfe that in moveables is accompted [rich ?]." N. Y. Doc. Hist., p. 88.

his narrow-minded master. But, of course, it was not for him to dictate, or even to advise; and, with a compliment upon his zeal, he was dismissed, with a request to appear in the royal closet the following day. At the hour appointed he again presented himself; but his suggestions of the day before were completely ignored. The king and the duke, however, were pleased to say that, in appreciation of the wise manner in which he had administered the government, the honor of knighthood would be conferred upon him. Thereupon he retired; and a few days afterwards — his patent of knighthood having been made out — he returned to New-York, in the summer of 1678, as Sir Edmund Andros.

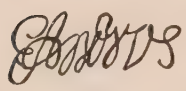
The chief characteristic of the Duke of York, next to his bigotry, was an intense love of money for its own sake. This trait caused him to be continually on his guard lest he should lose any portion of his revenues. During the visit of Andros, the duke had had several private interviews with him, the burden of which invariably was the necessity of increasing the amount of the excise; and that his instructions in this regard might the more effectually be carried out, Andros, on his return to his government, was invested with extraordinary powers, and created vice-admiral of all the duke's territory in America. Consequently, nearly the first official act of Andros, on his return, was to enforce stringently one of the duke's orders, viz.: that all vessels bringing cargoes within his original territory should enter at the New-York custom-house. The enforcement of this order at once brought him into direct personal collision with Governor Philip Carteret of New Jersey.

SEAL OF EAST JERSEY.

To understand fully the merits of this controversy and the position of Andros in the premises, it should be stated that some years previously (1665) two royal favorites, Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret — the latter, at that time, vice-chamberlain of the royal household — had received from the Duke of York, under a patent from Charles, a grant of land comprising all the territory lying between the Delaware and Hudson rivers, which, in recognition of the bravery displayed by Carteret in the defense of the Island of Jersey, he named in the charter New Jersey. No sooner was Sir George Carteret in possession of this grant than, ignoring Berkeley entirely, he lost no time in sending over on the same ship that conveyed Andros to his Government, his brother[1] Captain Philip Carteret as Governor of

1 Captain Philip Carteret was a brother and not the nephew of Sir George, as has been stated by some writers. Neither should he be confounded with Captain Carteret, a profligate son of Sir George, who resided at this time in New-York City.

his newly acquired territory. Hence it was that when the Duke of York, not recognizing his previous grant to Sir George, unjustly commanded Andros to seize upon all vessels that paid duties at Elizabethtown, N. J., and not at New-York, the latter, having no discretion in the matter, was forced to obey without reference to his own private feelings. "So far as George Carteret is concerned," writes at this time the duke's secretary to Andros, "I do not find that the Duke is at all inclined to let go any part of his prerogative, which you and your predecessor have constantly asserted in his behalf"; and, in order still further to impress upon Andros the importance of carrying out this order, he continues in the same letter, "We should exercise [*i. e.*, regarding the custom-house duties and Governor Carteret] the just authority his Royal Highness hath, . . . for favors now may, if conferred, redound too much to the prejudice of your Colony."



Accordingly, in the early spring of 1680, Andros seized upon every vessel bound for the port of Elizabethtown and exacted the custom-house duties. At the same time he wrote to Governor Carteret and notified him of his intention to build a fort at Sandy-Hook, "though," continues the letter, "having a due regard to all the rights and properties of the soil, I shall be ready to pay any one interested in Sandy-Point [Hook] the full amount of his claim." In his reply, Governor Carteret, resting his claim to the governorship of New Jersey upon the duke's grant to his brother, very naturally indignantly refused to acknowledge the right of the Governor of New-York either to collect duties on goods intended to be landed within his jurisdiction, or to erect a fortification on land belonging to the territory of New Jersey. At the same time, by way of upholding the position thus taken by their Governor, an act was passed by the Assembly of East Jersey to "indemnify any ship which might be seized by the Government of New-York for entering and clearing at Elizabethtown." It was, however, evidently the principle of the matter and not the amount of duties which lay at the root of this trouble, since, in 1754, nearly eighty years afterwards, the custom-house entries at the port of New-York, for the week ending January 27, were: "Inward Entries, None; Outward Entries, Sloop Swallow, Jacob Baffline, Master, for North Carolina."[1]

[1] The above extract, before me as I write, is from "The New-York Weekly Journal," January 27, 1734, "New-York, printed and sold by John Peter Zenger." Compare with this list the shipping news of the present day in our daily newspapers.

This defiance of the East Jersey Assembly was met by Andros with a proclamation requiring "Captain Philip Carteret, with all other pretended Magistrates civil or military authorized by him, to forbear and not presume further to assume or exercise distinct or any jurisdiction over his Majesty's subjects, within any of the bounds of his Majesty's Patent to his Royal Highness the Duke of York." The proclamation, which was made in the open fields at Elizabethtown, before a large concourse of people, closed with a demand for the surrender of the person of Captain Philip Carteret.

At this stage of the controversy, Carteret appealed to the king—at the same time saying plainly, in a letter to Andros, that if any force were used the people of the colony of New Jersey would defend themselves and their families even to the shedding of blood.[1] Yet, at the same time, he greatly deprecated any resort to force, and closed by entreating him to forbear his threats or any other acts of hostility until his Majesty's pleasure could be known.

The official conduct of Governor Andros at this juncture evidently clashed with his personal wishes and the good feeling which had always obtained between his own family and that of his neighbor and kinsman at Elizabethtown. As before stated, Andros and Carteret, with their wives, had long been socially very intimate, attending the same church in New-York, and frequently dining at each other's table. Carteret had been the companion and fellow-voyager of Andros when the latter first came to New-York,—and close companionship on a long sea voyage is, as is well known, a great factor in cementing friendship,—and Andros, it will be recalled, had spent the night with him previous to his departure for England two years before. Even the various official letters which had passed between them had been almost invariably signed by each "Your affectionate Friend." Consequently, before proceeding to extremities, Andros, having determined to try the effect of persuasion, visited Carteret at his home in Elizabethtown. After dinner, a discussion, which at first was friendly, but afterwards became more and more heated and acrimonious, was carried on between the two governors. Each insisted on the justice of his claim; and each produced documents, consisting of conflicting patents, to support it. Finally the conference closed, no satisfactory agreement having been arrived at, and yet, as Mrs. Lamb, in her "History of New-York City" justly says, both were sincerely actuated by the honest motive of obedience to their respective superiors. On leaving, Sir Edmund with his retinue was escorted to his boats by Governor Carteret and a body of men-at-arms, the latter of whom fired a volley in honor of the departing Governor, an evidence of a friendly feeling between them thus far at least.

1 "New Jersey Colonial Documents," First Series, Vol. I.

Three weeks later, on the last day of April,[1] Andros, despairing of Carteret's yielding to his authority, issued a warrant for his friend's arrest. Governor Carteret, in a letter to his brother, Sir George, states that the orders of Andros to the party of soldiers sent to arrest him were to "fetch him away dead or alive";[2] but this letter was written amid great excitement and while Carteret was smarting under the personal indignity to which he had been subjected, and therefore it probably does not represent the matter correctly. The humane character of Andros certainly does not bear out his statement. But that the order was executed with unnecessary, not to say extreme, harshness, admits of no doubt; for the fact remains that, at the dead of night, the doors of Carteret's house were broken open by the soldiers, and he himself dragged with such cruelty from his bed that, to use Carteret's own language in describing this outrage in a letter to a friend in England, "I was so disabled by the bruises and the hurts I then received, that I fear I shall never be the same man again."[3] Half naked, he was carried to New-York, where, after receiving some clothes, he was thrown in prison under a special warrant from Andros issued the following day.

On his trial, which was before a special Court of Assize and presided over by Andros in person, Carteret defended himself with consummate ability. He justified his conduct as governor of New Jersey as being strictly legal by virtue both of his power derived from the king, and also by letters (produced in court) received from his Majesty and directed to him as "Governor of New Jersey"—at the same time submitting to the jury his royal commission and instructions. The jury, after a perusal of these latter documents, promptly returned a verdict of "not guilty." The Court, however, would not allow him to leave the court-room until he had given bonds that in case he should return to New Jersey, he would not assume "any authority or jurisdiction there, either civil or military." Carteret received the verdict apparently with no elation or triumph; but he at once took measures to lay the matter before the king, and in an exceedingly temperate manner — considering the indignities to which he had been subjected — he requested of his Majesty that a decision should be given settling for the future the exact boundaries between the provinces of New-York and New Jersey.

Thus ended this celebrated controversy, to which more space has been given than might appear necessary, from the fact that it constitutes the only real basis of the charges against Governor Andros of exercising his powers in the colony of New-York tyrannically. Yet even this conduct of Sir Edmund, as we have endeavored to show, was

[1] Not the 1st of April, as writers have generally stated. See Col. Hist. of New Jersey, First Series, Vol. I.
[2] Idem. [3] Carteret to Mr. Coustrier, New Jersey Col. Doc., First Series, 1 : 316–17.

entirely against his own personal feelings, and in strict conformity to the commands of his Royal Highness James. In fact, as Andros himself afterwards said in speaking of this unfortunate occurrence, and which was evidently a "sore subject" with him, "to have acted otherwise, without the duke's order, would have been as much as my head was worth"; and those who know the despotic character of the Duke of York must admit that Andros spoke the truth.

Meanwhile, the representations of Governor Carteret to the court were not without effect; and, in addition to which, certain envious traders, taking advantage of the duke's well-known greed, complained to him that Andros gave to the Dutch the preference in trade; while, simultaneously, rumors set on foot by the same persons reached his ears, that his revenues might be largely increased under a different governor. This, in itself, was sufficiently alarming to the duke, whose purse was so sensitive to any diminution of its contents; and when it was further added that, in defiance of the royal edict against the people of New England trading along the Hudson, Andros still allowed the "Bostonians" to carry on the trade for beaver not only as far as Albany, but even to the remote castles of the Five Nations, his anxiety—not to say rage—knew no bounds. The duke at once carried his complaints to his brother, the king; and the result of these untruthful and malicious representations was the sudden recall of Andros, who, in a letter from Windsor, under date of May 24, 1680, was directed to turn over his government to Lieutenant-Governor Brockholls and report to the king and council prepared to render an account of his stewardship. At the same time, however, the letter ended with this saving clause, viz.: that by his coming to England an opportunity would be given him to reply to his accusers, "who, if unanswered," as his "loving friend, James," wrote, "might leave some blemish upon you, although undeserved."

THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY.[1]

In the examination which followed immediately upon his arrival in England regarding his conduct as governor, Andros left the royal

[1] The illustration in the text is after a picture of the second building erected in 1723, given in Bishop Richard K. Meade's "Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia," 1 : 157. The original building was unfortunately destroyed by fire in 1705, and the long delay in completing the second was due to a deficiency of funds. EDITOR.

closet not only completely vindicated from all blame, but with a compliment upon the success of his administration—a compliment which was "sealed" by his appointment as "a gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber." To this decision the king was probably led the more readily by the news received at this juncture, that the incompetence of the Lieutenant-Governor, and his disputes with delinquent traders who refused to pay taxes on the specious ground that the duke's custom-duties had expired in November by their three years' limitation, had, since the departure of Andros, involved the colony of New-York in the utmost confusion—a confusion, in fact, nearly approaching to anarchy.

SEAL OF STEPHANUS VAN CORTLANDT, 1664.

With the departure of Governor Andros from New-York, his connection with the affairs of that city may be said virtually to have ceased. It is true that in the winter of 1686 he was appointed viceroy for the colonies of New-York and New England, consolidated under the name of the "Dominion of New England"; but, with the exception of a formal visit paid to New-York in August, 1688, to receive the governorship from Governor Dongan, where he was met with great pomp and ceremony,[1] his visits were merely occasional, and then made only when passing through the city on his way to meet the Five Nations from time to time in council either at Albany or Ticonderoga. His residence during his viceroyalty was principally at Boston, and his time was chiefly taken up in circumventing the Canadian Governor, Denonville, in his efforts to seduce the Iroquois from their allegiance to the British crown. In these negotiations he was entirely successful, and his exertions in this direction made, a century later, the efforts of Sir William Johnson to hold the fickle Six Nations to their loyalty much easier. At the same time, still forced to carry out the mandates of his master,—now king by the death of his brother, Charles II.,—his government became so unpopular that, when the news was confirmed in Boston of the deposition of James and the accession of William and Mary, he, together with the members of his council, was seized on the 18th of April, 1689, and imprisoned in the fort until the pleasure of the king could be known. Lady Andros, however, did not live to witness this untoward

[1] On this occasion he was met, with the large retinue that had accompanied him from Boston, by Colonel Nicholas Bayard's regiment of foot and horse, and entertained very handsomely by the citizens during his stay. At a dinner given him at the City Hall, it is said that Mayor Van Cortlandt became so hilarious that he made a notable display of his loyalty to the house of Stuart "by setting fire to his hat and periwig, and waving the burning coverings of his head over the banquet-table on the point of his straight sword."

event, as she died soon after her husband's taking up his residence in Boston. In the following July he was sent to England with a committee of his accusers; but not only was he acquitted without even the form of a trial, but, in 1692, he was appointed by William III. Governor of the colony of Virginia. This latter circumstance would seem to show that the king believed that the responsibility for the arbitrary measures of Andros while Governor of New England — such, for instance, as endeavoring to seize the charter of Connecticut — should be laid upon his royal master, James II., rather than upon his obedient agent.

PENN ARMS.

During Andros's administration of the government of Virginia he distinguished himself by restoring the secretary's office and the records to good order, which before his arrival had been in the greatest confusion. This certainly shows that he evinced an interest in the private property of the people whom he governed, for he thereby had no personal ends to serve. He continued in the governorship of Virginia, winning the esteem and even the affections of the people by his efforts to encourage manufactures and agriculture and, as one of the founders of the College of William and Mary, the cause of education, until the year 1698, when, in consequence of quarrels with the church authorities, he was recalled. During the years 1704–5 he was Governor of the Island of Jersey, and died in London, on the 24th of February, 1714, at the age of nearly seventy-seven.

The character of Sir Edmund Andros has not been fairly drawn. Those upon whose opinions his reputation rests were persons living at the same day, and who, influenced by party strife, were not in a position to judge impartially. The time, moreover, when he first took possession of his government was, for his own fame, most inauspicious. Those principles which John Hampden had asserted and poured out his blood to defend in the great ship-money contest with Charles I., and which brought that monarch to the block, were just beginning to strike root in America; and Andros arrived charged with the execution of the odious orders of a most bigoted master, of whom it has been truly said that "he would learn nothing from past experience." "My father lost his head by concessions," he repeated constantly as an answer to every argument for just and liberal dealing, "and I will concede nothing." That Andros himself was personally averse to harsh and arbitrary measures is evident from the efforts he made to prevail upon the king to allow the colony of New-York a representative assembly. William of Orange, who was an excellent judge of character, retained his confidence in him to the last. This is shown not only by

the successful exertion of his influence to prevent Andros being brought to trial when sent home from Boston in 1689, but by lavishing upon him, nearly to the end of his life, the highest honors in the gift of royalty. Personally, his character was of the purest; and his ideas upon education, and on political and domestic economy, were far in advance of his age. His associations from early life with royalty, and his long training in the army, giving him, perhaps, an exaggerated sense of duty in carrying out the orders of his superiors — all contributed to force him into official acts which necessarily made him most unpopular. For these reasons his position in New-York was uncomfortable in the highest degree; while his former profession of arms, in which he had always been accustomed to command and be unhesitatingly obeyed, ill fitted him to brook the rebuffs and the bitter and malignant opposition of the Dutch faction. But one will look in vain for proofs of that personal tyranny of which he has been unjustly accused.

Regarding the character given him by New England historians, it is certain, as Cadwallader Colden writes to his son, "that at the time Sir Edmund Andros governed the people of New England, they were zealous Republicans, bigoted Independents, having banished all others of different religious principles from among them and persecuted some of them to death. They were enthusiastic to a degree, as appears from their public proceedings in witchcraft. To all which is to be added a stiff, formal behaviour different from the rest of mankind. Among such a people it must have been difficult for a gentleman of Sir Edmund's education, and of his principles, both as to religion and politics, to conduct himself so as to please them; for moderation often gives the greatest offense to bigots. If it be considered, likewise, that as Sir Edmund was appointed their Governor in consequence of their having had their charter vacated in the Court of Chancery in England, he, by his coming among them at that time, must be received with great disgust. He must be a very extraordinary man indeed who, in his circumstances, could at all times master his temper among such a people. The Revolution opened a wide door for the citizens of New England to make their complaints and to expose Sir Edmund's character in the strongest colors; yet, notwithstanding this, King William and his ministers soon afterward appointed him Governor of Virginia, a more lucrative government than New-York and Massachusetts Bay together." In marked contrast to this persecuting spirit of the New Englanders, thus lucidly presented by Colden, was Andros's treatment of Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, and Dissenters — a treatment which, considering the age, was unusually liberal. Indeed, in one of his letters to the duke, he expressly says that in the colony of New-York "many of the Churches of Independents and Presbyterians are vacant and suffering for lack of pastors"; but, he

continues, "if good ministers could be had [*i. e.*, persuaded] to go thither, they [the churches] might doe well."

The charges of tyranny which the Dutch and the dishonest English traders whose peculations he had exposed and circumvented zealously circulated even to the foot of the throne itself, will not compare either for harshness or intolerance with the acts of persecution previously practised by Director Stuyvesant against the Quakers and members of the Church of England both upon Manhattan and Long Islands;[1] and yet, from the peculiar position in which Andros was placed, the least malignant of the epithets bestowed upon him was, most unjustly, that of "the arbitrary and sycophantic tool of a despotic King"!

The administration of Governor Andros, moreover, forms not only a distinct but a memorable epoch in the colonial history of the city of New-York. It is true that he failed in his efforts to place the currency of the colony on a healthier basis than it was under Dutch rule; but in nearly every other measure of reform he was entirely successful. He effected a complete reorganization of the militia; repaired the fort, and strengthened the defenses of the harbor; increased the trade of the province; beautified the city; largely augmented the revenue from the excise; and by a personal supervision of municipal affairs, and an untiring industry, gave such a tone to the political and social condition of the people that its effects were apparent for fully a century after the period of his incumbency.

In the case of the Indians he was indefatigable; and the able manner in which he controlled them, and his personal visits to the "Long House"—undertaken under circumstances of great hardship incident to travel in a primeval wilderness—are the more remarkable when it is considered that to assist him by counsel and advice he had no such able lieutenant as Sir William Johnson, as was the case with the governors of New-York a century later. Indeed, it may safely be asserted that had it not been for his untiring efforts the Five Nations, under the insidious influence of Canada's astutest colonial Governor, Denonville—aided by the Jesuit fathers—would have

[1] In 1656, Stuyvesant, who bears the character of a comparatively wise and liberal governor, imprisoned some Lutherans; and, in 1658, banished a clergyman of that church. "Against the Quakers . . . the temper of the Government [Stuyvesant's] was violent and revengeful. Orders in writing or placards were issued to the authorities of the Town of Midwout (Flatbush) not to entertain members of this odious sect; and it was expressly ordered that no conventicles should be holden in houses, barns, ships, woods, or fields, under penalty of fifty guilders for each person, man, woman, or child, attending, for the first offense, double for the second, quadruple for the third and arbitrary correction for every other. Under this order, John Bowne and his father Thomas (among the earliest and most venerable of the inhabitants of Flushing) were arrested, September 1, 1662, charged with harboring Quakers and permitting them to hold their meetings in their house; and, after remaining in prison for some time, for non-payment of his fine, was offered his liberty on condition of leaving the Province, which, upon his refusing to do, the elder Bowne was transported to Holland"—Gordon's Gazetteer, p. 14. Many more instances of a similar, though of a much harsher nature, might be cited. See, for further proofs of the statements in the text, Thompson's "History of Long Island," p. 494.

been completely won over by the French, and the tomahawk and the firebrand carried down to the very gates of New-York!

Edmund Andros, whether compared with those who preceded or those who came after him, may justly be considered the most able and enlightened of New-York's colonial governors.[1]

1 "At this time and long after the inhabitants of the city continued to be distinguished for their frank good-nature, their love of home, and their cordial hospitality. . . . Despite the staid decorum of the city, it was overflowing with sociality and genial humor. Fast young men, fashionable amusements, late hours, and dissipation were wholly unknown, but there was no lack of hearty and homely sports. Of holidays there were abundance; each family had some of its own; birthdays and marriage anniversaries were religiously observed in the family circle, and home ties were thus drawn more closely together. Each season too brought its own peculiar festivals, and many new ones were invented to meet the social exigencies. . . . The Dutch had five national festivals which were observed throughout the city; namely, Kerstrydt [Kersmis] (Christmas); Nieuw jar [jaar] (New Year); Paas [Paasschen] (the Passover) [Easter]; Pinxter (Whitsuntide); and Santa Claus (St. Nicholas or Christ-Kinkle day). Most of these have come down to our own time, in a form but slightly varied from the ancient observance. . . . New Year's day was devoted to the interchange of visits. Every house in the city was open, no stranger was unwelcome, cake, wine, and punch were provided in profusion, and the opening year was greeted with general conviviality. It was considered a breach of etiquette for any one to omit a single acquaintance in his round of calls, and acquaintanceships were renewed, and half-dissevered intimacies knotted again in the cordial warmth of the New Year's greeting. This custom, which has come down to our own times, has extended to other cities, but its origin belongs exclusively to New-York.

"Paas, or Easter and Easter Monday, was once a notable festival in the city; though now it is nearly forgotten except among the children, who still crack colored eggs in honor of the occasion. Not many years have passed, however, since this holiday enjoyed as wholesale an observance as the others we have mentioned, and colored eggs were found upon every table. . . . But Santa Claus day [December 6th] was the best day of all in the estimation of the little folks, who of all others enjoy holidays the most intensely. It is notable, too, for having been the day sacred to St. Nicholas, the patron Saint of New-York, who presided at the figurehead [so says the accurate Diedrich Knickerbocker.—Editor.] of the first emigrant ship that touched her shores, who gave his name to the first church erected within her walls, and who has ever since been regarded as having especial charge of the destinies of his favorite city. To the children he was a jolly, rosy-cheeked little old man, with a low-crowned hat, a pair of Flemish trunk-hose, and a pipe of immense length, who drove his reindeer sleigh loaded with gifts from the frozen regions of the North over the roofs of New Amsterdam for the benefit of good children. Models of propriety were they for a week preceding the eventful eve. When it came they hung their stockings carefully labeled, that the Saint might make no mistake, in the chimney-corner, and went early to bed, chanting the Santa Claus hymn, in addition to their usual devotions:

"Sint Nicolaas, goed heilig man,
Trekt uw' besten Tabbard an,
En reist daarmee naar Amsterdam,
Van Amsterdam naar Spanje,
Waar appelen van Oranje,
En appelen van Granaten,
Er rollen door de Straten.
Sint Nicolaas, myn goeden Vriendt,
Ik heb uw altyd wel gediendt,
Als gy my nu wat wilt geven,
Zal ik uw dienen al myn leven.

"*Translation:*

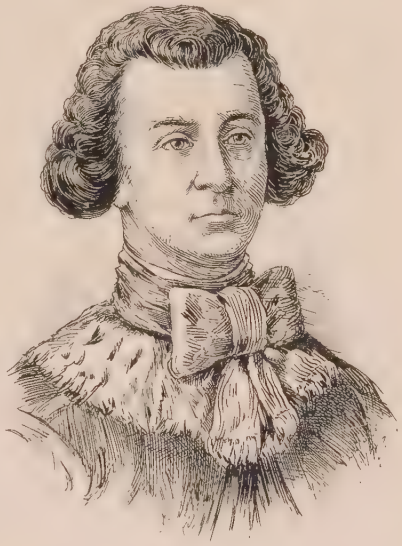
"Saint Nicholas, good holy man,
Put the best Tabbard on you can,
And in it go to Amsterdam,
From Amsterdam to Hispanje,
Where apples bright of Orange,
And likewise those pomegranates named,
Roll through the streets all unreclaimed.
Saint Nicholas, my dear good friend,
To serve you ever was my end,
If you me something now will give,
Serve you I will long as I live."

("History of the City of New-York," by Miss Mary L. Booth, pp. 191–195.)

CHAPTER XI

THOMAS DONGAN AND THE GRANTING OF THE NEW-YORK CHARTER
1682–1688

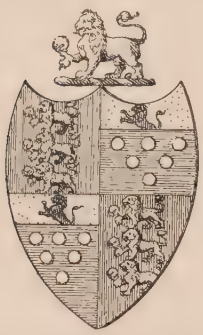
SUBSEQUENT to the return of Sir Edmund Andros to England in 1681, Colonel Thomas Dongan was commissioned Governor of the Duke of York's Province of New-York. He was a descendant of an ancient Irish Catholic family, and was the youngest of the three sons of Sir John Dongan, Baronet, of Castletown, County Kildare. His mother was a sister of Richard Talbot, who became Earl of Tyrconnel and later Lieutenant-Governor of Ireland. He was born at the family home in Ireland in 1634, and was early trained to the profession of arms. The Dongans favored the Stuarts, and when Charles I. was beheaded in 1649, the family removed to France. Young Dongan entered the French army and received a commission from Louis XIV. in an Irish regiment which was composed chiefly of adherents of the unfortunate king. He rose through all the commissioned ranks until 1674, when he was made colonel. Meanwhile he had served for some time in Nancy and had taken part in the campaigns against Holland. After the treaty of Nimeguen in 1678, an order was issued for the return of all English subjects then serving under the French crown to their homes. Concerning this recall Colonel Dongan wrote that he was obliged to relinquish "that honorable and advantageous post, and resisted the temptations of



Thos Dongan

[1] This vignette is copied from the supposed portrait among the Caleb Lyons collection, now in the possession of the New-York Historical Society.—EDITOR.

greater preferment then offered him if he would remain there; for which reason the French king commanded him to leave France in forty-eight hours and refused to pay him a debt of sixty-five thousand livres then due to him for remits and arrears upon an assessment rendered him by the intendant of Nancy."



THE DONGAN ARMS.

The Duke of York was evidently familiar with his career, for he interested himself in his behalf and urged him to enter the English military establishment. It appears that he was appointed to high rank in the army then designated for service in Flanders, and an annual pension of £500 was conferred on him for life in consideration of his losses in France. He did not, however, enter active service, for in the same year (1678) he was sent to Tangier, Africa, under Lord Inchiquin, as Lieutenant-Governor of that place. Two years later he was recalled. Then, after a short visit to Ireland, he came to London at the invitation of his patron, the Duke of York. For a time he was a regular frequenter of the court and a man of society.[1]

Dongan had now arrived at the mature age of forty eight. He was familiar with military affairs and was experienced in the administration of government. His foreign career had given him a knowledge of men of different types, and being of the same religious faith as the Duke of York, he naturally shared with him any ambitions that he might have in extending the Catholic religion in the New World. He was therefore chosen by his royal patron to be "Governor of the Duke of York's Province of New-York." The appointment was considered a good one, not only on account of Dongan's personal qualities, but also because of the necessity of selecting a governor who was familiar with the French character and therefore competent to manage with skill the English interests, then in a precarious condition owing to the delicate relations between New-York and Canada. Moreover, it was believed that his acquaintance with the Dutch, gained by his services in Holland, would make him considerate of their interests and therefore acceptable to them.

His commission, which bore the date of September 30, 1682, made him Governor of "all that part of ye Maine land of New England beginning at a certaine place called or knowne by the name of St. Croix next adjoyneing to New Scotland in America and from thence extending

[1] In "The Story of Nell Gwynn; and the Sayings of Charles the Second," related and collected by Peter Cunningham, he says: "Nell was indebted, there is reason to believe, for her introduction to the stage, or at least to another condition in life, to a person whose name is variously written Duncan or Dungan." Subsequently, in following her career at that period, Cunningham adds, "A Colonel Dongan was Governor of New-York in the reign of James II." The fact that Nell became the mistress of Charles II. in 1669 renders it exceedingly doubtful whether she was indebted to Thomas Dongan for her advancement to the stage, especially as he was at that time probably in France.

along ye Sea Coast unto a certaine place called Pemaquin or Pemaquid and soe up ye River thereof to ye furthest head of ye same as it tendeth Northward and extendeth thence to ye River Kinebeque and soe upwards to ye shortest course to ye River Canada Northward. And all ye Island or Islands commonly called by ye severall name or names of Mataracks or Long Island scituate lyeing and being towards ye West of Cape Codd and ye narrow Higansetts abutting upon ye Maine land between ye two Rivers there called Hudsons River and all ye land from ye West Side of Connecticut River to ye East Side of Delaware Bay. And alsoe all ye severall Islands called or known by the name of Martyn Vyniards and Mantukes otherwise Mantucket together with all ye lands islands soyles rivers harbours mines mineralls quarries woods marshes waters lakes fishings hauking hunting and fowling, etc."

Thus it will be observed that Dongan's commission was similar to that given to Sir Edmund Andros in 1674, with the exception of the southern portion of the province known as East and West New Jersey, which had been granted to Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. The duke, in his capacity as Lord High Admiral, likewise gave Dongan a separate commission, dated October 30, 1683, appointing him Vice-Admiral. Early in January, 1683, Anthony Brockholls, who was acting Governor, was notified that the new official would soon arrive.

Dongan sailed from England in the old Parliamentarian frigate Constant Warwick, and among his suite was Thomas Harvey of London, an English Jesuit. He arrived at Nantasket, Massachusetts, on August 10, 1683, and with a considerable retinue set out for New-York overland. As far as Dedham he was accompanied by a troop of Boston militia, "besides severall other gents of the town." He crossed the Sound to Long Island, and, finding much discontent among the people of the east end of the island, he assured them "that no laws or rates for the future should be imposed but by a General Assembly." It appears that some years previous (1670) Huntington, Jamaica, and other towns on Long Island had refused to pay taxes unless they were represented in the Assembly, and the question had been agitated as to whether the revenue laws were legal as imposed.

He finally reached New-York City on Saturday, August 25, 1683. On the following Monday he met the Common Council and other officials at the City Hall, then in Coenties Slip, and published his commission as well as his instructions respecting the special privileges to be accorded to the metropolis. The Corporation then invited him to a dinner on the next day at the City Hall, when, with several of the old magistrates and ancient inhabitants, "his honour received a large and plentiful entertainment, and they had great satisfaction in his honour's company."

New-York at this time contained less than four thousand inhabitants, and extended from the bay to the line of intrenchments and stockades that ran along Wall street. Broadway, then as now the principal thoroughfare, followed its present course to the Park or Common and thence ran along the line of Chatham street. From the Collect Pond in Centre street, near the present site of the Tombs, was a marsh of over seventy acres that extended northwest toward the North River. From the upper Bouweries to the settlement of Harlem, then exclusively Dutch, was a large wood, the haunt of wolves and bears. So active were the wolves that a general battue was ordered by Governor Dongan on a given date. As to the bears, Rev. Charles Woolley[1] writes of a bear-hunt that took place in an orchard between the present Cedar street and Maiden Lane, which, he says, "gave me great diversion and sport."

The city was defended by Fort James, situated on the water-front, but with its walls and bastions in a dilapidated condition. There was a "half-moon" before the old Stadt Huys at the head of Coenties Slip, one at Old Slip, and one at the "water-gate" at the foot of Wall street. There were also defenses along Wall street, and a curtain at the land-gate at the junction of Wall street and Broadway, but they were sadly in need of repairs. There was also "Pasty Mount" at the foot of Exchange Alley. These little fortifications were all in bad condition, and were mounted with the miniature guns of the period, known as "demi-culverins," "sakers," and "minions."

A few English and West Indian vessels traded with New-York, and an occasional privateer appeared in the harbor. Near Fort James was a flagstaff whereon a flag was hoisted upon the arrival of vessels in the harbor. Besides the foregoing, commerce was carried on by nine or ten three-masted vessels of eighty to one hundred tons, and three barks of forty tons and about twenty sloops of twenty-five tons. Five of these sloops traded up the Hudson River with Albany, Kingston, and Esopus, which were the three most important towns of the province after New-York.

The population was mixed, and a great variety of tongues was spoken. The Dutch element predominated, but there were many Huguenot families that had come to the colony driven from France by the persecution of Louis XIV. "The people grow more numerous daily," says Dongan, "and are of a turbulent disposition." Their religious opinions were also diverse. The old church in the fort was used every Sunday by the representatives of the three leading denominations, and services were held in as many different languages,—the Dutch in the morning, the French at noon, and the English in the afternoon,— while the Governor and his few fellow-worshipers

[1] "A Two Years' Journal in New-York and Parts of its Territories in America." London, 1701.

met in a little chapel. The various sects in the city were enumerated by Dongan as follows: "New-York has a chaplain belonging to the fort of the Church of England; secondly, a Dutch Calvinist; third, a French Calvinist; and a fourth, a Dutch Lutheran. Here be not many of England; a few Roman Catholics; abundance of Quaker preachers, men and women; Singing Quakers, Ranting Quakers, Sabbatarians, anti-Sabbatarians, some Anabaptists, some Independents, some Jews; in short, of all sort of opinions there are some, and the most part of none at all."

The active management of affairs was at once taken up by the new Governor. His instructions from the duke, signed on January 27th, required that on his arrival he should call together Frederick Philipse and Stephanus Van Cortlandt, and other of the most eminent inhabitants, not exceeding ten in all, and swear them to allegiance to the king, fealty to the duke as "lord and proprietor," and official faithfulness as members of his council. In accordance with further instructions, John Spragg became secretary of the colony, and Anthony Brockholls, with Matthias Nicolls and others, were appointed to catalogue the records surrendered by John West. Rev. John Gordon became chaplain of the English soldiers in New-York, and Mayor William Beekman, Stephanus Van Cortlandt, Lucas Santen, Mark Talbot, and Gabriel Minvielle were appointed to survey Fort James, while Captain Thomas Young was made pilot of the port.

DONGAN'S NEW-YORK HOUSE.

The administration of the colony having been properly organized, Dongan immediately turned his attention to a matter which directly concerned the interests of his patron. William Penn, not satisfied with grants made to him by Charles II., was endeavoring to secure the upper Susquehanna valley by purchase from the Indians, who claimed that region in virtue of conquest by them. When Dongan reached New-York, Penn and his two agents, William Haige and James Graham, were already in Albany, negotiating with the natives. The Governor on September 6th proceeded to Albany and ordered an examination into the matter. He received a report stating that a settlement on the Susquehanna would be much nearer to the Indians than

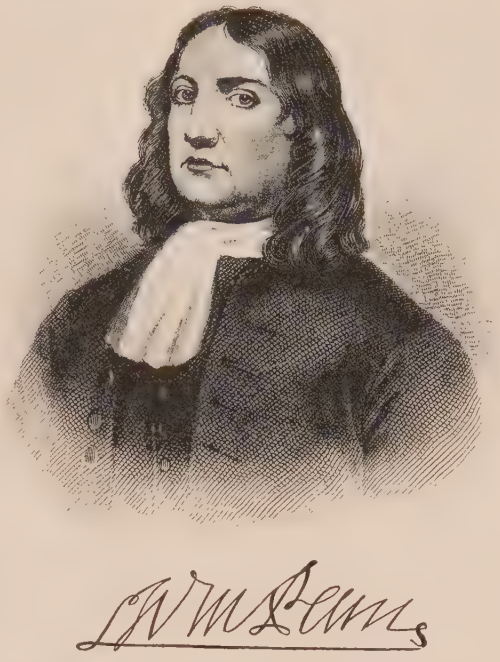
Albany, and hence any such purchase by Penn would be "prejudicial to his Royal Highness's Government." Dongan promptly ordered a stop put to all "proceedings in Mr. Penn's affairs with the Indians until his bounds and limits be adjusted." The Albany magistrates wrote on September 24th, as their opinion, that "there hath not anything ever been moved or agitated, from the first settling of these parts, more prejudicial to his Royal Highness's interest and the inhabitants of this government, than this business of the Susquehanna River. The French, it is true, have endeavored to take away our trade by piece meals, but this will cut it off at once."

In the mean time Penn accepted an invitation to visit Dongan in New-York, and was elaborately entertained for several days, but left owing to a dispute with Lord Baltimore concerning the southern boundary of Pennsylvania, which compelled his presence in Philadelphia. Later, when Penn's agents endeavored to secure the purchase of these lands, the Indians refused, saying that the land "cannot be sold without Corlaer's order, for we transferred it to this Government four years ago." Subsequently (October 3d), the Mohawks visited Fort James and agreed to give the Susquehanna River to New-York. In announcing this to Penn, Dongan wrote, "About which you and I shall not fall out; I desire we may joine heartily together to advance the interest of my master and your good friend."

A year later, Penn requested Dongan's intervention towards the settlement of the Maryland boundary dispute, and the favor was promptly accorded; but when his agents asked to be allowed to treat with the Indians for the Susquehanna lands, Dongan quickly replied, "that they of Albany have suspicion it is only to get away their trade, and that Mr. Penn hath land already more than he can people these many years." In this opinion he was upheld by the duke's secretary, Sir John Werden, who, on August 27, 1684, wrote him: "Touching Susquehanna River, or lands about it, or trade in it, which the Indians convey to you or invite you to, we think you will doe well to preserve your interest there as much as possible, that soe nothing more may goe away to Mr. Penn, or either New Jerseys. For it is apparent they are apt to stretch their priviledges, as well as the people of New England have been." The wily Quaker never forgave Dongan for not yielding to him. In after years, when the Duke of York had become James II., and Penn returned to court, he showed his ill-feeling against Dongan by his successful efforts in prejudicing the king against him.

Among Dongan's instructions was an order calling for the election of a "General Assembly of all the Freeholders by the persons whom they shall choose to represent them," in order to consult with the Governor and Council "what laws are fit and necessary to be made and

established for the good weal and government of the said Colony and its dependencies and all the inhabitants thereof." This Assembly, which was not to exceed eighteen members, was to meet in the city of New-York. The duties of this body were defined by the duke as follows: "And when the said Assembly so elected shall be met at the time and place directed, you shall let them know that for the future it is my resolution that the said General Assembly shall have free liberty to consult and debate among themselves all matters as shall be apprehended proper to be established for laws for the good government of the said Colony of New-York and its dependencies, and that if such laws shall be propounded as shall appear to me to be for the manifest good of the country in general, and not prejudicial to me, I will assent unto and confirm them." All laws enacted by the Assembly were to be submitted to the Governor, who could approve or deny them, according to his judgment. Such laws were to be confirmed or rejected by the duke; yet they were to be good and binding until he should signify his disapproval — then they should cease, and be null and void.



Accordingly the freeholders of New-York, Long Island, Esopus, Albany, and Martha's Vineyard were notified on September 13, 1683, to choose representatives to appear for them at a General Assembly to be held in New-York on October 17th. This action seems to have met with general satisfaction, and in an address to the Duke of York by the sheriffs of the Court of Assizes, adopted in October, 1683, after expressing their appreciation of the new Governor, they refer to the General Assembly soon to be held as "a benevolence of which we have a larger and more grateful sense than can be expressed in this paper." Among the more remote Puritan towns of Long Island there was exhibited dislike to a Roman Catholic governor. The people of East Hampton sent an address to Dongan, in which they said that if the Governor was an instrument under God to relieve them, he would firmly engage and oblige them and their posterity to hold him in

honorable remembrance as the first restorer of their freedom and privileges; but if not, that they would appeal to their "Most Gracious Sovereign" and prostrate themselves "before the throne of his unmatchable justice and clemency, where we doubt not to find reliefe and restauration."

The elections were held according to the code laid down by Dongan and his Council, and a majority of the Assemblymen chosen were of the "Dutch Nation." New-York with Haerlem was represented by four delegates, a number twice that accorded to the other districts. The Assembly met on October 17th, and on that date, which is referred to by Brodhead as "a memorable day in the history of New-York," seventeen delegates, representatives of the freeholds of the colony of New-York, gathered in Fort James. Matthias Nicolls, one of the representatives from New-York City, was chosen Speaker, and John Spragg was made Clerk. The journals of this Assembly are not known to exist, but from other sources it appears to have remained in session during three weeks. Fourteen acts were passed, each of which after three readings was assented to by the Governor and his Council.

THE ALBANY SEAL.

The most important of the new laws was "The Charter of Liberties and Priviledges, granted by his Royal Highnesse to the Inhabitants of New-Yorke and its dependencies." It declared that the charter was "For the better establishing the government of this Province of New-York, and that Justice and Right may be equally done to all persons within the same, by the Governour, Councell, and Representatives, now in General Assembly met." Also "That the Supreme Legislative authority under his Majesty and Royal Highness James, Duke of Yorke, Albany, etc., Lord Proprietor of the said Province, shall forever be and reside in a Governour, Councell and the people, mett in a General Assembly." It then ordered "that according to the usage, custome, and practice of the Realm of England a session of a Generall Assembly be held in this Province, once in three years at least." It further declared that "every freeholder within this province, and freeman in any corporation, shall have his free choice and vote in the electing of the Representatives without any manner of constraint or imposition, and that in all elections the majority of voices shall carry it." According to other sections representatives were appointed among the several counties; the usual privileges of Parliament were conferred on the members of Assembly; and the most liberal provisions of English law were declared to extend to the inhabitants of New-York. Entire freedom of conscience and religion was guaranteed to all peaceable persons "which profess faith in God by Jesus Christ."

The existing "Christian Churches" in the province were forever to be "held and reputed as privileged churches, and enjoy all their former freedoms of their religion in divine worship and church discipline." The charter further ordained "that no aid, tax, tollage, assessment, custom, loan, benevolence, or imposition whatsoever shall be laid, assessed, imposed, or levied on any of his Majesty's subjects within this province or their estates upon any manner of colour or pretence, but by the act and consent of the Governor, Council, and representatives of the people in General Assembly met and assembled." Appended to this charter was a "Continued Bill" which granted to the duke and his heirs certain specified duties on importations.

This Charter of Liberties and Privileges was signed by the Governor and solemnly proclaimed on October 31, 1683, at the City Hall, before the assembled multitude, to the sound of trumpets, "in the presence of his Honor the Governor, the Council, and Representatives, and Deputy Mayor, and Aldermen of this City." Thus the principle of taxation only by consent was initiated as a law of the land. Brodhead says in this connection, "Thus the representatives of New-York asserted the great principle of 'Taxation by Consent,' which Holland had maintained since 1477, and appropriated the liberties allowed by English law to subjects within the realm of England. True ideas of popular government were now more distinctly announced in the ancient Dutch province by its own freely chosen assembly — of which a majority were 'of the Dutch nation' — than in any Northern colony of British America. In none of the charter governments of New England were 'the people' recognized as having legislative authority. The first law made by the representatives of Dutch-English New-York ordained that 'The People met in a General Assembly' were to share in its colonial legislation. These memorable words, 'The People,' were so democratic that the English king at Whitehall soon afterwards objected to them, as being 'not used in any other constitution in America.'"

The charter was promptly signed by Dongan, and on December 4th Mark Talbot was sent to England with it and the other laws passed by the Assembly for the duke's approval and signature. Some time seems to have elapsed before James was able to give it his full attention, for on August 26, 1684, he wrote to Dongan that "My commissioners are making what dispatch they can with those Bills that you have sent thither; and particularly with that which contains the Franchises and Priviledges to the Colony of New-Yorke, wherein if any alterations are made (either in forme or matter of it) they will be such as shall be equally or more advantageous to the people there and better adjusted to the laws of England." Finally, on October 4, 1684, the duke signed and sealed the "Charter of Franchises and

Priviledges to New-Yorke in America." The instrument was ordered to be registered and taken to New-York, but this was not done. Subsequently, in March, 1685, when the duke was King of England, the charter was discussed at a meeting of the Plantation Committee, at which James presided and, finding the charter too liberal, concluded that he did "not think fit to confirm" it. Meanwhile, however, the law had gone into force, and continued so until after the adjournment of the Assembly that met under its provisions in September, 1685.

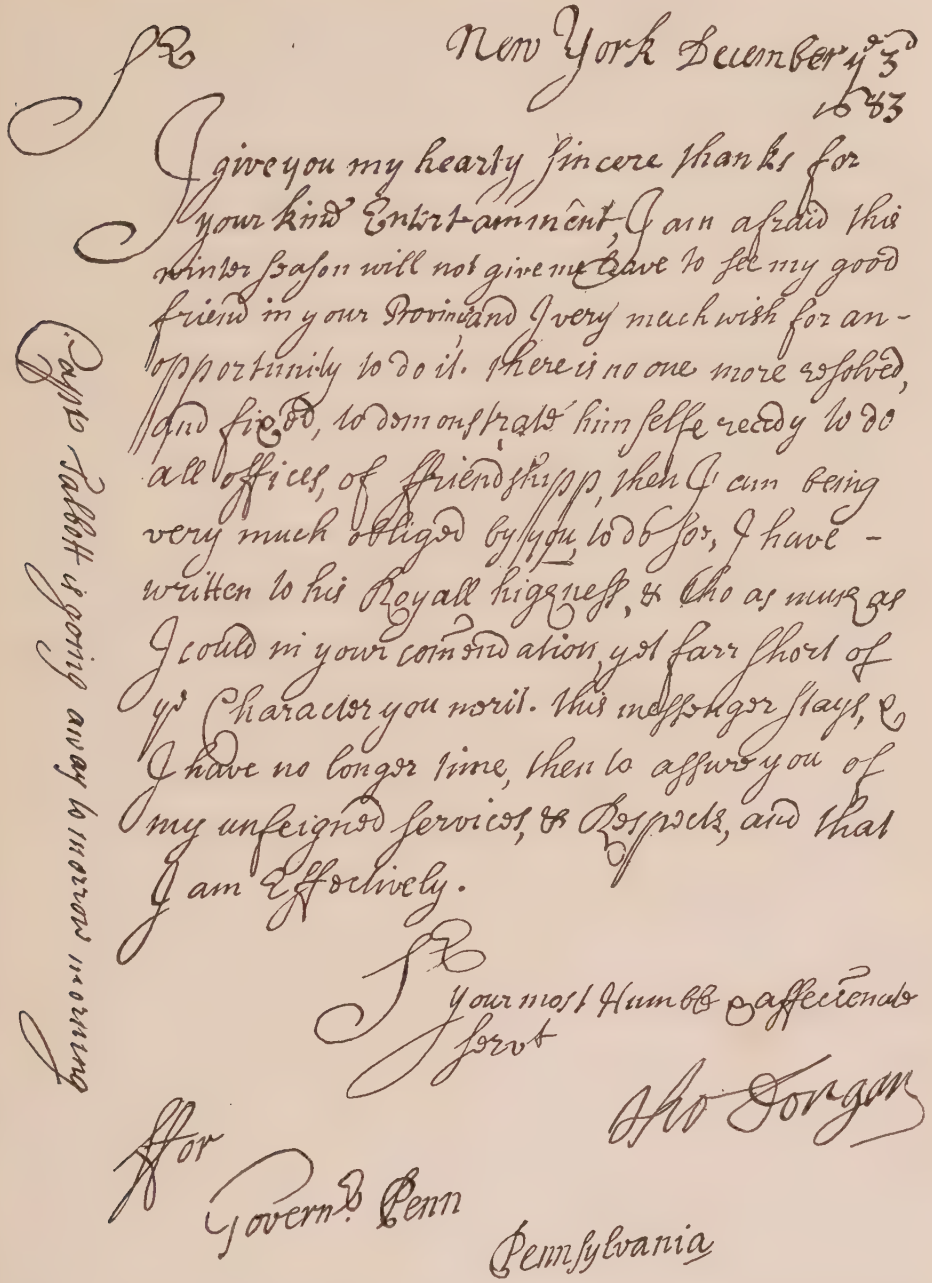
Among other important measures passed by the first Assembly and confirmed by the Governor was a law "to divide this province and dependencies into shires and counties." Accordingly twelve counties were established. The City and County of New-York included Manhattan, Manning's, and the Barn Islands. Westchester contained all the land eastward of Manhattan "as far as the Government extends" and northward along the Hudson to the Highlands. The other counties were Ulster, Albany, Duchess,[1] Orange, Richmond, Kings, Queens, and Suffolk; also Duke's County, which included the island of Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, Elizabeth Island, and No Man's Land; and lastly, Cornwall County, comprising Pemaquid and all "territories in those parts, with the islands adjacent," which were subsequently ceded to other governments.

SEAL OF DUCHESS COUNTY.

Another act of considerable importance was passed "to settle Courts of Justice." It provided four distinct tribunals in New-York, as follows: Town Courts for the trial of small causes, to be held each month; County Courts or Courts of Sessions, to be held quarterly or half-yearly as occasion might demand; a General Court of Oyer and Terminer, with original and appellate jurisdiction, to sit twice every year in each county; and a Court of Chancery to be the Supreme Court of this province, composed of the Governor and Council, with power in the Governor to depute a chancellor in his stead and appoint clerks and other officers. However, a clause in the patent to the Duke of York provided that an appeal might be made to the king against any judgment. This law bore the date of November 1, 1683.

Equally important was the law passed by the Assembly on November 1st, "for naturalizing all those of foreign nations at present inhabiting within this Province, and professing Christianity, and for the

1 This county was named in honor of the duke's wife. At that time, the title of the wife of a duke was spelled with a t, and so continued in the English language until the middle of the eighteenth century, when Johnson in his dictionary gave it the orthography of the French derivation *duchesse*, but omitting the final e. Through ignorance of its origin, the name of Duchess County has been improperly spelled with a t until quite recently, when attention was called to the fact that the county was named after the Duchess of York.
EDITOR.



New York December y^e 3 1683

I give you my hearty sincere thanks for your kind Entertainment, I am afraid this winter Season will not give me leave to see my good friend in your Province and I very much wish for an opportunity to do it. there is no one more resolved, and fixed, to demonstrate him selfe ready to do all offices, of friendshipp, then I am being very much obliged by you to do for, I have written to his Royall highness, & tho as much as I could in your commendation, yet farr short of y^e Character you merit. this messenger stays, & I have no longer time, then to assure you of my unfeigned services, & Respects, and that I am Effectively.

Your most Humble affectionate Servt

Tho Dongan

For Govern^r Penn

Pennsylvania

Capt Talbott is going away to morrow morning

encouragement of others to come and settle within the same." This statute provided that all the actual inhabitants of the province, except bondmen, of what foreign nation soever, who professed Christianity and who had taken or should take the oath of allegiance, were naturalized; and that all Christian foreigners who should afterwards come and settle themselves in the province might be naturalized by swear-

ing allegiance to the king and fidelity to the proprietor. Thus, the province of New-York under a Catholic governor provided for the religious liberty of its inhabitants at a time when even the sovereigns of enlightened European nations were expelling such of their subjects as declined to acknowledge the Pope as the only vicar of Christ. Other acts of minor importance were passed by the Assembly, which finally adjourned early in November. The laws which it enacted were formally published on November 7th, in front of City Hall, and then went into active force. At the close of the year (December 29th), Dongan appointed Matthias Nicolls and John Palmer, both of whom had studied law, to be the first judges of the New-York Court of Oyer and Terminer.

In 1664 the authorities of Connecticut and New-York met and agreed that the boundary-line of Connecticut should not come within twenty miles of the Hudson River, but the Duke of York had failed to ratify this arrangement, and especially instructed Dongan, as soon as he could, to settle the boundaries of the "territories towards Connecticut." The Governor was not delayed in this matter, for almost immediately after the passage of the Charter of Liberties, Connecticut set up a claim that the towns of Rye, Greenwich, and Stamford "indubitably" belonged to her, to which Dongan replied: "The King's Commissioners, being strangers, and relying upon your people, were assured by them that the river Mamaroneck[1] was twenty miles, everywhere from Hudson's River, as we have very creditable witnesses can testify, and that it was Colonel Nicolls his intentions. Notwithstanding all that, you pretend to within sixteen or seventeen miles of this town, and, for ought we know, to Esopus and Albany also; which is argument sufficient it was none of Colonel Nicolls his intention. If you do not submit to let us have all the land within twenty miles of Hudson's River, I must claim as far as the Duke's Patent goes, which is to the River Connecticut. . . . Since you are pleased to do me the honor to see me, pray come with full power to treat with me; and I do assure you, whatsoever is concluded betwixt us shall be confirmed by the King and his Royal Highness, which the other agreements I hear are not. If you like not of it, pray take it not ill that I proceed in a way that will bring all your patent in question."

The emphatic declarations of Dongan proved effective, and Connecticut much preferred to arbitrate the question rather than to submit her patent to the Duke of York. A conference was held in New-York during the latter part of November, to which Connecticut sent as her representatives Robert Treat, Nathan Gold, John Allyn,

[1] On September 21, 1891, the ancient town of Mamaroneck, in the county of Westchester, celebrated the two hundred and thirtieth anniversary of the purchase of its lands from the Indians. John Richbell acquired the title to Mamaroneck on September 21, 1661, for a few articles of clothing and a quantity of wampum.—EDITOR.

and William Pitkin, while New-York was represented by the Governor, Anthony Brockholls, Frederick Philipse, Stephanus Van Cortlandt, and John Younge. It was then agreed that the boundary-line between the two provinces should be removed several miles east of Mamaroneck to Byram River, between Rye and Greenwich, and that this new line should be properly surveyed the next October. Accordingly, in October, 1684, joint commissioners from the two colonies met in Stamford and proceeded to the Byram River. There they surveyed the proper courses, of which they made a map and a report. These having been approved by the Council of New-York, Dongan met Governor Treat on February 23, 1685, in Milford, and together they signed a ratification which was ordered to be recorded in both colonies, and which was confirmed in England fifteen years later. This boundary-line still remains in force.

GREAT SEAL, JAMES II.

In the mean while, however, the commissioners from Connecticut informed the magistrates of Rye that they could not help giving up that town, but that "Dongan was a noble gentleman and would do for others' welfare whatever they should desire in a regular manner." Dongan's opinion was perhaps a trifle less favorable, for he wrote to the Duke of York that "Connecticut was always grasping, tenacious, and prosperous at her neighbors' expense, of evil influence over the New-York towns of Long Island, whose refractory people would carry their oil to Boston and their whalebone to Perth, rather than to their own capital."

According to the instructions of the Duke of York, Dongan was to consider and report upon the desirability of granting to the City of New-York "immunities and privileges beyond what other parts of my territory doe enjoy," and in consequence, on November 9, 1683, Dongan received a petition signed by William Beekman, Mayor, Johannes Van Brugh, John Laurence, Peter J. Morris, James Graham, Cornelius Steenwyck, and Nicholas Bayard, Aldermen of the city, asking that certain "ancient customs, privileges, and immunities," which had been granted them in 1665, should be confirmed by a charter from the Duke of York, with some additions — the latter to include "the division of the corporation into six wards, the annual election of aldermen and other officers by the freemen in each ward; the local government of the city to be intrusted to them, and to a mayor and recorder, to be annually appointed by the governor and council; that a

sheriff, coroner, and town clerk be appointed in the same way; that the corporation appoint their own treasurer; and finally, that whatever else was necessary for its welfare should be confirmed to the city as fully as his Majesty hath been graciously pleased to grânt to other corporations within his realm of England."

These additions at first failed to meet with the Governor's approval, but after full explanation they were accepted by him. Early in November, Cornelius Steenwyck had been appointed Mayor by Dongan, who likewise selected Nicholas Bayard, John Inians, William Pinhorne, Gulian Verplanck, John Robinson, and William Cox to be Aldermen. These officers were reappointed to their places by the Governor on November 24, 1683, and at the same time he named John West as City Clerk and John Tudor as City Sheriff. James Graham, formerly an Alderman, was commissioned first Recorder of the city of New-York. All of these officials were sworn to fidelity in Fort James on December 4, 1683, by Dongan, except the new recorder, who took the oath on January 16, 1684, and who then, coming to the City Hall, "took his place on the bench on the right hand of the mayor."

The Corporation asked for further privileges, and in reply received word that the Governor "much wonders that haueing lately granted all and every particular of a large and considerable petition preferred by the preceding Mayor and Aldermen should so suddenly receive another petition from the present magistrates to request what was before granted or anything contrary to their former petition, however is willing to oblige them as farre as can be reasonably done, as may be seen by the following particulars:

"Their first request concerning the Charter is allready granted and a Recorder according to their own former desires.

"The ferry is granted with a provision that two boats for passengers be kept on each side of the river and one boat for cattle on each side allso.

"The town clerk is referred to his Royal Highness his nomination.

"The vacant lands to low water marke within this Island are allready disposed of.

"The whole Island to be surveyed, and when done some land in the woods, not patented, to be given to the city.

"Docks and wharfe allowed to the city, on condition to keep them cleared or to be forfeited; no bridge toll.

"No new ferry.

"Licenses belong to government, but market and market-houses allowed to the City. Wednesday and Saturday only market days.

"Clerk of the market to be appointed by the Governor.

"Only twenty carmen to be licensed.

"Bakers under supervision of Mayor as to weight and price of bread.

"City to appoint surveyors of chimneys.

"All houses to keep one or more leather fire buckets." Dated December 6, 1683.

On December 10, 1683, the Governor ordered that the Corporation's petition be put in practice "until such time as his Royal Highnesses pleasure shall be further known therein." Meanwhile the mayor and aldermen had very promptly divided the city into six wards, known as South, Dock, East, North, West, and Out Wards, to each of which an alderman was assigned.

SEAL OF NEW-YORK, 1686.

Numerous ordinances for the better government of the city were adopted. Those concerning the religious observance of the Sabbath are interesting.[1] "No youthes, maydes, or other persons may meete together on the Lord's Day for sporte or play, under a fine of one shilling." No public-houses were permitted to keep open doors or give entertainment on Sunday, except to strangers, under a fine of ten shillings. Children were not allowed to play in the streets on the Sabbath, and not more than four Indians or negro slaves might assemble together, and at no time were they allowed to bear any firearms, under a fine of six shillings to their owners.

The landlords of public-houses were ordered to report all strangers who arrived, and were forbidden to entertain any person, man or woman, suspected of a bad character, under fine of ten shillings. Indians were allowed by a special license to sell firewood and also gutters for houses, which were long strips of bark so curved at the sides as to conduct water, but it was required that "the number of such [Indian] traders be small and what so traded for no great value." Under penalty of forfeiture it was proclaimed that "noe firewood shall be imported or exposed for sale in this citty but such as shall be cutt after ye manner of coard wood and sold by the coard accordingly, which coard is to continue eight foot in length, four foot in highth, and four foot in breadth." All horses ranging loose were to be branded and enrolled, and an ample reward was offered to all who should destroy wolves.

A committee was appointed to collect for permanent preservation the ancient records of the city and also the laws. The proper officials were ordered to "use their utmost endeavors and care at the day of Election that none appeare but ffree holders." Surveyors were chosen

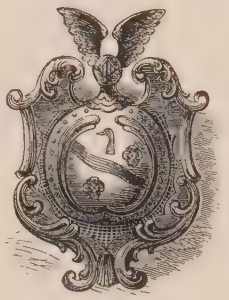
[1] See "Annals of New-York," by John F. Watson, 1846, p. 160.

to see that "all new buildings bee uniform and of party walls." A constable was appointed to see that the laws were obeyed, also a haven-master was chosen to look after the shipping and collect the bills. The sheriff was placed in charge of the markets, and ordered to strictly observe the rules for regulating them. There was a public chimney-sweep, who made his presence known by crying through the streets, and cleaned the chimneys at the rate of one shilling or eighteen pence each, according to the height of the house. An "inviter to funerals" was likewise a public official; and no one, unless formally asked, thought of attending a funeral. This service was rendered free to those who were unable to pay.

An important request made to the Governor on March 17, 1684, was that an order be granted "prohibiting any bolting mills, or fflower or bread to be made for sale or transportation in any place throughout this province but in this city only, noe fflower or bread to be imported into this Citty from any other part of the Province under penalty of forfeiture." Dongan required "reasons-at-large" for this request, and on being informed that "as the manufacture of flour was the chief support of the trade of the metropolis, the high reputation of its breadstuffs should not be taken away, as it would be if bolting were allowed elsewhere." Other reasons being apparent, the Governor issued a proclamation as desired, and his action received the sanction of the duke's commissioners, who instructed him "by all means chiefly to encourage the city of New-Yorke." There were twenty-four bakers in New-York at this time, who were divided into six classes, one for each working-day in the week. According to law a white loaf of bread must weigh at least twelve ounces, and for it the price was placed at six stivers in wampum.

The question of boundaries at this early day was one of importance. The extent of the colonies was somewhat vague, and each province endeavored to encroach on its neighbors. Early in 1684, East New Jersey revived her claim for Staten Island; moreover, the nearness of the boundary-line of New Jersey to New-York was believed by Dongan to be contrary to the best interests of the latter colony. Accordingly he consulted with the recorder, under whose advice the council and city authorities presented to the duke an address in which the convenient natural situation of Manhattan for commerce was shown, as well as the hurtfulness of the unhappy separation of New Jersey from the ancient territory of New-York, by reason of which its trade was diverted at the expense of the duke's revenue. He was, therefore, urged to reannex East Jersey to his province, "by purchase or other ways," and thus prevent the flourishing of the adjacent colony at the expense of New-York. This address, which was prepared in March, 1684, was sent by Dongan to the duke and his commissioners,

with a communication calling special attention to the "great inconvenience of having two distinct governments upon one river," and "how convenient it would be to regain East Jersey." No immediate action appears to have followed this suggestion, but the advice was not ignored, for later, when the duke became king, one of his first acts was to consolidate the colonies into a single province.



THE BEECKMAN ARMS.

In nothing, however, did the masterly diplomacy of Governor Dongan show itself to greater advantage than in his relations with the French. His predecessor, Sir Edmund Andros, had claimed in 1677 that New-York included all the territory south of the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario, but this claim was one that the French could not sanction. Christianity had been planted among the Indians by French missionaries long before any other Europeans had penetrated into the wilds of the Northwest. Jean Nicollet, Marquette, Joliet, and La Salle were famous discoverers and also ardent Catholics. With them came missionaries who devoted their lives to the conversion of the Indians.

Antoine Joseph Lefevre de la Barré had been appointed to succeed Count Frontenac as Governor of Canada, and one of the earliest of his plans was to compel the Indians to trade with Montreal rather than New-York. Early in 1684, the Senecas and Cayugas having plundered certain French parties, De la Barré determined to punish them, and refused to regard them as British subjects. This information seems to have been conveyed to Dongan, for he writes: "I do believe that you have bin misinformed as to the Irequois, they haveing traded with this Government above forty years and nowhere else, unlesse they did it by stealth. I am sure they are nearer to this place than yours, and all to the South and South West of the Lake of Canada; wee have pretences too, and it seemes a cleare demonstration that those lands belong to the King of England, haveing all his Colonies close upon them, those Indians who have pipes through their noses would fain come to trade at Yorke, did not other Indians hinder them, haveing from hence such trade as they want which is in no other Government and that you have none but what you have from us. As for any dispute about them, I suppose Your people and ours may trade amongst them without any difference. I give you thanks for the passes you sent, and assure you nobody hath a greater desire to have a strict union with you and good correspondence than myself who served long time in France and was much obliged by the King and Gentry of that Country; and I am sure no man hath a greater respect for them than myself and would never do anything that may

cause a misunderstanding, but I am a servant in this place, and therefore need say no more."

De la Barré was not appeased by this letter, and at once directed the Jesuit missionaries then at Oneida and Onondaga to so intrigue as to divide the Indians among themselves. It was this policy, which Dongan endeavored to oppose by replacing French Jesuits by English Jesuits, which caused the enmity of Protestants in New-York. In June, 1684, De la Barré advised Dongan of his intention to attack the Indians, and asked that the people of Albany be forbidden to sell arms and ammunition to the Iroquois, which he said "can alone intimidate them, and when they see the Christians united on this subject they will show them more respect than they have done hitherto."

To this Dongan quickly replied that the Senecas were under the government of New-York; that the duke's territories must not be invaded; that he had ordered the coats of arms of the Duke of York to be placed in the Indian castles, "which may dissuade you from acting anything that may create a misunderstanding between us"; moreover, all differences between the French in Canada and the New-York Iroquois ought to be settled by their masters in Europe; finally, in order "to promote the quiet and tranquillity of this country and yours," he proposed to visit Albany and investigate the matter.

This decision was timely, for certain of the Iroquois, instigated (as charged) by the French missionaries, had early in the spring of 1684 committed outrages on the northern boundary of Maryland and Virginia which violated the compact made in August, 1682. Lord Effingham, Governor of Virginia, with two members of his Council, came to New-York in June to persuade Dongan to aid him in a war against the Indians. Effingham was received with distinction. He became a guest of the Governor, and was entertained by many of the prominent citizens. The City Corporation made him a freeman of the metropolis, and he is said to have been the first British peer upon whom this distinction was conferred.

He accepted Dongan's invitation to go to Albany, and on July 30th met in council deputies from the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, and Cayugas. A firm peace was concluded, in recognition of which an ax was buried for each party; but as the Mohawks had not broken the earlier compact, no ax was needed for them. Five axes, representing Maryland, Virginia, the Oneidas, Onondagas, and Cayugas, were buried in the southeast corner of the courtyard, and the Indians threw earth upon them. Then jointly the Indians sang a peace-song with demonstrations of much joy, and thanked Dongan for his effectual mediation in their favor with the Governor of Virginia. Some days later (August 5th) delegates from the more remote Senecas arrived, and confirmed the action of their allies by giving a belt.

It was at this time that Dongan obtained from the Iroquois their written submission to the Great Sachem Charles. This was recorded on two white dressed deerskins, which were to be sent to the great sachem in England, that he "may write on them and put a great red seal to them." By this treaty all the Susquehanna River above the "Washinta" or Wyalusing Falls, and all the rest of the land of the Iroquois, were confirmed to the Duke of York as within the limits of New-York. Thus Governor Dongan established the northern and western boundaries of our great commonwealth, and, as has been well said, "in our day the visitor to the Great Lakes and Falls of Niagara sees the American flag proudly floating where Dongan planted its English predecessor."[1]

At the close of the conference the Sieur de Salvaye, a representative of De la Barré, arrived in Albany and informed Dongan that the Indians would be attacked towards the end of August. A force of twelve hundred men proceeded against the natives, but exposure and disease so reduced their ranks that De la Barré gladly concluded a treaty of peace with them on September 5th. He reported to France that his campaign had "not been bloody," and referred to Dongan as one "who fain would assume to be Sovereign Lord of the whole of North America, south of the River Saint Lawrence." The French king had made request of the Duke of York, through his ambassador in London, to prohibit Dongan from aiding the Iroquois and to order him to act in concert with De la Barré "to the common advantage of both nations," but no such orders could be given by the duke, who fully sustained Dongan's policy, save alone that he should be prudent, "always avoiding, as much as possible, any proceedings on our part that may run us into disputes with the French, who, in our present circumstances, are not to be made enemies."

The religious freedom of New-York was well known. At a time when a Catholic priest would meet only with imprisonment and death in the New England colonies, Jesuit fathers were freely received in New-York while it was under the Dutch government. Indeed, they were openly entertained by the Governor himself, as was the case with Father Isaac Jogues, who was rescued from the Mohawk Indians and entertained at the fort by Director Kieft in 1643. Moreover, in his instructions to Dongan, the Duke of York very plainly said: "You shall permit all persons, of what religion soever, to quietly inhabit within your government without giving them any disturbance or disquiet whatsoever for or by reason of their differing Opinions in matters of Religion, Provided they give noe disturbance to ye publick peace nor doe molest or disquiet others in ye free exercise of their Religion."

Still the fact that Dongan worshiped every Sabbath with a few

[1] "The Great Colonial Governor," by Rev. Patrick F. Dealy, Mag. Am. Hist., 8 : 110. Feb., 1882.

Roman Catholics in a small chamber in Fort James caused some uneasiness, and even unto the present time his religion has been a reproach to him. William Smith, whose history is regarded as "a dull, heavy, and circumstantial affair," says: "He was a man of integrity, moderation, and genteel manners, and though a professed Papist, may be classed among the best of our Governors." From then until now historians have added their disapproval of his religion, and even Justin Winsor permits the statement that "though a Roman Catholic, an Irishman, and a soldier, he proved himself an excellent and prudent magistrate"; also, "although an Irishman and Roman Catholic [Dongan] was aggressive in the interests of England."[1]

P. Gr. x. de Charlevoix

That Dongan was faithful to his early religious training and truly pious is shown by his attempt to establish a settlement of Catholic Indians at "Serachtogue" (Saratoga), and also to found a colony of Irish Catholics in the interior of New-York, but both of these projects failed on account of the religious animosity against him, which perhaps was most strongly shown in the hope expressed at the time of his downfall, "that Papists would not henceforth come so freely to settle in the colony."

During the greater part of his administration there were resident in New-York three Jesuit fathers. These undoubtedly were destined by him to replace similar French missionaries among the Iroquois Indians. Indeed he distinctly writes to the Indians, "Therefore I desire the Brethren not to receive him or any French Priests any more, haveing sent for English Priests, whom you can be supplied with, all to content." In a letter to Denonville, written on December 1, 1686, he says: "I have written the King, my Master, who hath as much zeal as any prince liveing to propagate the Christian faith, and assure him how necessary it is to send hither some fathers to preach the Gospell to the nations allyed to us, and care would then be taken to dissuade them from their drunken debauches, though certainly our Rum doth as little hurt as your Brandy, and in the opinion of Christians is much more wholesome; however, to keep the Indians temperate and sober is a very good and Christian performance, but to prohibit them all strong liquors seems a little hard and a little turkish." His advice to that effect, sent to his royal patron, was not heeded, and

[1] "Narrative and Critical History of America," 3: 404.

Brodhead adds: "The English disciples of Loyola do not seem to have had the manly spirit of adventure among the savages which distinguished their order in France."[1]

It was doubtless one of these English priests who took charge of "a Latin School opened [on October 14, 1684] under the management of a learned scholar, a Jesuit." The school was not a success. Jacob Leisler in 1689 wrote to Andros, "I have formerly urged to inform your Hon. that Coll. Dongan in his time did erecte a Jesuite College," to which "Judge West, Mr. Graham, Judge Palmer, and John Tudor did contribute their sones for some time, but no boddy imitating them, the collidge vanished." The Earl of Bellomont on April 13, 1699, writes: "In Colonel Dongan's time he to make his court to King James desired this Farm might be appropriated to the maintenance of a Jesuit school, but King James (bigot though he was) refused, saying he would not have his Governors deprived of their conveniences." This "King's Farm" in 1705 became the property of Trinity Church.

Early in 1684 the people of Esopus, in Ulster county, petitioned the Governor for the right to choose their own town officers, but this action was held to be "riot" according to English law, and they were bound over to keep the peace. They were fined, but, on acknowledging that they had been ill-advised, were released. The magistrates of Southold were ordered to show cause before the Governor for having fined a resident of Easthampton "only for bringing home an ox of his on the Sunday." The residence of Bernardus Arensius, the Lutheran minister, having been assessed by the Corporation as that of a private person, the Governor and Council declared in their opinion it should be as free and exempted from taxes as those of the Dutch and French ministers.

On October 13, 1684, new aldermen and common-councilmen were chosen for the six wards of the city, in accordance with the form and method agreed to by the Governor in the previous autumn, and on October 14th he appointed Gabriel Minvielle, whose name he selected from among the seven submitted to him, to be Mayor of the city.

Later in the same month the second meeting of the New-York Assembly was held. Matthias Nicolls was continued as Speaker, but Robert Hammond was chosen to succeed John Spragg as Clerk. Thirty-one laws were passed by the Assembly and sanctioned by the Governor. Among these was an act to confirm previous judgments and to abolish the General Court of Assizes, which was then replaced by the Court of Oyer and Terminer. In accordance with a suggestion from the duke's commissioners, the Revenue Bill was amended. An act was passed for the encouragement of trade and

[1] Charlevoix, the French historian of Canada, represents Governor Dongan's strong opposition to the introduction of the Jesuits among the Iroquois.—EDITOR.

navigation within the province, levying a tax of ten per cent. upon all goods imported into New-York from any other colony where such goods were not produced.

The people of Long Island were a source of continual annoyance to the Governor; indeed, he informed them that they would "neither be easy themselves, nor suffer others to be so." Their special propensity seemed to be the smuggling and carrying on of illicit trade with Boston. "The inhabitants of Easthampton having refused to sell their oil and commodities unless Boston money was given for it, or pieces of eight equivalent to them, and several abuses committed to the prejudice of His Majesty's Customs revenue being informed of," Governor Dongan "ordered that a Proclamation be sent prohibiting all vessels to come and trade at any port but that of New-York."

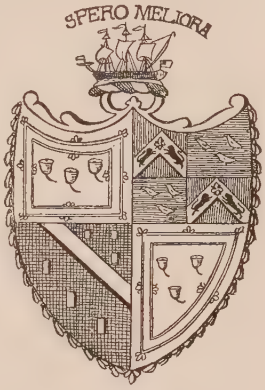
In February, 1685, the Corporation of the City of New-York voted that the Governor be invited to confirm to it all the vacant land in and about the city as far as low-water mark, and all the other franchises which it claimed. In March, the Governor and his Council ordered the Mayor "not to give freedom to any but such as are qualified, and will give security to give 'scott and lott' for three years." This was in accordance with the ancient Dutch practice which held that all traders must keep "fire and light" at home, thus making the hearthstone the only test of citizenship. It is also interesting to note that, in compliance with an order from the Governor, the Corporation on March 2, 1685, "proposed that for the better correspondence between the Colonies of America, a post-office be established, and that the rates for riding post be per mile three pence for every single letter not above one hundred miles; if more, proportionably."

Mention has already been made of the various disputes as to the boundaries of the different colonies. The country between the Hudson and Connecticut Rivers had been granted to the Duke of York in 1674, but this act was disregarded by Massachusetts, who claimed that her territory extended westward beyond the Hudson River. Anticipating a dispute about this matter, Dongan in February, 1685, directed John West to claim Westfield, Northampton, Deerfield, and other towns which had been founded by Massachusetts, but the forfeiture of the charter of the latter colony in June put an end to the dispute and confirmed to the Duke of York all the territorial rights west of the Connecticut River, as claimed by him.

Early in February Charles II. died, and the Duke of York succeeded him as James II. This brought about a peculiar condition of affairs. New-York became a dependency of the crown and no longer a proprietary government. Shortly after the accession of James to the throne, he ordered the records belonging to the province to be sent to the Plantation Office. These included the various acts passed by

the New-York Assembly, and the Charter of Franchises and Privileges, which, though ordered to be delivered, had been kept back and was not yet perfected.

Failing to confirm the charter, the king wrote on March 3d to Dongan, concerning the government of the colony: "And as we have been pleased by our Royal Proclamation to direct that all men being in office of government shall so continue therein until further order, so we do hereby charge and require you to pursue such powers and instructions as we have formerly given you, and such further powers, authority, and instructions as you shall at any time hereafter receive under our royal signet and sign manual, or by our order in our Privy Council. And that you likewise give our said loving subjects to understand that, having committed to our said Privy Council the care of our said Province, with the consideration of several Bills and Addresses lately presented unto us from our Assembly there, they may shortly expect such a generous and suitable return, by the settlement of fitting privileges and confirmation of their rights, as shall be found most expedient for our service and the welfare of our said Province."



THE LIVINGSTON ARMS

This letter and further orders from the Privy Council were brought to America by Captain Jervis Baxter, who reached New-York towards the end of April. In accordance with his instructions, Governor Dongan issued the following preamble and proclamation:

Haveing Received the news from his Majesties Councill of England that it hath Pleased Almighty God to Take to his Mercy out of this Troublesome Life our Late Sovereign Lord King Charles of most Blessed Memory, and that thereupon his Late Majesties only Brother and King James the Second hath been there Proclaimed his most Sacred Majesty with the Solemnities Requisite on the Like Occasions, These are therefore to Require you to haue all the fort Militia of this City and County at nine of the Clock next thursday after the Date hereof, Compleate in Armes, Accoutrements and with sufficient Bandoleers of Powder, and to draw them up before the gate of fort James in this City hereof, you are not to faile, dated at fort James this 21 day of Appril, 1685.

The proclamation read:

For His Majesties Colony of New-York in America:

Whereas, It hath pleased Almighty God to Call to his mercy our Late Sovereign Lord King Charles the Second of most Blessed Memory, by whose Decease the Imperiall Crown of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, as also the Supream Dominion and Sovereign Right of the Plantation and Colony of New-York, and all other his Late Majesties Territoryes and Dominions in America, are Solely and Rightfully come to the High and Mighty Prince James, Duke of York and Albany, his Majesties onely

Brother and heir, we therefore his Majesties Governour and Councill, with the Principall Officers and Inhabitants of the Plantations and Colony aforesaid, Do now hereby with one full voice and Consent of Tongues and heart Publish and Proclaim that the High and Mighty Prince James the Second is now by the Decease of our Late Sovereign of happy Memory become our onely Lawfull, Lineall, and Rightfull Liege Lord James the Second, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Supream Lord of the Plantations and Colony of New-York, and all others his Late Majesties Territories and Dominions in America, etc., To whom wee do acknowledge all faith and Constant Obedience with all hearty and humble Affection, Beseeching God by whom Kings Do Reign to Bless the Royall King James the Second with Long and Happy Yeares to Reign over us.

God Save the King, James the Second.

Printed in London by Assigns of John Bill, dec'd, and by Henry Hills and Thomas Newcomb.

Early in May the Corporation prepared an address to the new king, congratulating him on his accession, and wishing him "a long, peaceable, and prosperous reign." At the same time they desired his Majesty "to enlarge this government Eastward, and confirm and grant to this his Citty such privileges and immunities as may again make it flourish, and increase his Majesty's revenue."

Reference has already been made to the religious freedom existing in this colony. An interesting question concerning the rights of Jews was brought forward for consideration in September, 1685. Saul Browne made complaint to Dongan that his trade was being interfered with, apparently claiming protection under the law (see p. 420) passed on March 23d of that year by the Corporation. The Governor referred the petition to that body, who replied "that no Jew ought to sell by retail within the city, but may by wholesale, if the Governor think fit to permit the same." At about the same time the Jews petitioned the Governor "for liberty to exercise their religion." This was likewise referred by him to the Corporation, who replied "that no public worship is tolerated, by act of Assembly, but to those that profess faith in Christ; and therefore the Jews' worship not to be allowed." Subsequently it appears that this Saul Browne became Reader in the Jews' Synagogue in New-York, and therefore no arbitrary action followed this expression of opinion.

Considerable doubt prevailed in the autumn as to the propriety of calling a meeting of the Assembly ordered to meet in September. Finally it was decided to dissolve the old Assembly and call a new one. Writs were accordingly issued by Dongan for the election of new representatives to meet in New-York on October 20th. At the appointed time the new body assembled and chose William Pinhorne to be Speaker and William Hammond to be Clerk. It continued in session until November 3d, and passed six laws. At its close the Assembly adjourned to meet in September of the following year, but when that time came, other changes had occurred, so that it never met again.

In accordance with an old Dutch custom, the Governor proclaimed November 20th to be a day of thanksgiving in honor of the successful subduing of the invasion of Scotland by the Earl of Argyll and that of England by the Duke of Monmouth.

The acquisition of wealth at the expense of the government seems to have prevailed in New-York at even this early date. Lucas Santen, who had been appointed Collector of the port in April, 1683, made charges against the Governor of taking perquisites and of sharing in the booty of privateers, many of whom came to New-York in order to dispose of their plunder. These charges Dongan denied, and wrote: "I have been so put to it to make things doe, that what small perquisites I have got I have disbursed; and I have pledged my credit and pawned my plate for money to carry on the King's affairs"; also, "Concerning my covetousness, as he is pleased to term it (if Mr. Santen speaks true in saying I have been covetous), it was in the management of the small revenue to the best advantage, and had Mr. Santen been as just as I have been careful, the King had not been in debt and I had more in my pocket than I now have." Santen, however, was unwilling to give any satisfactory explanation of his affairs, and was ordered to produce his books of revenue before the council. Finally he was suspended for peculation, arrested, and sent to England, where his commission was revoked.

James Graham was appointed to succeed Thomas Rudyard as Attorney-General on December 10, 1685, and Isaac Swinton was made Clerk of Chancery. Nicholas Bayard had become Mayor and was also appointed a royal councilor. An important act towards the close of the year was the formation, on December 14th, of a Court of Exchequer to determine all royal revenue cases. It was composed of the Governor and Council, and met in the City of New-York on the first Monday of each month. This court was found necessary, as in the other tribunals there was a "great hazard of venturing the matter on Country Jurors; who, over and above that they are generally ignorant enough, and for the most part linked together by affinity, are too much swayed by their particular humors and interests."

Throughout his career Dongan showed himself an able diplomat. The boundary disputes between New-York and the adjoining colonies he settled with credit to himself and advantage to his patron. His firm stand against the advances made by the French on the northern border have already been alluded to. His policy with the Indians was a masterly one. Prior to his arrival in New-York much of the trade with the natives had found its outlet through Canada, but recognizing the value of the fur trade he gave permission during the summer of 1685 to a number of traders to visit the western Indians,

who lived beyond the Senecas, and to collect beaver-skins. They were well received by the Indians, whom they found more inclined to trade with them than with the French. In one of his reports to Europe he described the means by which he intended to secure the beaver and other Indian trade for the province. As evidence of his success it appears that the Seneca Indians alone carried more than ten thousand beaver-skins to Albany instead of sending them to Canada as they had agreed to do in their treaty with De la Barré at the Salmon River the year previous. Dongan's success with the Indians gave distinct umbrage to the French, and early in the year De la Barré was superseded by the Marquis de Denonville. Dongan's desires to Christianize the Indians have already been referred to, and his efforts have been closely studied by representatives of his church in recent times, one of whom has written: "By his masterly policy Dongan controlled the Five Nations, broke up the French influence, and used the confederacy as the great bulwark of New-York, making it, with English support, a terror to Canada and the Western tribes."[1]

The western boundary of New-York had not been defined in the instructions given to Dongan by the Duke of York, but the far-sighted policy of the Governor is abundantly shown in the following communication sent to the Lords of the Board of Trade in 1687. He says: "I send a Map by Mr. Spragg whereby your Lords may see the several governments, etc., how they lye; . . . alsoe it points where theres a great River, discovered by one Lassal, a Frenchman from Canada, who thereupon went into France, and as its reported brought two or three vessels with people to settle there, which (if true) will prove not only very inconvenient to us but to the Spanish alsoe (the river running all along from our Lakes by the Back of Virginia and Carolina into the Bay of Mexico), and its beleeved Nova Mexico cannot be far from the mountains adjoyning to it, that place being 36 d North Latitude, if your Lords thought fit I could send a Sloop or two from this place to discover that River." In other words, Dongan distinctly sought permission to send an expedition up the Mississippi River in order to take possession for the English of the great valley through which that stream courses, but his superiors failed to appreciate the value of such a possession at that time, and apparently agreed with the French king, who found La Salle's exploration "very useless and [that] such enterprises must be prevented hereafter."

For some time the Corporation of New-York had been desirous of obtaining a new charter from the king which should confirm their old privileges and grant to them all the vacant land in and about the city. By the aid of Nicholas Bayard, who was then Mayor and also one of the Council, and James Graham, who was Recorder and also

[1] "The Great Colonial Governor," by Rev. P. F. Dealy, Mag. Am. Hist., 8: 108. February, 1882.

Attorney-General of the province, a draft of the desired charter was submitted to the municipal authorities. The engrossed charter was then read and allowed in Council, and on April 27[1] duly signed by the Governor, who caused it to be sealed with the old provincial seal which the Duke of York sent out in 1669.

The charter declares New-York to be "an ancient city; and that the citizens of said city have, anciently, been a body politic and corporate; and have had various rights, grants, and immunities under several governors, and under the Nether Dutch Nation; and have received the same, either under the name of Schout, Burgomasters, and Schepens, or in their name as Mayor, Alderman, and Commonalty." Moreover, the charter confirmed to the city all prior grants, liberties, and franchises; also specially the right of the municipality to its City Hall, two market-houses, the bridge into the dock, the wharves or dock, the new burial-place out of the city gate, and the ferry from the city to Long Island. It contains a grant of all the streets and highways for the public use, and a right to lay out others. Prior grants to inhabitants are confirmed. An important item is the grant made to the city of "all the waste, vacant, and unappropriated lands on Manhattan Island, extending to low-water mark, and all waters, creeks, etc., not theretofore granted." Hunting and mining privileges were conferred, for which one beaver-skin was to be rendered annually. Jurisdiction was given over all the Island of Manhattan and its waters to low-water mark.

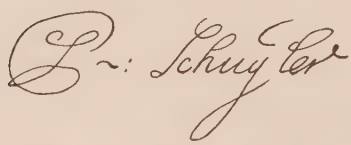
The city officers were to include a mayor, recorder, town clerk, six aldermen and six assistants, a chamberlain, a sheriff, and some minor officers. The aldermen and assistants were to be elected by the people annually, one from each ward. The mayor, sheriff, and town clerk were to be appointed by the Governor, and the city was made a body corporate and politic under the name of "the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the City of New-York," and was to have perpetual succession, with power to get, receive, and hold lands, rents, liberties, franchises, and chattels, and to transfer the same. The charter also gave to the mayor, recorder, and aldermen the right to hold a court of common pleas for cases of debt and other personal actions. Out of the grants made there was excepted Fort James, a piece of ground by

1 It bears the date of April 22, 1686, and is to be seen in the City Hall carefully preserved in a tin box, which also contains the Montgomerie charter. The parchment is as complete and the writing as legible as when written; and with it, but now detached by time, is the seal of the province, having on it the lion, the Irish harp, the thistles, and the fleurs-de-lys; with these is the legend of the Order of the Garter and *Sigillum Novi Eboraci*. To the document is appended in a bold hand the signature of "Thomas Dongan." On the back of the charter are several receipts for beaver-skins as quit-rent, one of which is dated as late as 1773. On the signing of the charter the Corporation voted the sum of £300 to Governor Dongan, and £24 to John Spragg, as their official fees. The fac-simile, on another page, of the first and last pages of the Dongan charter is, so far as known, the first that has ever appeared of this ancient and most interesting document.

EDITOR.

the gate called the Governor's Garden, "and the land without the gate called the King's Farm, with the swamp next to the same land, by the Fresh Water."

Concerning the localities mentioned in the charter, the dock, which was the only landing-place of importance in the city, extended along the East River from the present Broad street to Whitehall street; the ferry was the one that ran from the foot of the present Peck Slip to "Breuckelen." The new burial-place was located where Trinity Churchyard now is, and the Governor's Garden adjoined it, extending from Broadway to low-water mark. The King's Farm extended at that time from Fulton to Chambers street, and subsequently formed much of the land given to Columbia College by Trinity Church. This charter has since continued to be the basis of the municipal laws, rights, privileges, public property, and franchises of the city. It was worded with care, and shows that those who framed it were "possessed of a broad and enlightened sense of the sanctity of corporate and private rights." Following the example of New-York, Albany, on July 22, 1686, was incorporated as a city, with large franchises, including the management of the Indian trade. Peter Schuyler, the most conspicuous of the early representatives of that family, became its first Mayor. Dongan was promised £300 for this charter.



The relations with the French continued to be disturbed, owing to the persistence with which they still interfered with the Iroquois Indians. A meeting of representatives of the Five Nations and Dongan took place in Albany on April 15, 1686. The French had determined to erect a strong post at Niagara, and Dongan warned the Indians of Denonville's intention of attacking them, and, promising his friendship, advised retaliation. Some correspondence between the two Governors ensued, in which Dongan promised to do all that he could "to prevent the Iroquois harming the French missionaries, and also to surrender all refugees from Canada." Another conference was held at Fort James on August 30th, at which the Indians were told

not to meet the French, and assured by Dongan that if they were attacked by the French to "let me know; I will come; it will be with me he shall have to settle." During the summer months trading parties again visited the western Indians with Dongan's permission, and were successful in gaining much valuable material. Denonville, irritated at Dongan's success, and unable to cope with his policy, wrote to France towards the close of the year asking for specific orders, saying, "for I am disposed to go straight to Orange, storm their fort, and burn the whole concern." Meanwhile important changes in the government of the colonies had occurred. Those in the east had been consolidated into the "Territory and Dominion of New England in America," over which Sir Edmund Andros had been commissioned "Captain-General and Governor-in-chief."

A new commission similar to that issued to Andros was sent to Dongan, and he became on June 10, 1686, the king's Captain-General and Governor-in-chief over his "Province of New-York and the territories depending thereon in North America." Dongan was empowered to appoint judges, pardon offenders, collate any person or persons in any churches which might be vacant, levy and command the military force of the province, execute martial law, build forts, act as Vice-Admiral, grant lands, appoint fairs, and regulate ports, harbors, and custom-houses; and he was required "to take all possible care for the discountenance of vice and encouragement of virtue and good living, that by such example the infidels may be invited and desire to partake of the Christian Religion."

In the instructions sent him, and which bore the date of May 29, 1686, he was informed: "You are to declare our will and pleasure that the said Bill or Charter of Franchises be forthwith repealed and disallowed, as the same is hereby repealed, determined, and made void: —But you are, nevertheless, with our said Council to continue the duties and impositions as shall be sufficient for the support of our Government of New-York. And our further will and pleasure is that all other laws, statutes, and ordinances already made within our said Province of New-York shall continue and be in full force and vigor, so far forth as they doe not in any wise contradict, impeach or derogate from the Commission or the orders and instructions herewith given you, till you shall, with the advice of our Council, pass other laws in our name for the good Government of our said Province, which you are to doe with all convenient speed." Moreover, any innovation of the trade of the river of New-York by East Jerseymen or others was prohibited, and all goods passing up the Hudson River were required to pay duties at New-York.

Other important instructions were to encourage the Indians, upon all occasions, that they may apply themselves to English trade and

nation, rather than to any others of Europe. "But you are alsoe to act soe prudently, in respect to your European neighbors, as to give them noe just cause for complaint against you." Inhuman severities which bad masters might use against their Christian servants or slaves were to be restrained by law, and the wilful killing of Indians and negroes made punishable by death. In this connection it is interesting to note that during the year previous James had announced to his Privy Council his resolution "that the negroes in the Plantations should all be baptized; exceedingly declaiming against that impiety of their masters prohibiting it, out of a mistaken opinion that they would be, *ipso facto*, free." Chancellor Kent[1] says: "It ought, however, to be noted in honor of the laws promulgated under the early administration of the Colony [New-York] by the Duke of York, and known as the Duke's Laws, and which continued in force from 1665 to 1683, that it was forbidden to a Christian to keep a slave, except persons adjudged thereto by authority or such as have willingly sold or shall sell themselves." And this too at a time when, according to Brodhead,[2] "The New England Puritans ruthlessly enslaved both the long-haired native red American and the curly-haired imported black African. But New-York was more just towards the superior aboriginal races who occupied North America ages before Europeans usurped their lands."

Another important item in the instructions was this: "And for as much as great inconvenience may arise by the liberty of printing within our Province of New-York, you are to provide by all necessary orders, that no person keep any press for printing, nor that any book, pamphlet, or other matters whatsoever, bee printed without your special leave and license first obtained."

The new commission and instructions duly reached Dongan on September 14, 1686, when he at once took oath "to execute the office and trust of His Majesty's Captain-General and Governor-in-chief in and over the Province of New-York, and the territories depending thereon." The new counselors were sworn excepting Santen, who was deemed "wholly unfit for business." In October a commission was given to the Rev. Alexander Tunis to succeed the Rev. Josiah Clarke as the chaplain of the king's garrison at Fort James.

Early in December the Governor and his Council took up for consideration the instructions from the king vesting all legislative power in their hands, and, after due deliberation, on December 9, 1686, they ordered "that all the branches of the revenue, and all other laws which have been made since the year 1683, except such as His Majesty has repealed, remaine and continue as they are now till further consideration." A few days later it was directed that "every Monday be

[1] "Commentaries," 2: 281. [2] "New York," 2: 486.

council day for the consideration of the King's affairs, and every Thursday for the hearing of public business." The population of New-York had greatly increased, and was now estimated to be about eighteen thousand. In accordance with the powers delegated to the Governor and his Council, a proclamation was issued on January 20th, declaring that the General Assembly of the Province of New-York was dissolved. This act, which deprived the people of any further representation in the passing of laws or in taxing themselves, has been characterized by Brodhead as "the forerunner of revolution"; and in truth the people, no longer governing themselves, did in the course of a few years revolt, as will hereafter appear. Soon the Council was obliged to make laws, and the first, bearing date of February 24, 1687, was one reënacting the former revenue law passed by the Assembly in October, 1683. Other laws of more or less importance were enacted during the following summer and autumn, but none of them had any special bearing on the city.

THE SCHUYLER ARMS.

Reference has been made to the request of the Jews for permission "to exercise their religion," and on February 24, 1687, the Quakers of New-York presented an address to the Governor complaining of the seizure of their goods in accordance with the militia law which directed that all persons who refused to train were liable to have their goods seized if they did not pay their fines. The Quakers claimed that any such seizure was an infringement upon the liberty accorded by the Charter of Liberty to all peaceable persons professing faith in Christ. The Council, however, decided otherwise, and unanimously gave it as their opinion "that no man can be exempted from that obligation, and that such as make failure therein, let their pretents be what they will, must submit to undergoing such penalties as by the said act is provided."

The difficulty with East Jersey continued, and in February Dongan wrote to the Plantations Committee that, the inhabitants there "paying noe Custom and having likewise the advantage of having better land and most of the Settlers there out of this Government, Wee are like to be deserted by a great many of our Merchants whoe intend to settle there if not annexed to this Government." He complains of the smuggling and of the trade with the Indians, who find a better market in Jersey, because the people there pay "noe Custom nor Excise inwards or outwards"; also how "very often shipps bound

to this place break bulk there and run their goods into that Colony with intent afterwards to import the same privately and at more leisure into this Province notwithstanding their Oath, they salving themselves with this evasion that that place is not in this Government." To prevent all further inconveniences, he asks for an order "to make up a small Fort with twelve guns upon Sandys Hook, the Channell there being soe near the shore that noe vessel can goe in nor out but she must come soe near the Point that from on board one might toss a biseuit cake on shore." He discusses the desirability of annexation at some length, and then abruptly closes with, "To bee short, there is an absolute necessity those Provinces and that of Connecticut be annexed."

It was about this time that Lucas Santen was sent as a prisoner to England, and in the same ship John Spragg and Jervis Baxter conveyed important despatches to the home government. In place of Santen, Dongan begged the king to allow him to name a Collector from among those who lived in New-York, for those who came from England expect "to run suddenly into a great estate, which this small place cannot afford them."

The Governor's report, which was sent to the Plantations Committee at their request, was conveyed by the two messengers just mentioned, and the document itself has been referred to as "a masterly production."[1] Brodhead calls it "one of the most careful as well as most honest pictures of his provincial government which an American subordinate ever sent home to his English Sovereign."

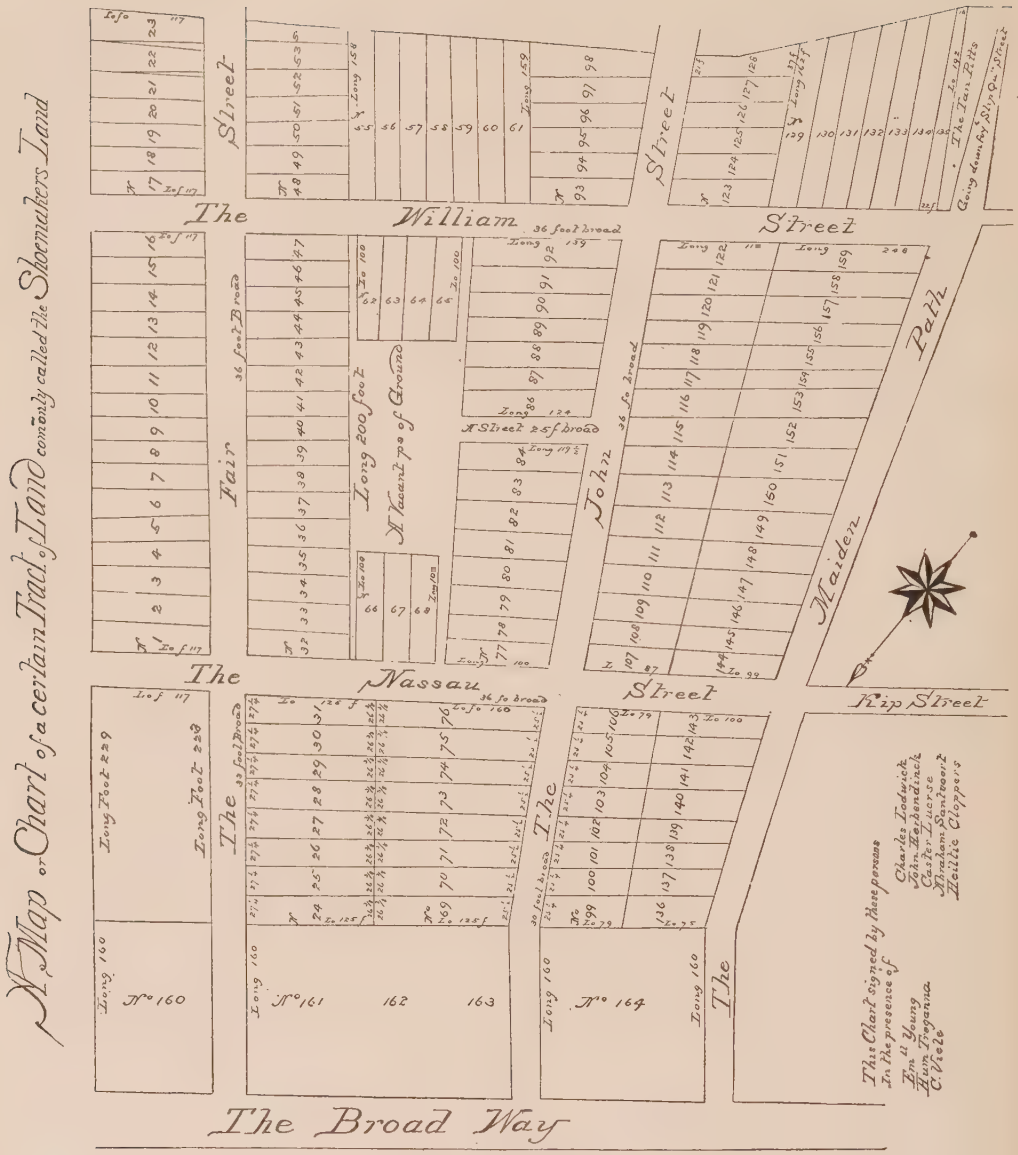
It gave full descriptions of the judiciary of New-York and of its workings, and of the military resources of the colony, the conditions of the fortifications in New-York, Albany, and Pemaquid. The annexation of Pemaquid to Massachusetts and of Connecticut to New York was advocated. Concerning immigration he wrote: "I believe for these seven years last past there has not come over into this Province twenty English, Scotch, or Irish families. But on the contrary on Long Island the people increased soe fast that they complain for want of land, and many remove from thence into the neighbouring province. But of French, there have, since my coming here, severall families come both from St. Christophers and England, and a great many more are expected; as alsoe from Holland are come several Dutch families, which is another great argument of the necessity of adding to this government the neighbouring English Colonies, that a more equal ballance may bee kept here between his Majesty's naturall born subjects and Foreigners, which latter are the most prevailing part of this government." Reference is made to the religious beliefs of the Colonists (see page 403), and he adds: "Every town and county are obliged to maintain their own poor, which makes them bee soe

[1] Rev. P. F. Dealy, Mag. Am. Hist., 8: 109. February, 1882.

careful that noe vagabonds, beggars, nor idle persons are suffered to live here. But as for the King's natural-born subjects that live on Long Island and other parts of Government, I find it a hard task to make them pay their ministers." The relations with the Indians were described, and his own policy discussed at some length with important recommendations.

Meanwhile, on December 19, 1686, Sir Edmund Andros, Governor of New England, had arrived in Boston, and the possession of Connecticut soon became a question of dispute between himself and Dongan. On the one hand, Connecticut was asked to surrender her charter and become part of New England, while on the other, Dongan, feeling that the giving up of Pemaquid to New England entitled him to some compensation, strongly urged that Connecticut be annexed to New-York. Finally, on October 31, 1687, Andros "took into his hands the government of this Colony of Connecticut, it being by his Majesty annexed to the Massachusetts and other Colonys under His Excellency's Government."

On the northern frontier the French persisted in their efforts to obtain control of the traffic with the Indians and to compel their submission to the Governor of Canada, but Dongan maintained a strong stand against their encroachments, even after the passing of the treaty of neutrality between France and England, by which it was agreed that firm peace and neutrality should exist between the English and French subjects in America. A copy of this treaty was received by Dongan early in June. Denonville was not slow to act on the advantage promised by this agreement between the two kings, and very promptly seized fifty Indians who had come to Catarocony to confer with the Governor of Canada, and sent them to France to serve in the galleys there. Many trading parties from Albany were seized and the territory of the Senecas occupied by the French, who had defeated the Indians in several battles. In August a conference was held in Albany between the Indians and Dongan, and the latter then felt justified in supplying the red men with arms and ammunition, although he declined to assist them with soldiers. Matters failed to improve, and Dongan then decided to spend the winter in Albany.



THE DONGAN MAP.[1]

Before leaving New-York he appointed Stephanus Van Cortlandt to be Mayor of the city, and James Graham was admitted to the Council. On October 25, 1687, it was ordered in Council that "Major Brockholls sign all warrants, papers, and licenses, usually signed by his Excellency, and that all public business be managed by him and the Council as if his Excellency was present." He reached Albany early in No-

[1] This hitherto unpublished map is a fac-simile of one made by order of Colonel Dongan. The original is dated Sept. 14, 1699, and acknowledged Jan. 20, 1700. The map was recorded Jan. 2, 1715.
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vember, and there found the inhabitants of that place in considerable alarm owing to the fact that the destruction of that place and Schenectady was threatened by the French, who further announced their intention of sending the inhabitants of these places to Spain, Portugal, and the West Indies.

Meanwhile, in September, John Palmer had been sent to England with full instructions from Dongan to lay before the king the condition of affairs in New-York and the conduct of the French in Canada. He reached London at about the same time that Dongan arrived at Albany. It was soon made apparent that a treaty of neutrality in America was not for the interest of England. The claim put forward originally by Andros, and adhered to by Dongan, that the Five Nations were British subjects, was now accepted by James, who, on November 10, 1687, instructed Dongan to defend and protect the Iroquois Indians from the Canadians; to build necessary forts; to employ the militia of New-York, and to call on all the neighboring English colonies for assistance. The French king, however, complained to James of the behavior of Dongan, and, to appease the French monarch, an agreement was signed to the effect that until the first day of January, 1689, and afterwards, no English or French commander in America should commit any act of hostility against the territories of either sovereign.

Governor Dongan remained in Albany until March 28, 1688, when he returned to the metropolis. Earlier in March he had sent Jervis Baxter with a message to the Council requiring them to consider ways and means to meet the extraordinary expenses caused by the trouble with the French. These it appears amounted to upwards of £8000, and the Council decided that, as New-York "alone is no way able to bear so great a burthen," it be recommended that the neighboring colonies be called upon to bear part of the expenses.

In an address to the king written on March 28th, Dongan said "that the French war has stop't the beaver trade; so that, without some speedy help, this place will be ruined." He also wrote to the governments of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and New Jersey to aid that of New-York with money; as New England, "being to help us with six hundred men, any other assistance cannot be proposed from them." Dongan himself had pledged his personal credit and even mortgaged his farm on Staten Island to secure £2000, which he had borrowed from Robert Livingston to meet the expenses of the Albany expedition. The colonies appealed to failed to respond, but Lord Effingham of Virginia, who knew personally of Dongan's ability in managing the Indians, sent him £500. In May the province found itself so in debt that the Council passed an act to raise £2555 in the several counties at a fixed rate; the same to be paid at the custom-house in New-York before November, 1688.

Meanwhile James II. was busy studying over his policy of consolidation. The recommendations of Dongan, which had great influence with the king, all indicated that a stronger government would ensue if the colonies were combined under one management. He therefore decided to annex New-York and New Jersey to the other colonies, and form the Dominion of New England. Acting on this decision, he appointed Sir Edmund Andros on March 23, 1688, to be Governor-General of the whole "Territory and Dominion of New England in America," which included all of British North America between Delaware Bay and Passamaquoddy, and stretching across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, "our Province of Pennsylvania and Country of Delaware only excepted."

Early in April the ministers, elders, and deacons of the ancient metropolitan church petitioned Dongan that, as they wished to build their new church outside the fort, he would establish them "as a body corporate and ecclesiastic, and thereby qualified persons, capable in law to have, hold, and enjoy lands and tenements, etc., under the name and style of the Minister or Ministers, Elders, and Deacons of the Dutch Reformed Church in America."

In May, 1688, news came from Albany that the French were again troublesome, and it was deemed necessary by the Council that Dongan should go there at once and that soldiers be sent up the river to watch the enemy. He named Stephanus Van Cortlandt, Frederick Philipse, and Nicholas Bayard as proper persons to manage provincial affairs during his absence, and gave them full instructions how to act as his temporary representatives. He returned in July, and then found the king's letter of April 22d awaiting him, which informed him of Andros's appointment, also advising him that on the arrival of the new Governor in New-York the seal and records of that province must be delivered to him. This communication was read in Council and ordered to be recorded amongst the records of the province of New York. Dongan, however, continued in the active administration of affairs for some weeks longer, and among the last acts of his Council is one passed on July 30th "for the care of this his Majesty's Province, which it is his Majesty's pleasure should be annexed to his Government of New England, Ordered that all further proceedings towards the levying the late tax and imposition of £2555, to be paid by the first day of November next, do cease, and it is hereby suspended till further order." The last law passed by him, on August 2d, was one "to prohibit shoemakers from using the mystery of tanning hides." Andros in the mean time had set out for New-York, and on August 11, 1688, reached the city, where he was received by Colonel Nicholas Bayard's regiment of foot and a troop of horse.

Thus the administration of Thomas Dongan came to an end. It

has been well said that "his firm and judicious policy, his steadfast integrity, and his pleasing and courteous address soon won the affections of the people and made him one of the most popular of the Royal governors."[1] Even Thomas Hinckley, who was Governor of Plymouth, said of him that "he was of a noble, praiseworthy mind and spirit, taking care that all the people in each town do their duty in maintaining the minister of the place, though himself of a different opinion from their way."

DONGAN'S HOUSE ON STATEN ISLAND.

The subsequent career of Dongan is not without interest, and is somewhat connected with the later history of New-York. The king offered him the command of a regiment with the rank of major-general, but these evidences of royal satisfaction were declined, and the late Governor determined to remain in the vicinity of New-York. He owned considerable property within what are now the city limits of New-York, and a farm in Hempstead, Long Island, to which he retired when Andros left the city. Also, in 1687, he had purchased a manor-house and some twenty-five thousand acres of ground on Staten Island, which he formed into "the lordship and manor of Cassiltowne." On this property was a grist-mill and a hunting-lodge, the latter of which is shown in the illustration as it was recently. It is also said that he owned land in Martha's Vineyard. His governorship had not been a source of profit to him, and he remained in New-York in order to care for his property.[2]

With the news of the flight of James to France there came troubled times to New-York. It was feared that the adherents of the late king would seize the colony, and it was said that Dongan was the instigator of a plot to burn the city. It was noised about that Staten Island was full of roaming Papists, and later, when Jacob Leisler assumed the control of the government, Dongan's residence on that island was searched for arms. The finding of four guns there was regarded as great evidence against him. Hunted from place to place, he finally took refuge on a brigantine belonging to him, and remained hidden there in the bay for a fortnight, seeking to sail for England; but the weather being unfavorable, he returned to the colony, and made his way to New London. There he was joined by Andros, who had escaped from prison,

[1] "History of the City of New-York," by Mary L. Booth, p. 207.

[2] Governor Dongan had a beautiful garden, to which he was greatly attached, fronting on Broadway, between Maiden Lane and Ann street. It covered several acres, and many of his leisure hours were spent there among his flowers.
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and it was said that he was engaged in a scheme to sell Martha's Vineyard. Subsequently he returned to Hempstead, Long Island, but early in 1690 writs were issued for the apprehension of various Papists, including Dongan. He then made his way to New Jersey, and finally reached Boston, where he remained (as far as is known) until some time in 1691, when he sailed for England.[1]

His brother, who had been made Earl of Limerick in 1685, followed James into exile and died in Saint Germains in 1698, but the estates in Ireland were confiscated and made over to the Earl of Athlone. The title passed to Thomas Dongan, who was then introduced to William at Kensington, "whose hand he kissed on the occasion of succeeding to the Earldom of Limerick."

Greatly reduced in circumstances, the late Governor made frequent applications to the government, asking that his family estates be restored to him. He also endeavored to secure the payment of long arrears of his pension as well as for the advances made by him to the government while in America. It was not, however, until 1702 that he was allowed £2500 in tallies, being part payment of advances made by him while Governor of New-York. In May of the same year, an act of Parliament was passed recognizing his succession to his brother's estates; but he was only to be permitted to redeem these on the payment of claims of purchasers from the Earl of Athlone. His property in America was at first left in the charge of agents for rental or sale, and ultimately passed into the hands of his nephews, Thomas, John, and Walter Dongan. In the deed making over the estate to his relatives he says that it is given to them "in order that they may preserve, advance, and uphold the name of Dongan." The farm at Hempstead was sold by Thomas Dongan to pay the Governor's debts. The estate on Staten Island seems to have been retained as a family residence, and passed to the heirs of Walter Dongan, as the other kinsmen died without issue. In 1704 Dongan made an appeal to Queen Anne, saying that if a third of what was due him were paid he would release the rest, and that it would be better, under the circumstances, to live in Turkey than in England; but no attention appears to have been paid to this request. Ten years later, in a petition to the Commissioners of the Treasury, he writes that, after paying his brother's debts and his own, he had little left for his support. He never married, and finally died in London, and his remains were interred in St.

1 "After he gave up his position Governor Dongan retired to his farm at Hempstead. When the anti-Catholic fever raged he was brought under suspicion. Because he constructed a brigantine for a visit to England, he was charged with getting up a force to maintain the authority of James against William and Mary, and in Leisler's time a warrant was issued for his arrest. He withdrew across the border until the craze passed away. In his administration he was tolerant to all creeds, not only because his instructions so enjoined, but because his own spirit was generous and liberal. Those were evil times which chose such a man for a victim, and heaped false charges upon him, and drove him, even temporarily, from his rural home, where he was illustrating the modest virtues of a private person."—"History of New-York," by Ellis H. Roberts, 1: 196.

Pancras Churchyard, Middlesex. On his tombstone appears the following inscription: .

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THOMAS DONGAN
EARL OF LYMERICK
DIED DECEMBER 14TH AGED EIGHTY-ONE YEARS, 1715,
REQUIESCAT IN PACE. AMEN.

"The highest eulogy," says Dealy, "that can be pronounced upon him is that it was he, beyond even and above his able predecessors, who by his magnanimous statesmanship, moderation of temperament, and unaffected respect for the rights and liberties of others prepared the way for all that is most admirable in the constitution and policy of our great Republic, which arose from out the ruins of a neglected and ill-governed colony to be glorious in the future with the brilliant records of conquest in the domains of peace, liberty, and religious freedom."

THE CHARTER OF THE CITY OF NEW-YORK, 1686.

THOMAS DONGAN, lieutenant-governor and vice-admiral of New-York, and its dependencies, under his majesty James (the second) by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, supreme lord and proprietor of the colony and province of New-York, and its dependencies in America, &c. To all to whom this shall come, *sendeth greeting: Whereas*, the city of New-York, is an ancient city within the said province, and the citizens of the said city have anciently been a body politic and corporate; and the citizens of the said city have held, used, and enjoyed, as well within the same, as elsewhere, in the said province, divers and sundry rights, liberties, privileges, franchises, free-customs, preëminences, advantages, jurisdictions, emoluments, and immunities, as well by prescription as by charter, letters patent, grants, and confirmations, not only of divers governors and commanders-in-chief, in the said province, but also of several governors, directors, generals, and commanders-in-chief, of the Nether Dutch nation, whilst the same was or has been under their power and subjection. *And whereas* divers lands, tenements, and hereditaments, jurisdictions, liberties, immunities, and privileges, have heretofore been given and granted, or mentioned to be given and granted, to the citizens and inhabitants of the said city, sometimes by the name of Schout, Burgomasters, and Schephens of the city of New Amsterdam; and sometimes by The name of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the city of New-York; sometimes by the name of The Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriff of the city of New-York; sometimes by the name of, The Mayor and Aldermen of the city of New-York; and by divers other names as by their several letters patents, charters, grants, writings, records, and minuments, amongst other things, may more fully appear. *And whereas* the citizens and inhabitants of the said city have erected, built, and appropriated, at their own proper costs and charges, several public buildings, accommodations, and conveniencies for the said city, *That is to say*, the City Hall, or Stat-House, with the ground thereunto belonging, two Market-Houses, the bridge into the dock, the wharves or docks, with their appurtenances; and the new burial place without the gate of the city; and have established and settled one ferry

from the said city of New-York to Long Island, for the accommodation and conveniency of passengers, the said citizens, and travellers.

And whereas several the inhabitants of the said city, and of Manhattan's Island, do hold from and under his most sacred majesty respectively, as well by several and respective letters patents, grants, charters, and conveyances, made and granted by the late lieutenants, governors, or commanders-in-chief, of the said province, as otherwise, several and respective messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, upon Manhattan's Island, and in the city of New-York, aforesaid, and as well as the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty, of the said city, and their successors, as also, the inhabitants of the said Manhattan's Island, and the city of New-York, aforesaid, and their heirs, and assigns respectively, may hold, exercise, and enjoy, not only such and the same liberties, privileges, and franchises, rights, royalties, free custom, jurisdictions, and immunities, as they have anciently had, used, held, and enjoyed; but also such public buildings, accommodations, conveniencies, messuages, tenements, lands, and hereditaments, in the said city of New-York, and upon Manhattan's Island aforesaid, which, as aforesaid, have been by the citizens and inhabitants erected and built, or which have, as aforesaid, been held, enjoyed, granted, and conveyed unto them, or any of them, respectively.

Know ye, therefore, That I, the said Thomas Dongan, by virtue of the commission and authority unto me given, and power in me residing, at the humble petition of the now Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the said city of New-York, and for divers other good causes and considerations, me thereunto moving, have given, granted, ratified, and confirmed, and by these presents, for and on the behalf of his most sacred majesty aforesaid, his heirs, successors, and assigns, do give, grant, ratify, and confirm unto the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the said city, all and every such and the same liberties, privileges, franchises, rights, royalties, free customs, jurisdictions, and immunities, which they by the name of The Mayor, and Commonalty, or otherwise, have anciently had, held, used, or enjoyed, *Provided always*, That none of the said liberties, privileges, franchises, rights, free customs, jurisdictions, or immunities be inconsistent with, or repugnant to, the laws of his majesty's kingdom of England, or any other the laws of the general Assembly of this province; and the aforesaid public buildings, accommodations, and conveniencies in the said city, *That is to say*, The aforesaid City-Hall, or Stat-House, with the ground thereunto belonging, two Market-houses, the bridge into the dock, the wharves or dock, the said new burial place, and the aforementioned ferry, with their and every of their rights, members and appurtenances, together with all the profits, benefits and advantages which shall or may accrue and arise at all times hereafter, for dockage or wharfage, within the said dock, with all and singular the rents, issues, profits, gains, and advantages which shall or may arise, grow, or accrue by the said City-Hall, or Stat-House, and ground thereunto belonging, market-houses, bridge, dock, burying place, ferry, and other the above mentioned premises, or any of them; and also, all and every the streets, lanes, highways and alleys within the said city of New-York, and Manhattan's Island aforesaid, for the public use and service of the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the said city, and of the inhabitants of Manhattan's Island aforesaid, and travellers there; together with full power, license and authority to the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty, and their successors for ever, to establish, appoint, order, and direct the establishing, making, laying out, ordering, amending, and repairing of all streets, lanes, alleys, highways, water-courses, ferry and bridges, in and throughout the said city of New-York and Manhattan's Island, aforesaid necessary, needful and convenient for the inhabitants of the said city, and Manhattan's Island aforesaid, and for all travellers and passengers there: *Provided always*, That this said license so as above granted, for the establishing, making, laying out of streets, lanes, alleys, highways, ferries and bridges, be not extended or be construed to extend, to the taking away of

any person or person's right or property, without his, her, or their consent, or by some known law of the said province. And for the considerations aforesaid, I do likewise give, grant, ratify, and confirm unto all and every the respective inhabitants of the said city of New-York and of Manhattan's Island aforesaid, and their several and respective heirs, and assigns, all and every the several and respective messuages, tenements, lands, and hereditaments, situate, lying and being in the said city, and Manhattan's Island aforesaid, to them severally and respectively granted, conveyed and confirmed, by any the late Governors, Lieutenants, or Commanders-in-Chief, of the said Province, or by any of the former Mayors and Aldermen of the said city of New-York, by deed, grant, conveyance, or otherwise howsoever; *To hold* to their several and respective heirs and assigns for ever.

And I do by these presents, give and grant unto the said Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of the said city of New-York, all the waste, vacant, unpatented and unappropriated lands, lying, and being within the said city of New-York, and on Manhattan's Island aforesaid, extending and reaching to the low water mark, in, by and through all parts of the said city of New-York, and Manhattan's Island aforesaid, together with all rivers, rivulets, coves, creeks, ponds, waters and water-courses, in the said city and island, or either of them, not heretofore given or granted, by any of the former Governors, Lieutenants, or Commanders-in-Chief, under their or some of their hands and seals, or seal of the Province, or by any of the former Mayors or Deputy Mayors and Aldermen of the said city of New-York, to some respective person or persons, late inhabitants of the said city of New-York, or Manhattan's Island, or of other parts of the said province.

And I do by these presents, give, grant, and confirm unto the said Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of the said city of New-York, and their successors for ever, the royalties of fishing, fowling, hunting, hawking, minerals and other royalties and privileges, belonging or appertaining to the city of New-York, and Manhattan's Island aforesaid (gold and silver mines only excepted) to have, hold and enjoy all and singular the premises, to the said Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of the said city of New-York, and their successors for ever, rendering and paying therefore unto his most sacred majesty, his heirs, successors or assigns, or to such officer or officers, as shall be appointed to receive the same, yearly for ever hereafter, the annual quit-rent or acknowledgment of one Beaver skin, or the value thereof in current money of this province, in the said city of New-York, on the five and twentieth day of March, yearly forever.

And, moreover, I will, and by these presents do grant, appoint, and declare, that the said city of New-York, and the compass, precincts and limits thereof, and the jurisdiction of the same, shall from henceforth extend and reach itself, and may and shall be able to reach forth and extend itself, as well in length and in breadth as in circuit, to the farthest extent of, and in, and throughout all the said Island Manhattan's, and in and upon all the rivers, rivulets, coves, creeks, waters and water-courses, belonging to the same island, as far as low water mark. And I do also, for and on the behalf of his most sacred majesty aforesaid, his heirs and successors, firmly enjoin and command, that the aforesaid Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of the city aforesaid, and their successors, shall and may freely and quietly have, hold, use, and enjoy, the aforesaid liberties, authorities, jurisdictions, franchises, rights, royalties, privileges, exemptions, lands, tenements, hereditaments, and premises aforesaid, in manner and form aforesaid, according to the tenor and effect of the aforesaid grants, patents, customs, and letters patents of grant and confirmation, without the let, hinderance, or impediment of me, or any of my successors, governors, lieutenants, or other officers whatsoever.

And also, I do, for and on the behalf of his most sacred majesty aforesaid, his heirs and successors, grant to the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of the said city of New-

York, and their successors, by these presents, that for the better government of the said city, liberties and precincts thereof, there shall be forever hereafter within the said city, a Mayor and Recorder, Town Clerk, and six Aldermen, and six Assistants, to be appointed, nominated, elected, chosen, and sworn, as hereinafter is particularly and respectively mentioned, who shall be forever hereafter called, *The Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty* of the city of New-York; and that there shall be forever, one Chamberlain, or Treasurer, one Sheriff, one Coroner, one Clerk of the Market, one High Constable, seven sub-constables, and one marshal or serjeant at mace, to be appointed, chosen, and sworn in manner hereinafter mentioned.

And I do, by these presents, for, and on the behalf of his most sacred majesty aforesaid, his heirs, successors, and assigns, declare, constitute, grant, and appoint, that the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Assistants, of the said city of New-York, for the time being, and they which hereafter shall be the Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen, and Assistants, of the said city of New-York, for the time being, and their successors, forever hereafter, be, and shall be, by force of these presents, one body corporate and politic, in deed, fact, and name, by the name of, *The Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the city of* New-York; and them by the name of, *The Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the city of* New-York, one body corporate and politic, in deed, fact, and name; I do really and fully create, ordain, make, constitute, and confirm by these presents; and that, by the name of, *The Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the city of* New-York, they may have perpetual succession; and, that they, and their successors, forever, by the name of, *The Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the city of* New-York, be, and shall be, forever hereafter, persons able, and in law capable, to have, get, receive, and possess lands, tenements, rents, liberties, jurisdictions, franchises, and hereditaments to them and their successors, in fee-simple, or for term of life, lives, or years, or otherwise; and also goods and chattels; and also, other things, of what nature, kind, or quality soever; and also to give, grant, let, set, and assign, the same lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods and chattels; and to do and execute all other things about the same, by the name aforesaid. And, also, that they be, and forever shall be hereafter, persons able in law, capable to plead, and be impleaded, answer, and be answered unto, defend, and be defended, in all or any of the courts of his said majesty, and other places whatsoever, and before any judges, justices, and other person or persons whatsoever, in all and all manner of actions, suits, complaints, demands, pleas, causes, and matters, whatsoever, of what nature, kind, or quality soever, in the same, and in the like manner and form as other people of the said province, being persons able, and in law capable, may plead, and be impleaded, answer, and be answered unto, defend, and be defended, by any lawful ways and means whatsoever; and that the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the said city of New-York, and their successors, shall and may forever hereafter, have one common seal to serve for the sealing of all and singular their affairs and businesses touching or concerning the said corporation. And it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the said city of New-York, and their successors, as they shall see cause to break, change, alter, and new-make, their said common seal, when, and as often as to them it shall seem convenient.

And further, know ye, That I have assigned, named, ordained, and constituted, and, by these presents, do assign, name, ordain, and constitute, Nicholas Bayard, now Mayor, of the said city of New-York, to be present Mayor of the said city; and that the said Nicholas Bayard, shall remain and continue in the office of Mayor there, until another fit person shall be appointed and sworn in the said office, according to the usage and custom of the said city; and as in and by these presents is hereafter mentioned and directed. And I have assigned, named, ordained, and constituted, and, by these presents, do assign, name, ordain, and constitute, create, and declare James Graham, Esq., to be the present Recorder of the said city; to do and execute all things,

which unto the said office of Recorder of the said city doth, or may in any wise appertain or belong. And I have assigned, named, ordained, and constituted, and by these presents, do assign, name, ordain, constitute, create, and declare John West, Esq., Town Clerk of the said city; to do and execute all things which unto the office of Town Clerk may any wise appertain or belong. And I have named, assigned, constituted, and made, and by these presents, do assign, name, constitute, and make, Andrew Bown, John Robinson, William Beekman, John Delaval, Abraham De Peyster, and Johannes Kip, citizens and inhabitants of the said city of New-York, to be the present Aldermen of the said city. And also, I have made, assigned, named, and constituted, and by these presents, do assign, name, constitute, and make, Nicholas De Myer, Johannes Van Brugh, John De Brown, Teunis De Key, Abraham Corbit, and Wolfert Webber, citizens and inhabitants of the said city, to be the present Assistants of the said city. And, also, I have assigned, chosen, named, and constituted, and by these presents do assign, choose, name, and constitute Peter De Lanoy, citizen and inhabitant of the said city, to be the present Chamberlain or Treasurer of the city aforesaid. And I have assigned, named, constituted, and appointed, and by these presents, do assign, name, constitute, and appoint John Knight, Esq., one other of the said citizens there, to be present Sheriff of the said city, and have assigned, named, constituted, and appointed, and by these presents do assign, name, constitute, and appoint Jarvis Marshal, one other of the said citizens there, to be the present Marshal of the said city. And I do, by these presents, grant to the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the said city of New-York, and their successors, That the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Assistants of the said city for the time being, or the Mayor, Recorder, and any three or more of the Aldermen, and any three or more of the Assistants, for the time being, be and shall be called, The Common Council of the said city, and that they, or the greater part of them, shall or may have full power and authority, by virtue of these presents, from time to time, to call and hold common council, within the common council house, or City Hall of the said city: and there, as occasion shall be, to make laws, orders, ordinances, and constitutions, in writing; and to add, alter, diminish or reform them, from time to time, as to them shall seem necessary and convenient (not repugnant to the prerogative of his most sacred majesty aforesaid, his heirs and successors, or to any of the laws of the Kingdom of England, or other the laws of the general Assembly of the province of New-York,) for the good rule, oversight, correction, and government of the said city and liberties of the same, and of all the officers thereof, and for the several tradesmen, victuallers, artificers, and of all other the people and inhabitants of the said city, liberties, and precincts, aforesaid, and for the better preservation of government, and disposal of all the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, goods and chattels of the said corporation; which laws, orders, ordinances, and constitutions, shall be binding to all the inhabitants of the said city, liberties, and precincts aforesaid; and which laws, orders, ordinances, and constitutions, so by them made, as aforesaid, shall be and remain in force for the space of three months, and no longer, unless they shall be allowed of, and confirmed by, the governor, and council for the time being. And I do further, on the behalf of his sacred majesty aforesaid, his heirs and successors, appoint and grant, that the said common council of the said city, for the time being, as often as they make, ordain, and establish such laws, orders, ordinances, and constitutions, as aforesaid, shall or may make, ordain, limit, provide, set, impose, and tax, reasonable fines and amerciaments against, and upon all persons offending against such laws, orders, ordinances, and constitutions, as aforesaid, or any of them, to be made, ordained, and established as aforesaid, and the same fines, and amerciaments shall and may require, demand, levy, take, and receive by warrants under the common seal, to and for the use and behoof of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the said city, and their successors, either by distress and sale of the goods and chattels of the offender therein, if such goods and

chattels may be found within the said city, liberties, and precincts thereof, rendering to such offender and offenders, the overplus, or by any other lawful ways or means whatsoever.

And I do, by these presents, appoint and ordain the assigning, naming, and appointment of the Mayor and Sheriff of the said city, that it shall be as followeth (viz.) upon the feast day of St. Michael the Arch-angel, yearly, the Lieutenant-Governor, or Commander-in-Chief, for the time being, by and with the advice of his council, shall nominate and appoint such person as he shall think fit to be Mayor of the said city, for the year next ensuing; and one other person of sufficient ability and estate, and of good capacity and understanding, to be Sheriff of the said city of New-York, for the year next ensuing; and that such person as shall be named, assigned, and appointed Mayor, and such person as shall be named, assigned, and appointed Sheriff of the said city, as aforesaid, shall, on the fourteenth day of October then next following, take their several and respective corporal oaths, before the governor and council, for the time being, for the due execution of their respective offices, as aforesaid; and, that the said Mayor and Sheriff, so to be nominated, assigned, and appointed, as aforesaid, shall remain and continue in their said respective offices, until another fit person shall be nominated, appointed, and sworn, in the place of Mayor; and one other person shall be nominated and appointed in the place of Sheriff of the said city, in manner aforesaid. *And further*, That according to the now usage and custom of the said city, the Recorder, Town Clerk, and Clerk of the Market of the said city, shall be persons of good capacity and understanding, and such persons as his most sacred majesty aforesaid, his heirs and successors, shall, in the said respective offices of Recorder, Town Clerk, and Clerk of the Market, appoint and commissionate; and for defect of such appointments, and commissionating, by his most sacred majesty aforesaid, his heirs and successors, to be such persons as the Lieutenant Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the said province for the time being, shall appoint and commissionate; which persons so commissionated to the said offices of Recorder, Town Clerk, and Clerk of the Market, shall have, hold, and enjoy, the said offices, according to the tenor and effect of their said commissions, and not otherwise. *And further*, That the Recorder, Town Clerk, Clerk of the Market, Aldermen, Assistants, Chamberlain, High Constable, Petty Constables, and all other officers of the said city, before they, or any of them, shall be admitted to enter upon and execute their respective offices, shall be sworn faithfully to execute the same, before the Mayor, or any three or more of the Aldermen for the time being. *And I do*, by these presents, for and on the behalf of his most sacred majesty, his heirs and successors, grant and give power and authority to the Mayor and Recorder of the said city, for the time being, to Administer the same respective oaths to them accordingly. *And further*, I do by these presents, grant, for and on the behalf of his most sacred majesty aforesaid, his heirs and successors, that the Mayor and Recorder of the said city for the time being, and three or more of the Aldermen of the said city, not exceeding five, shall be justices and keepers of the peace of his most sacred majesty, his heirs and successors, and justices to hear and determine matters and causes within the said city and liberties, and precincts thereof; and that they or any three or more of them, whereof the Mayor and Recorder, or one of them, for the time being, to be there, shall and may forever hereafter, have power and authority, by virtue of these presents, to hear and determine all and all manner of petty larcenies, riots, routs, oppressions, extortions, and other trespasses and offences whatsoever, within the said city of New-York, and the liberties and precincts aforesaid, from time to time, arising and happening, and which arise or happen and any ways belonging to the offices of justices of the peace, and the correction and punishment of the offences aforesaid, and every of them, according to the laws of England, and the laws of the said Province; and to do and execute all other things in the said city, liberties, and precincts aforesaid, so fully and in ample manner, as to the commission-

ers assigned, and to be assigned for the keeping of the peace in the said county of New-York, doth or may belong.

And, moreover, I do by these presents, for and on the behalf of his most sacred majesty aforesaid, his heirs and successors, appoint, that the Aldermen, Assistants, High Constable, and Petty Constables, within the said city, be yearly chosen on the feast day of St. Michael the Arch angel forever (viz.) one Alderman, one Assistant, and one Constable, for each respective ward, and one Constable for each division in the out ward, in such public place in the said respective wards, as the Alderman for the time being, for each ward, shall direct and appoint; and that the Aldermen, Assistants, and Petty Constables, be chosen by majority of voices of the inhabitants of each ward; and that the High Constable be appointed by the Mayor of the said city for the time being; and that the Chamberlain shall be yearly chosen, on the said feast day, in the said City Hall of the said city, by the Mayor and Aldermen and Assistants, or by the Mayor, or three or more of the Aldermen, and three or more of the Assistants of the said city, for the time being. *And I do*, by these presents, constitute and appoint the said John West, to be the present Town Clerk, Clerk of the Peace, and Clerk of the Court of Pleas, to be holden before the Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen, within the said city, and the liberties and precincts thereof. *And further*, I do by these presents, for and on the behalf of his most sacred majesty aforesaid, his heirs and successors, require and strictly charge and command, that the Sheriff, Town Clerk, Clerk of the Peace, High Constable, Petty Constables, and all other subordinate officers in the said city, for the time being, and every of them respectively, jointly and severally, as cause shall require, shall attend upon the said Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen, of the said city, for the time being, and every or any of them, according to the duty of their respective places, in and about the executing of such the commands, precepts, warrants, and processes, of them and every of them, as belongeth and appertaineth to be done or executed; and that the aforesaid Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen, and every of them, as justices of the peace for the time being, by their or any of their warrants, all and every person and persons for high treason or petty treason, or for suspicion thereof, or for other felonies whatsoever, and all malefactors and disturbers of the peace, and other offendors for other misdemeanors, who shall be apprehended within the said city, or liberties thereof, shall and may send and commit, or cause to be sent and committed, to the common gaol of the said city, there to remain and be kept in safe custody, by the keeper of the said gaol, or his deputy, for the time being, until such offender and offenders shall be lawfully delivered thence. *And I do*, by these presents, for and on the behalf of his most sacred majesty aforesaid, his heirs and successors, charge and require the keeper and keepers of the said gaol for the time being, and his and their deputy and deputies, to receive, take, and in safe custody to keep, all and singular such person and persons so apprehended, or to be apprehended, sent, and committed, to the said gaol, by warrant of the said justices, or any of them as aforesaid, until he and they so sent and committed to the said gaol, shall from thence be delivered by due course of law.

And further, I do grant and confirm for and on the behalf of his most sacred majesty aforesaid, his heirs and successors, that the said Mayor of the said city, for the time being, and no other (according to the usage and custom practised in the said city of New-York, in the times of my predecessors, the several Lieutenants, Governors, and Commanders-in-Chief of this Province) shall have power and authority to give and grant licenses annually, under the public seal of the said city, to all tavern keepers, innkeepers, ordinary keepers, victuallers, and all public sellers of wine, strong waters, cyder, beer, or any other sort of liquors, by retail within the city aforesaid, Manhattan's Island, or their liberties and precincts thereof; and it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Mayor of the said city, for the time being, to ask, demand, and receive, for such license, by him to be given and granted, as aforesaid, such sum

or sums of money, as he and the person to whom such license shall be given or granted, shall agree for, not exceeding the sum of thirty shillings for each license. All which money, as by the said Mayor shall be so received, shall be used and applied to the public use of the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty, of the said city of New-York, and their successors, without any account thereof to be rendered, made or done, to any of the Lieutenants or Governors of this province, for the time being, or any of their deputies.

And know ye, That for the better government of the said city, and for the welfare of the said citizens, tradesmen, and inhabitants thereof, I do by these presents, for and on the behalf of his most sacred majesty, his heirs and successors, give and grant to the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the said city, and their successors that the Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen, or the Mayor and any three or more of the Aldermen for the time being, shall, from time to time, and all times hereafter, have full power and authority, under the common seal, to make free citizens, of the said city, and liberties thereof; and no person or persons whatsoever, other than such free citizens, shall hereafter use any art, trade, mystery, or manual occupation, within the said city, liberties, and precincts thereof, saving in the times of fairs there to be kept, and during the continuance of such fairs only. And in case any person or persons whatsoever, not being free citizens of the said city, as aforesaid, shall at any time hereafter use or exercise any art, trade, mystery, or manual occupation, or shall, by himself, themselves, or others, sell or expose to sale, any manner of merchandize or wares whatsoever, by retail, in any house, shop, or place, or standing within the said city, or the liberties or precincts thereof: no fair being then kept, in the said city, and shall persist therein after warning him or them given, or left by the appointment of the Mayor of the said city, for the time being, at the place or places where such person or persons shall so use or exercise any art, trade, mystery, or manual occupation; or shall sell or expose to sale, any wares or merchandizes, as aforesaid, by retail; then it shall be lawful for the Mayor of the said city for the time being, to cause such shop windows to be shut up, and also to impose such reasonable fine for such offence, not exceeding five pounds for every respective offence; and the same fine and fines so imposed, to levy and take by warrant under the common seal of the said city, for the time being, by distress and sale of the goods and chattels of the person or persons so offending in the premises, found within the liberties or precincts of the said city, rendering to the party or parties the overplus; or by any other lawful ways or means whatsoever to the only use of the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty, of the said city of New-York, and their successors, without any account to be rendered, made, or done, to the Lieutenants, Governors, or Commanders-in-Chief, of this province for the same: *Provided*, That no person or persons shall be made free as aforesaid, but such as are his majesty's natural born subjects, or such as shall first be naturalized by act of General Assembly; or shall have obtained letters of denization, under the hand of the Lieutenant Governor or Commander-in-Chief for the time being, and seal of the province: and that all persons to be made free as aforesaid, shall and do pay for the public use of the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty, of the said city, such sum and sums of money as heretofore hath been used and accustomed to be paid and received on their being admitted freemen as aforesaid: *Provided*, it is not exceeding the sum of five pounds.

And further, I do by these presents, for and on the behalf of his most sacred majesty aforesaid, his heirs and successors, grant to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty, of the said city, that they and their successors be forever, persons able and capable, and shall have power to purchase, have, take, and possess in fee simple, lands, tenements, rents, and other possessions within or without the same city; to them and their successors forever, so as the same exceed not the yearly value of one thousand pounds per annum, the statute of Mortmain, or any other law to the contrary notwithstand-

ing; and the same lands, tenements, hereditaments, and premises, or any part thereof, to demise, grant, lease, set over, assign, and dispose at their own will and pleasure; and to make, seal and accomplish, any deed or deeds, lease or leases, evidences or writings, for or concerning the same, or any part thereof, which shall happen to be made and granted by the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty, of the said city for the time being.

And further, I do by these presents, for and on the behalf of his most sacred majesty aforesaid, his heirs and successors, grant to the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty, that they and their successors shall and may forever hereafter, hold and keep within the said city, in every week of the year, three market days, the one upon Tuesday, the other upon Thursday, and the other upon Saturday, weekly for ever.

And also, I do by these presents, for and on the behalf of his most sacred majesty aforesaid, his heirs and successors, grant to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty, of the said city, that they and their successors and assigns, shall and may at any time or times hereafter, when it to them shall seem fit and convenient, take in, fill, and make up, and lay out, all and singular the lands and ground in and about the said city and Island Manhattan's, and the same to build upon, or make use of, in any other manner or way, as to them shall seem fit, as far into the rivers thereof, and that encompass the same, at low water mark aforesaid.

And I do, by these presents, for and on the behalf of his most sacred majesty aforesaid, his heirs and successors, give and grant unto the aforesaid, Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty, of the said city of New-York, and their successors, that they and their successors shall and may have, hold, and keep, within the said city, and liberties, and precincts thereof, in every week in every year forever, upon Tuesday, one Court of Common Pleas, for all actions of debt, trespass, trespass upon the case, detinue, ejectment, and other personal actions; and the same to be held before the Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen, or any three of them, whereof the Mayor or Recorder to be one, who shall have power to hear and determine the same pleas and actions, according to the rules of the common law, and acts of general assembly of the said province.

And I do, by these presents, for and on behalf of his most sacred majesty aforesaid, his heirs, and successors, grant to the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty, of the said city of New-York, and their successors, that the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty, of the said city, and their successors, shall have and enjoy all the privileges, franchises, and powers, that they have and use, or that any of their predecessors at any time within the space of twenty years last past, had, took, or enjoyed, or ought have had, by reason, or under any pretence of any former charter, grant, prescription, or any other right, custom, or usage, although the same have been forfeited, lost, or have been ill used, or not used, or abused, or discontinued, albeit they be not particularly mentioned; and that no officer shall disturb them therein under any pretence whatsoever, not only for their future, but their present enjoyment thereof; provided always that the said privileges, franchises, and powers, be not inconsistent with, or repugnant to the laws of his majesty's kingdom of England, or other the laws of the General Assembly of this province as aforesaid. And saving to his most sacred majesty aforesaid, his heirs, successors, and assigns, and the Lieutenants, Governors, and Commanders-in-Chief, and other officers under him and them. in Fort James, in or by the city of New-York, and in all the liberties, boundaries, extents, privileges thereof, for the maintenance of the said fort and garrison there, all the right, use, title, and authority, which they or any of them, have had, used, or exercised there; and, also, one messuage or tenement, next the City Hall; and one messuage by the Fort, now in the possession of Thomas Coker, gent. The piece of ground by the gate, called the Governor's Garden, and the land without the gate, called the King's Farm; with the swamp next to the same land, by the fresh water; and saving the several rents and quit rents, reserved, due, and payable, from several persons, in-

habiting within the said city, and Island Manhattan's, by virtue of former grants to them made and given, and saving to all other persons, bodies politic and corporate, their heirs, successors, and assigns, all such right, title, and claim, possessions, rents, services, commons, emoluments, interest in and to any thing which is their's (save only the franchises aforesaid) in as ample manner as if this charter had not been made.

And further, I do appoint and declare, that the incorporation to be founded by this charter, shall not at any time hereafter do or suffer to be done, any thing by means whereof the lands, tenements, or hereditaments, stock, goods, or chattels thereof, or in the hands, custody, possession of, any of the citizens of the said city, such as have been sett, lett, given, granted, or collected, to, and for pious and charitable uses, shall be wasted or misemployed, contrary to the trust or intent of the founder or giver thereof, and that such and no other construction shall be made thereof, than that which may tend most to advantage religion, justice, and the public good; and to suppress all acts and contrivances to be invented, or put in use, contrary thereunto. *In witness* whereof, I have caused these presents to be entered in the Secretary's office, and the seal of the said province to be hereunto affixed, this seven and twentieth day of April, in the second year of the reign of his most sacred majesty aforesaid, and in the year of our Lord God, One Thousand Six Hundred and Eighty-six.

THOMAS DONGAN.

LIST OF CHURCH MEMBERS AND THEIR RESIDENCES IN 1686, KEPT BY THE REV. HENRICUS SELYNS, PASTOR OF THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH.[1]

Breede Weg (Broadway).

Ariaentje Cornelis, huysvrou van Albert Barents,
Paulus Turck, en zyn huysvrou Aeltje Barents,
Maria Turck, huysvrou van Abraham Kermer,
Coenrad Ten Eyck, en zyn huysvrou
Annetje Daniels,
Gerrit Jantze Roos, en zyn huysvrou
Tryntje Arents,
Tobias Stoutenburg, en zyn huysvrou
Annetje van Hillegorn,
Marretje Cornelis, h. v. van Elias Post,
Jurriars Blanck, en zyn h. v. }
Hester Vanderbeeck, }
Johannes van Gelder en zyn h. v. }
Janneken Montenack, }
Peter Willemse Roome, en zyn h. v. }
Hester van Gelder, }
Willem Vanderschuuren, en zyn h. v. }
Grietje Plettenburg, }
Annetje Berding, h. v. van Cornelis Kregier,
Tryntje Cornelis, weduwe van Christian Pietersen,
Hendrick Obee, en zyn h. v. }
Aeltje Claes, }
Evert Aertsen, en zyn h. v. }
Marretie Herck, }
Willem Aertsen, en zyn h. v. }
Styntie Nagel, }
Olphert Seurt, en zyn h. v. }
Margareta Klopper, }
Helena Pieterse, h. v. van Abraham Mathysen,
Geurt Gerritsen, en zyn h. v. }
Elizabeth Cornelis, }
Seurt Olphertsen, en zyn h. v. }
Ytie Roelofse, }
Anneken Mauritz, weduwe van Dom. Wilhelmus van Nieuwenhuysen,

[1] This list is copied from a small blank-book belonging to the Rev. Mr. Selyns, and preserved to this day in his own handwriting. We have departed from our usual custom of reproducing Dutch Christian names in their English equivalents as more in consonance with propriety in an English book. The reason for this is obvious, not only as thereby a more exact copy of the Pastor's Record is secured, but because even after the English supremacy in civic life the Reformed Church retained the use of the Dutch language in her preaching, her ecclesiastical proceedings, and her records. Not till a full century after the conquest by the English, or in 1764, did a pastor of the Dutch Church preach in her pulpits in the English language. Some explanations of terms and abbreviations seem necessary:

h. v. ..... signifies ..... *huisvrouw*, wife;
h. v. van ..... " ..... wife of;
en zyn h. v. ..... " ..... and his wife;
Heer, or De Heer, " Sir, or Mr., and is meant to describe a person of wealth or official position;
Juffrou ..... signifies Lady, or Mrs., the wife of such a person.
weduwe van ..... " ..... widow of.
} Opposite two or more names indicates members of one household.

Breede Weg (Broadway).— Continued.

Tryntje Bickers, h. v. van Walter Heyers,
De Heer Francois Rombout, en zyn h. v.
Helena Teller,
Isaac Stephensen, en zyn h. v.
Margareta van Veen,
Lucas Andriesen, en zyn h. v.
Aeftje Laurense,
M. Gerrit van Tricht, en zyn h. v.
Maria Vandegrift,
Balthazar Bayard, en zyn h. v.
Marretje Lookermans,
Blandina Kierstede, h. v. van Pieter Bayard,
Rachel Kierstede,
Jan Peek, en zyn h. v.
Elizabeth van Imburgh,
Gysbert van Imburgh,
Tryntje Adolph, h. v. van Thomas Hoeken,
Elizabeth Lucas, weduwe van Jan Stephensen.

Beurs Straat (Exchange Street).

Margareta Pieters, h. v. van Frederick Arentse,
Jacob Teller, en zyn h. v.
Christina Wessels,
Jacob De Kay, en zyn h. v.
Hillegond Theunis,
Sarah Bedlo, h. v. van Claes Berger,
Pieter De Riemer, en zyn h. v.
Susanna De Foreest,
Isaac De Riemer,
*Juffrou Marg. De Riemer, weduwe van De Heer Cornelis Steenwyk,
Andries Grevenraedt, en zyn h. v.
Anna van Brug.

Paerl Straat (Pearl Street).

Jan Willemsen, en zyn h. v.
Elizabeth Frederick,
Martin Cregier,
Tryntje Cregier, weduwe van Stoffel Hoogland,
Margareta Blanck, h. v. van Philip Smit,
Gerrit Hardenberg, en zyn h. v.
Jaepje Schepmoes,
Sara Hardenberg,
Isaac Grevenraedt, en zyn h. v.
Marritje Jans,
Hendrick Jillisen Meyert, en zyn h. v.
Elsje Rosenvelt,
Andries Breesteede, en zyn h. v.
Annetje van Borsum,
Aeltje Schepmoes, weduwe van Jan Evertse Ketelta's,
Susanna Marsuryn, weduwe van Claes Berding,
Gerrit van Gelder,
Pieter Le Grand, en zyn h. v.
Janneken de Windel,
Jan Schouten, en zyn h. v.
Sara Jans,
Elizabeth Schouten,
Dirck Teunisen, en zyn h. v.
Catalina Frans,
Warner Wessels, en zyn h. v.
Elizabeth Cornelis,
Nicolaes Blanck,
Catharina Blanck, h. v. van Justus Wilvelt,
Claesje Blanck, huysvrou van Vietar Bicker,
Tryntje Claes, weduwe van Jurriaen Blanck,
Pieter Jacobsen Marius, en zyn h. v.
Marretje Beeck,
Aeltje Willemse, weduwe van Pieter Cornelisen,
Thomas Laurensen, en zyn h. v.
Marretje Jans,
Cornelis van Langevelt, en zyn h. v.
Maria Groenlant,
Tryntje Michiels, h. v. van Andries Claesen.

Lang's Strant (Along the Strant).

Rebecca Delaval, h. v. van Willem Dervall,
Elsje Thymens, h. v. van Jacob Leydsler,
Susanna Leydsler,
Daniel Veenvos, en zyn h. v.
Christina Vandergrift,
Jacob Leendertse Vandergrift, en zyn h. v.
Rebecca Frederick,
Nicholas Vandergrift,
Rachel Vandergrift,
Rachel Kip, h. v. van Lucas Kierstede,
Celetje Jans, h. v. van Paulus Richard,
Elizabeth Grevenvaedt, weduwe van Dom. Samuel Drisius,
Pieter Delanoy, en zyn h. v.
Elizabeth De Potter,
Catharina Bedlo,
Frederick Gysbertse Vandenberg, en zyn h. v.
Maria Lubberts,
Jannetje Tienhoven, h. v. van John Smit,
Henriette Wessels, weduwe van Allard Anthony,
Maria Wessels,
Benjamin Blanck, en zyn h. v.
Judith Etsall,
Jacobus Kip, en zyn h. v.
Hendrickje Wessels,
Marntje Wessels, weduwe van Nicolaes Jansen Backer,
Deborah De Meyert, h. v. van Thomas Crundall,
Albert Bosch, en zyn h. v.
Elsje Blanck,
Anna Maria Jans, h. v. van Cornelis Jansen van Hoorn,
Hillegond Cornelis, h. v. van Olfert Kreeftberg,
Vrouwtje Cornelis,
Pieter Jansen Messier, en zyn h. v.
Marritje Willemse,
Coenrad Ten Eyck, Junior, en zyn h. v.
Belitje Hercks,
Tobias Ten Eyck, en zyn h. v.
Elizabeth Hegeman,

* Dom. Selyns was afterwards married to this lady.

Lang's Strant (Along the Strant).— Continued.

Benjamin Hegeman,
Hemanus Berger,
Engeltje Mans, weduwe van Berger Jorisse,
Johannes Berger,
Lucas Tienhoven, en zyn h. v.
Tryntje Berdings,
Cornelis Verduyn, en zyn h. v.
Sara Hendrickh,
Albert Klock, en zyn h. v.
Trintje Abrahams,
Martin Klock, en zyn h. v.
Elizabeth Abrahams,
Geesje Barentse, weduwe van Thomas Lieuwensen,
Catharina Lieuwensen,
Johannes van Brug, en zyn h. v.
Catharina Roelofse,
Cornelia Beeck, h. v. van Jacobus De Hardt,
Margareta Hendrickse, h. v. van John Robertson,
Carsten Leursen, en zyn h. v.
Geertje Quick,
Aeltje Gysberts, h. v. van Zacharias Laurensen,
Francyritje Andries, h. v. van Abraham Lubberts,
Annetje van Borsum, weduwe van Egbert van Borsum,
Pieter Vandergrief, en zyn h. v.
Janneken van Borsum,
Robert Sinclair, en zyn h. v.
Maria Duycking.

Lang's de Waal (Along the Wharf).

Willemtje Claes, h. v. van Gysbert Elbertse,
Neeltje Gysberts,
Adrian Dircksen, en zyn h. v.
Elizabeth Jans,
Heyltje Delachair, h. v. van John Cavallier,
Anna Maria van Giesen, h. v. van Johannes Jansen,
Marritje Pieters, h. v. van Jacob Pietersen,
Bernardus Hassing, en zyn h. v.
Neeltje van Couwenhoven,
Geertruid Jans van Gravenswaert, h. v. van Jan Otten,
Neeltje van Thuyl,
Sophia Claes, h. v. van Rutgert Parker,
Gerrit Cornelis van Westveen, en zyn h. v.
Wyntje Stoutenburg,
Urseltje Duytman, weduwe van Johannes Hardenbrook,
Metje Hardenbrook, h. v. van Evert Hendrickse,
Casparus Hardenbrook,
Harmanus van Borsum, en zyn h. v.
Wybrug Hendrickse,
Claertje Dominicus, h. v. van Jan Pieter Slot,
Gerritje Quick, h. v. van Leendert De Grauw.

Nieuwe Straat (New Street).

Janneken Jans, h. v. van Isaac Abrahamsen,
Daniel Waldron, en zyn h. v.
Sarah Rutgers,
Adriaentje Jans, h. v. van Vincent De la Montague,
Marritje Waldron, h. v. van Hendrick Gerritsen,
Aefje Roos, h. v. van Johannes van Gelder,
Heyman Koning, en zyn h. v.
Marritje Andries,
Melje Davids, weduwe van Abraham Kermer,
Jan Willemsen Roome, en zyn h. v.
Maria Bastiaens,
Annetje Ackerman, h. v. van Daniel Pietersen,
Arent Fredericksen, en zyn h. v.
Sara Theunis,
Jurriaen Nagel, en zyn h. v.
Jannetje Phillipsen,
Willein Peers, en zyn h. v.
Guetje Kierse.

Bever Straat (Beaver Street).

Jacob Kolve,
Janneken Lucas, h. v. van Jacob van Saun,
Jacob Phœnix, en zyn h. v.
Anna van Vleek,
Engeltje Hercks, h. v. van Jan Evedse,
Hendrick Bosch, en zyn h. v.
Egbatje Dircksen,
Catalina De Vos, h. v. van Nicolaes Depu,
Jacob De Koninck,
Henricus Selyns,
Hendrick Boelen, en zyn h. v.
Anneken Coert,
Cornelis van der Cuyl, en zyn h. v.
Elizabeth Arents,
Sarah Waldron, h. v. van Laurens Colevelt,
Mr. Abraham Delanoy, en zyn h. v.
Cornelia Tol.

Marckvelt Straat (Marketfield Street).

Jan Adamsen Metselaer, en zyn h. v.
Geertje Ducksen,
Herman De Grauw, en zyn h. v.
Styntie van Steenbergen,
Dirck Jansen De Groot, en zyn h. v.
Rachel Phillipse,
Baetje Jans, huysvrou van Pieter Meyer,
Arent Leendertse De Grauw, en zyn h. v.
Maria Hendricks.

Brouwers Straat (Brouwer's Street, now part of Stone).

De Heer Frederick Phillipse,
Johanna van Swaanenburg,
Anna Blanck, h. v. van Joris Brugerton,
Janneken De Kay, h. v. van Jeremias Tothill,
Isaac De Foreest, en zyn h. v.
Elizabeth van der Spiegel,
Sara Philipse, weduwe van Isaac De Foreest,
Jan Dircksen, en zyn h. v.
Baetje Kip,
De Heer Stephanus van Cortland, en zyn h. v.
Geertruid Schuyler,
Jacobus van Cortland,
Juffrou Susanna Schrick, h. v. van De Heer Anthony Brockholst,
Sarah van der Spiegel, h. v. van Rip van Dam,
Johannes van der Spiegel,
Ariaentje Gerritsen, h. v. van Pieter Jansen.

Brug Straat (Bridge Street).

Otto Gerritsen, en zyn h. v.
Engeltje Pieters,
Jeremias Jansen, en zyn h. v.
Catharina Rappailje,
Metje Grevenraedt, weduwe van Anthony Jansen,
Abraham Kip,
Abraham Jansen, en zyn h. v.
Tryntje Kip,
Maria Abrahams,
Mr. Hartman Wessels, en zyn h. v.
Elizabeth Jans Cannon,
Andries Meyert, en zyn h. v.
Vrouwetje van Vorst,
Jan der Vall, en zyn h. v.
Catharina van Cortlandt.

Heeren Gracht (west zyde). Broad Street (west side).

Carel Lodowick,
Johannes Provoost,
Brandt Schuyler, en zyn h. v.
Cornelia van Cortlandt,
Mr. Hans Kierstede, en zyn h. v.
Janneken Loockermans,
Evert Arentsen,
Isaac Arentsen,
Maria Bennet, h. v. van Jacobus Verhulst,
Pieter Abrahamse van Duursen, en zyn h. v.
Hester Webbers
Helena Fiellart,
Harmentje Ducksen, h. v. van Thomas Koock,
Dirck Ten Eyck, en zyn h. v.
Aefje Boelen,
Dr. Johannes Kerfbyl, en zyn h. v.
Catharina Hug,
Margareta Hagen,
Aechje Jane, weduwe van Pieter van Naerden,
Tryntje Pieters,
Hendrick Jans van Tuurden, en zyn h. v.
Sara Thomas,
Boele Roelofse, en zyn h. v.
Bayken Arentse,
Cornelis Quick, en zyn h. v.
Maria van Hoogten,
Theunis De Kay, en zyn h. v.
Helena van Brug,
Agmetje Bouen, h. v. van Lodowick Post,
Gerrit Leydekker, en zyn h. v.
Neeltje van der Cuyl,
Hendrick Kermer, en zyn h. v.
Annetje Thomas,
Jan Jansen Moll, en zyn h. v.
Engeltje Pieters,
Jacob Boelen, en zyn h. v.
Catharina Clerk,
Dirck Fransen, en zyn h. v.
Urseltje Schepmoes,
Elizabeth Jacobsen, h. v. van Wybrant Abrahamse,
C. Magdalena Dumsteede, h. v. van Hermanus Wessels,
Johannes Kip, en zyn h. v.
Catharina Kierstede,
Styntie Paulus, weduwe van Paulus Jurrison,
Isaac van Vleck, en zyn h. v.
Catalina Delanoy,
Mietje Theunis, h. v. van Jan Corsen,
Rutgert Willemsen, en zyn h. v.
Gysbertje Mauritz,
Magdaleentje Rutgers, h. v. van Joris Walgraef.

Diaconie's Huys (Deacon's House for the Poor, in Broad Street).

Willem Janse Roome, en zyn h. v.
Marritje Jans,
Geertje Jans, h. v. van Reyer Stoffelson,
Jannetje Hendricks, h. v. van Cregera Golis,
Albert Cuynen, en zyn h. v.
Tryntje Jans,
Elizabeth Jacobs, weduwe van Jacob Mons,
Clara Ebel, h. v. van Pieter Ebel.

Heeren Gracht (oost zyde). Broad Street (east side).

Hendrick Arentse, en zyn h. v.
Catharina Hardenbrook,
Anna Thyssen, h. v. van Hendrick Reniers,
Marritje Cornelis, h. v. van Frans Claesen,
Anna Wallis, h. v. van Wolfert Webber,
Albertus Ringo, en zyn h. v.
Jannetje Stoutenburg,
Jan De la Montagne, en zyn h. v.
Annetje Waldron,
Jannetje van Laer, h. v. van Simon Breestede,

Heeren Gracht (oost zyde). Broad Street (east side). — Continued.

Catharina Kregiers, weduwe van Nicasius De Silla,
Leendert De Kleyn, en zyn h. v.
Magdalena Wolsum,
Magdalena Pieters, h. v. van Joris Jansen,
Huyg Barentse De Kleyn, en zyn h. v.
Mayken Bartels,
Pieter Stoutenburg,
Willem Waldron, en zyn h. v.
Engeltje Stoutenburg,
Maria Bon, h. v. van Jillis Provost,
Grietje Jillis, h. v. van David Provoost,
Catharina Vanderveen, h. v. van Jonathan Provoost,
Jan Willemse Nering, en zyn h. v.
Catharina de Meyert,
Gresje Idens, weduwe van Pieter Nuys,
Jacob Mauritzen, en zyn h. v.
Gretje van der Grift,
Willem Bogardus, en zyn h. v.
Walburg de Silla,
Kniertje Hendricks, h. v. van Claee Leet,
Cornelia Lubberts, h. v. van Johannes de Peyster,
Paulus Schrick, en zyn h. v.
Maria de Peyster,
Jan Vincent, en zyn h. v.
Annetje Jans,
Arent Isaacson, en zyn h. v.
Elizabeth Stevens.

Hoogh Straat (High Street).

Rynier Willemsen, en zyn h. v.
Susanna Arents,
Tryntje Arents,
Geertruyd Reyniers,
Adolf Pietersen De Groot, en zyn h. v.
Aefje Dircksen,
Anietje De Groot,
Maria De Groot,
Mr. Evert Keteltas, en zyn h. v.
Hillegond Joris,
Anna Hardenbrook, h. v. van John Lillie,
Johannes Hardenbrook,
Jacob Abrahamse Santvoort, en zyn h. v.
Magdalena van Vleck,
Laurens Holt, en zyn h. v.
Hilletje Laurens,
Janneken van Dyck, h. v. van Jan Cooley,
Elizabeth Cooley,
Barent Coert, en zyn h. v.
Christina Wessels,
Geertruyd Barents, weduwe van Jan Hyben,
Sara Ennes, h. v. van Barent Hyben,
De Heer Nicolas de Meyert, en zyn h. v.
Lydia van Dyck,
Elizabeth de Meyert,
Christina Steentjens, h. v. van Guillam D'Honneur,
Claes Janse Stavast, en zyn h. v.
Aefje Gerritsen,
Evert Wessels, en zyn h. v.
Jannetje Stavast,
Laurens Wessels, en zyn h. v.
Aefje Jans,
Anneken Duycking, h. v. van Johannes Hoagland,
Fraus Godorus, en zyn h. v.
Rebecca Idens,
Jan Janse van Langendyck, en zyn h. v.
Grietje Wessels,
Jan Harberdink, en zyn h. v.
Mayken Barents,
Gerret Duycking, en zyn h. v.
Maria Abeel,
Christina Cappaeus, h. v. van David Jachemsen,
Anna Tebbelaer, h. v. van Elias de Windel,
Marriatje Andries, h. v. van Jan Breesteede.
Hendrick Wesselse Ten Broeck, en zyn h. v.
Jannetje Breestede,
Geertruid Breestede,
De Heer Nicolas Bayard, en zyn h. v.
Judith Verleth,
Francina Hermans,
Evert Duycking, en zyn h. v.
Hendrickje Simons,
Cytie Duycking, h. v. van Willem Bleek,
Antony De Mill, en zyn h. v.
Elizabeth van der Liphorst,
Pieter De Mill,
Sarah De Mill,
De Heer Abraham De Peyster, en zyn h. v.
Catharina De Peyster.

Slyck Straat (Ditch Street).

Jan Hendrick van Bommel, en zyn h. v.
Annetje Abrahams,
Geertruid De Haes, h. v. van Jan Kreeck,
Emmerentje Laurens, weduwe van Hendrick Oosterhaven,
Leendert Oosterhaven.

Princen Straat (Prince's Street).

Jan Langstraten, en zyn h. v.
Marritje Jans,
Albertje Jans, h. v. van Jan Janse van Quistokut,
Hendrick De Foreest, en zyn h. v.
Femmetje Flaesbeeck,
Barent Flaesbeek, en zyn h. v.
Marritje Hendricks,
Susanna Verleth, h. v. van Jan De Foreest,
Metje Pieters, h. v. van Jan Pietersen,
Nicolaes Jansen, en zyn h. v.
Janneken Kiersen,
Annetje Jans, h. v. van William Moore,
Ambrosius De Waran, en zyn h. v.
Ariantje Thomas,
Susanna De Negrin, h. v. van Thomas De Meer.

Koninck Straat (King Street).

Elsje Berger, h. v. van Jan Sipkens,
Cornelis Pluvier, en zyn h. v.
Neeltje van Couwenhoven,
Frederick Hendricksen, en zyn h. v.
Styntie Jans,
Geesje Schuurmans, weduwe van Bruin Hage,
Elizabeth Schuurmans.
Jacob Fransen, en zyn h. v.
Magdalena Jacobs.

Smit Straat (Smith Street).

Cornelia Roos, weduwe van Elias Provoost,
Jan Vinge, en zyn h. v.
Wieske Huypkens,
Assnerus Hendricke, en zyn h. v.
Neeltje Jans,
Hester Pluvier, h. v. van Thymen Fransen,
Jan Meyert, en zyn h. v.
Anna van Vorst,
Pieter Jansen, en zyn h. v.
Elizabeth van Hoogten,
Jan Jansen van Flembrug, en zyn h. v.
Willemyntie De Kleyn,
Laurens Hendrickse, en zyn h. v.
Marretje Jans,
Hendricke van Borsum, en zyn h. v.
Marritje Cornelis,
Jannetje Cornelis,
Thymen van Borsum, en zyn h. v.
Grietje Focken,
Wyd Timnier,
Grietje Langendyck, weduwe van Dirck Dey,
Jannetje Dey, h. v. van Frans Cornelisen,
Jan Pietersen Bosch, en zyn h. v.
Jannetje Barents,
Jannetje Frans, h. v. van William Buyell,
David Provoost, en zyn h. v.
Tryntje Laurens,
Tryntje Reymers, weduwe van Meynardt Barentsen,
Marritje Jan Pietersen, h. v. van Jan Pietersen.

Smit's Vallye (Smith's Valley).

Elizabeth Lubberts, weduwe van Dirck Fluyt,
Jan Jansen van Langendyck,
Pieter Jansen van Langendyck,
Herman Jansen, en zyn h. v.
Breehje Ellswaert,
Tryntie Hadders, h. v. van Albert Wantenaer,
Hilletje Pieters, weduwe van Cornelis Clopper,
Johannes Clopper,
Margareta Vermeulen, weduwe van Hendrick van de Water,
Adriaentje van de Water,
Abraham Moll, en zyn h. v.
Jacomyntie van Darlebeek,
Fytie Sipkens, h. v. van Roelofse,
Wilhelmus De Meyert, en zyn h. v.
Catharina Bayard,
Jacob Swart, en zyn h. v.
Tryntie Jacobs,
Sarah Joosten, h. v. van Isaac De Mill,
Dirck Vandercliff, en zyn h. v.
Geesje Hendrickse,
Styntie Jans, h. v. van Joost Carelse,
Willem Hillacker, en zyn h. v.
Trynte Boelen,
Anna Maria Englebert, h. v. van Clement Ellswaert,
Wilhelmus Beekman, en zyn h. v.
Catharina De Boog,
Johannes Beekman, en zyn h. v.
Aeltje Thomas.

Buyten de Land Poort (Beyond the Land Port).

Anneke Schouten, h. v. van Theunis Dey.

Over het Versch Water (Beyond the Fresh Water).

Wolfert Webber, en zyn h. v.
Geertruyd Hassing,
Neeltje Cornelis, h. v. van Dirck Cornelison,
Arie Cornelisen, en zyn h. v.
Rebecca Idens,
Franciscus Bastiaense, en zyn h. v.
Barbara Emanuel,
Solomon Pieters, en zyn h. v.
Marritje Anthony,
Anthony Saileyren, en zyn h. v.
Josyntie Thomas,
Francois Vanderhook, en zyn h. v.
Wyntie De Vries,
Daniel De Clercq, en zyn h. v.
Grietje Cozyns,
Cozyn Gerritsen, en zyn h. v.
Vrouwtje Gerritse,
Jan Thomassen, en zyn h. v.
Apollonia Corneles,
Pieter Jansen, en zyn h. v.
Marrietje Jacobs,
Jacob Kip, en zyn h. v.
Maria De la Montagne,
Maria Kip,
Juffrou Judith Isendoorn, weduwe van de Heer Petrus Stuyvesant,
Nicolaes Willem Stuyvesant, en zyn h. v.
Elizabeth Slechtenhorst,
Marritje Jacobs, h. v. van Gysbert Servaes,
Abraham van de Wostyne,

Over het Versch Water (Beyond the Fresh Water).— Continued.

Catalyntje van de Wooestyne,
Abel Bloottgoet, en zyn h. v.
Ida Adriaense,
Pieter Jacobsen, en zyn h. v.
Beletje Anaense,
Jan De Groot, en zyn h. v.
Margrietje Gerritse,
Jacob De Groot, en zyn h. v.
Grietje Jans,
Jillis Mandevil, en zyn h. v.
Elsje Hendricks,
Grietje Mandevil,
Egbert Foekensen, en zyn h. v.
Elsje Lucas,
Johannes Thomasen, en zyn h. v.
Aefje Jacobs,
Johannes van Couwenhoven, en zyn h. v.
Sara Frans.

Aen de Groote Kill (By the Big Creek).

Conradus Vanderbeeck, en zyn h. v.
Elsje Jans,
Claes Emanuels,
Jan De Vries,
} Negroes.

Arme Bouwery (Poor Farm).

Arnout Webber, en zyn h. v.
Janneken Cornelis,
Margareta Meyrink, h. v. van Hendrick Martense.
Abraham Rycking,
Wyntie Teunis, h. v. van Herck Tiebout,
Annetje Claes, h. v. van Teunis Cornelisen.

A CROWN OF THE REIGN OF JAMES II.

CHAPTER XII

THE PERIOD OF THE LEISLER TROUBLES
1688–1692

IN the midst of the activities of his excellent administration, Governor Dongan received notice that he had been superseded. The man who had submitted to his master the charter which gave New-York legislation by the people, and who before it had passed the seals had already put into operation this important concession, was not one to be depended on to carry into effect the despotic measure which King James had in mind. This was the consolidation of the United Colonies of New England with the Provinces of New-York and New Jersey, to be placed under one Governor-General with viceregal authority. In July, 1688, Governor Dongan received a letter from the royal hand, announcing that Sir Edmund Andros had been appointed to this exalted position, and requiring him to resign the administration of New-York. Almost at the same time Andros received his new commission at Boston, where he ruled as Governor of New England. On August 11th he was in New-York, to take the government of that province from the hands of Dongan, and on August 15th his commission was proclaimed at Elizabethtown, the capital of the New Jersey colony.

To the people of New-York the change of governors was more acceptable than the change in provincial government. They were not "pleased that their province should lose its individuality and be consolidated with New England," says Brodhead. "Geographically, politically, and socially, New-York was unlike any British possession in North America. Her eclectic people never wished to be ruled by incorporated oligarchies similar to those in New England. The people of New-York felt themselves in an 'unmerited state of degradation.' Their metropolitan city especially lamented 'that unhappy annexation to New England.'" [1]

[1] Brodhead, "History of the State of New-York," 2: 513, 514.

In significant contrast with this popular dissatisfaction, those of the citizens who occupied a seat in the Council rather enjoyed the change. Bayard, Brockholls, Philipse, and Van Cortlandt found that from being merely consulted on matters appertaining to a single province, they now had an influential voice in the affairs of several, and they soon passed at New-York ordinances which Andros had sought in vain to enact at Boston. His stay in New-York, however, was very brief. On August 30th Indian affairs on the frontiers between New-York and Canada required his presence in Albany, and he summoned Lieutenant-Governor Francis Nicholson, whom he had left in command in Boston, to meet him. When the Indians had been assured of aid against the French, and the old friendship with the Iroquois had once more been cemented at a council-fire, Indian hostilities of a serious nature which had broken out in Maine necessitated the immediate repairing of the Governor-General to Boston. He therefore ordered Nicholson to assume the command at New-York, where he arrived on October 1, 1688. His Council was composed of Frederick Philipse, Stephen Van Cortlandt, Nicholas Bayard, and Anthony Brockholls, and their first care was to place the fort in better condition. The advent of Nicholson was at first hailed with much delight. But the consciences, or the prejudices, of the citizens were soon offended by his tolerance of a priest whom Dongan had employed, and whom he allowed to place some images of saints in an apartment of his own choosing, presumably to accommodate Roman Catholic worshipers. And thus the eventful year 1688 was drawing peacefully to a close in America. But on November 5th William of Orange had landed in England; in December James II. had abandoned throne and kingdom and fled a fugitive to the court of Louis XIV. of France. Before the year 1689 was six weeks old, William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen of Great Britain.[1]

[1] The material to this point was added by the editor as an introduction to Dr. Vermilye's study on the "Leisler Troubles," which concludes with the words "Let us turn his face from the wall," on p. 486. The paragraphs succeeding it were also added to complete the history of this period to the coming of Governor Fletcher.

EDITOR.

Of this bloodless but important revolution it has been truthfully said, "it was time that James should go, it was time that William should come." Full of the royal prerogative, and growingly tyrannical, James was fast subverting the laws and liberties of the people; so that the reply to William of an old lawyer of ninety years was witty and might have become true: "Why, Mr. Sergeant," said William, "you have survived all the lawyers of your standing!" "Yes, sir," he replied, "and but for your Highness I should have survived the laws too." Mention only is needed here of the persistent efforts made by James to reëstablish Romanism. But William landed at Torbay, and there was an end of James and with him of the unfortunate dynasty of the Stuarts. From the kingly altitude they speedily descended to an insignificant level, like meteors come to the ground, mere lusterless metal. The revolution under William of Orange was not a popular revolution; for that, for the people as a political factor, we must cross the Atlantic. In it, says Hallam, "there was certainly no appeal to the people." It was an aristocratic rebellion, inclusive of property and wealth, against tyrannous evils; and yet it sufficiently voiced the nation. Hence it was peaceful, and it was also Protestant. And if not perfect, it was merely as the germ is not the perfect, full-blown flower. Out of it emerged the word parliament, in place of royal prerogative; the press was liberated; there were in it the seeds of a wondrous development, the England of to-day. So good was the augury and so ripe the time that its very beginning, the landing of William, sent a reflex wave of joy from Torbay to Boston.

THE CITY HALL AT THE HAGUE.

In what Matthew Arnold calls "the hubbub of our sterile politics" there is nothing revolutionary—much noise, excitement, and there it ends. But dead wires, hanging loosely from the pole, may be fatal; it needs only a crossing somewhere, a circuit made and then a touch,

to reveal the unsuspected danger. Boston endurance had lasted three years or more, and no outbreak. The news of William's landing (April 4, 1689) crossed the wires and set the current in motion, yet with no immediate result more than what Andros calls "a general buzzing among the people"—so that he had his soldiers ready. One morning (April 18th), however, the captain of the frigate Rose stepped ashore as usual, entered into a wordy altercation with some ship-carpenters, and they seized him. That was the touch that revealed the latent electricity. Crowds formed, arrested the sheriff and others. An eye-witness saw boys running, clubs in hand, and "men running some with and some for arms"—a regular popular uprising. Then the drums beat, rallying the companies to the Town Hall, where the captains and other citizens "consulted matters." Meantime old Simon Bradstreet, a former Governor, came in. And although he was now nearly ninety years old, as the most fitting thing to do they immediately made him and other old magistrates under the charter a committee of safety. Such was the inception of the Boston revolution, a "sudden taking up arms" by the people (they tell Andros), an "accident," to their own surprise and that of those with them at the Town Hall. But now the whole town rose in arms, "with the most unanimous resolution," says one, "that ever inspired a people"; and in two days the revolution was accomplished and Andros a prisoner.

MEDAL OF THE REVOLUTION.

The narrative thus far was necessary, since it was news from Boston and the push of her example that set New-York in motion; but the revolution there had a local coloring of its own, scenes more exciting, an ending more tragic. It ended in the trial and execution of acting Lieutenant-Governor Leisler for high treason—the only such execution in our State history. In both society and politics that culmination of party passion left its fretmark and furrow for many years. Nor has the story yet become a mere fossil, an unknown something raked out of the rubbish of history.

As the groundwork, then, let us first have in mind the New-York of that time. A small city, compressed below Wall street, with Harlem as an "out-ward" beyond the fields; its population about thirty-five hundred, and that of the whole province to Albany and Schenectady not more than twenty thousand. The rest was wilderness, with Indian tribes, and beyond them, on the north, Canada or New France, the constant breeding-place of intrigues and dangers, which, like arctic birds, the season might bring south. On the other side, again, the little city had the sea as a danger, and for defense only a fort out of repair. Add

the heterogeneous population, so different from homogeneous Boston —English, Dutch, and French refugees (of the latter some two hundred families)—and we have a foundation for some things to come. At what moment, for instance, might not war in Europe between France and Holland or England involve themselves; and what wonder, if rumors, whether home-bred or imported, made them tremulous! Facts traveled but slowly those days, by small Dutch luggers or the primitive messenger-boy, whilst rumor sped rapidly here, there, and everywhere. Truth was but a lame horse in any race with rumor. It could not be telegraphed, as it now is, before rumor landed. Nor were the rumors and their fears always baseless. What were the actual instructions of Louis XIV. to Count Frontenac as we now know them? If he found in the city any French refugees, "particularly those of the pretended Reformed religion," they were to be shipped back to France; any Catholics, English or Dutch, on whom he could rely, he might leave in their habitations; the other principal inhabitants were to be held in prison for ransom, and outlying settlements to be destroyed! Shipped back to France! Remember what it portended for many of them — an enforced Romanism, or persecution and endangered liberties; and remember that the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and its sequel, the dragonades, were so recent as 1685. Therefore they doubted and watched the sea, and more than once rumor played tricks with their fears. Nor were they less excitable over matters inland. On the north, Canada, whose Jesuit missionaries were the busiest and best of propagandists. Consumed with an indefatigable zeal, these men obeyed orders, went wherever sent, and throughout the North were the ablest architects of French power. A danger too distant, it may seem to us, to have much effect, but not so to them. As when some strong insect touches the end of a spider's web, even a thread, it thrills at once to the center, and may endanger the whole; so a French, or French and Indian, invasion at any point affected the province. The burning of Schenectady in 1690, although only sixty lives were lost, startled every northern colony into action. And for the reason of this danger, they feared the Jesuits. Good and simple-hearted as were some of these missionaries, a Jesuit was to them a bee with wings and

a sting — no errand for his faith too remote, and to be feared always and everywhere for the harm he might do. His presence in the northern woods was almost itself a danger-signal of French intrigues, Indian alliances, attempted conquest, and what that meant under Louis XIV. But there was something more than this, and yet connected with it. The efforts of James to advance his own religion among them had alarmed them thoroughly, had made the word "popish" first and uppermost in the popular mind, even over their civil grievances. In that heterogeneous population, not in full national sympathy, what might not be done by information given to, or some effort in behalf of, an outside enemy? It bred suspicion and rumors and fears. There were two dangers, Louis and James, each standing in the popular mind for popery. What wonder if, later, when words of stigma flew between the parties like shuttlecocks, whoever or whatever savored of James or reaction, or opposition to the revolution, should be dubbed "popish"! It all made the landing of William an event of joy.

THE PHILIPSE ARMS.

It is not unimportant to know what lay behind that revolution and gave it peculiarity. Emotions, popular or personal, have roots more or less deep-seated; and when at last the revolution appeared above ground, it had a strength and diffusion and coloring not to be accounted for by superficial causes. It was no such performance as an Indian juggler achieves who plants a seed in the sand, waters it, and at length produces an outspread bush, by means hidden by him under a basket. It had roots enough in their situation, in long-continued civil exactions, in religious fears excited by Louis and James, and the disaffection thereto consequent. The officials of James when it began (as we have seen) were Nicholson, the Lieutenant-Governor under Andros at Boston; with a resident Council consisting of Bayard, Philipse, and Van Cortlandt — names of constant recurrence in this chapter. And now late in April, 1689, there occurred in the city a great "uproar" (I am quoting the Council), an "uproar through people coming from Boston," who brought "the surprising news that its inhabitants had set up a government for themselves and disabled his Excellency from acting." An exciting yeast to the prevailing discontent, one sure to cause a rising! But what thought Nicholson and his Council about it? We have it in their letter to Andros, "We cannot imagine that any such actions can proceed from any person of quality amongst them, but rather that they were promoted by the rabble," — the key-note (as I think we shall find) to much of this chapter. First, it will be seen, they ignore utterly any grounds of general disaffection to James and Andros and his government; it must have been "the rabble." And

second, what a sharp distinction they draw between persons of quality and "the rabble"! No "person of quality" would join in "such actions" — these were, to them, the two classes composing the community. And when it comes to New-York, where they themselves are the responsible government, under Andros, it will be the same; no cause, "the lower classes, the rabble"! It is most important, at this point, to get their position. Of course they sympathized with Andros and not with the revolution in Boston; but that does not explain everything. As to Francis Nicholson, he was an old soldier whose royal master at present was James. Being out of the whirl and sweep of things in England, he had no belief as yet in William's success against him. "Nonsense," he exclaimed contemptuously, "the very 'prentice boys of London would drive him out again." Of course, therefore, he would do nothing till William was king, or he was forced to. Frederick Philipse, his oldest councilor, was the wealthiest man in the city, the first proprietor of the Philipse manor, "den Heer" Philipse, who, as a councilor also, had held proud preëminence for twenty years; reserved, cautious, and it is said a wonderfully shrewd trimmer for safety or profit, but not one to be ousted from office if he could help it, not one to yield willingly his place in the government whoever might be king, William or James. Stephen Van Cortlandt was also known as "den Heer" Van Cortlandt, his wife as Mevrouw (Lady) Van Cortlandt; a man personally most estimable and respected; as Mayor of the city, public-spirited; charitable, an elder in the Dutch Church, but with the pride and prejudices of class and position and wealth. The most conspicuous in these events, however, although the youngest, was Nicholas Bayard, described to us as bright, witty, elegant, and with warm friends among his social and political equals, but fond of display, imperious, quick-tempered, and vindictive, and by his inferiors feared and disliked — a point to be remembered in the sequel. It now connects our narrative with the past and accounts for much, to say that these three, Philipse, Van Cortlandt, and Bayard, with five others — all well known at Whitehall — had been carefully selected as councilors by James when, in 1686, he

THE PHILIPSE MANOR-HOUSE.

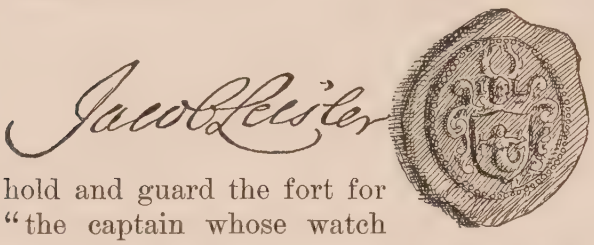
annulled the liberties of the people; when he made Dongan and the Council the absolute law-makers and tax-gatherers. They were there as the Council during his administration; when, as Secretary Randolph pithily put it, the people were being "squeezed dry"; when old titles to real estate were disputed, that larger fees might be exacted; when six farmers of Easthampton, who protested against the tyranny, were arraigned before them; there, compliant agents of James in whatever he ordered, and concerned in whatever was done. Could they expect to hold the emoluments without sharing the odium? Could they expect it to be forgotten, when, for a time, they chose to acknowledge William? Could they expect at once so to sever themselves from James and Andros and their obnoxious acts as to go right on, still the government because they claimed it? They did expect it, they did claim it, and that was the trouble. They belonged to a class which, by reason of wealth and other adjuncts, had for years almost preëmpted the government. They asked and obtained and held the offices, they affiliated with the governors. Socially they were the ones who gave dinners and balls, who did the entertaining for viceroyalty, and lived themselves in the grand style of the day — some of them very elegant, refined, and cultivated people, both Dutch and French and English. "Persons of quality" they claimed to be, "people of figure," society; the aristocracy of the little city when aristocracy was quite a thing under the royal governors; as naturally a party, what Bancroft calls "the cabal that had grown up around the Royal governors." Outside were "the lower classes, the rabble," as they were pleased to call them. They expected and claimed for themselves, by right of rank in the community, the offices, the government. New England had no similar aristocracy, topping the surrounding earth with such pride; they would not have endured it.

It is now easy to understand their quandary at the time of the "uproar." Boston had not waited for news of William's success; Boston had overthrown Andros at once, and set up a "government for themselves." How to hinder the same in New-York, that was their problem; for they meant to hold on, "to continue in their station," at least "till further orders." They had no other thought; and, unfortunately, those "further orders" were a long time in coming. Meanwhile they held consultations; went among the people; told them there was "no need of a revolution," that "Nicholson was honest," "a little patience and orders would come to establish everything upon a proper basis." Very good advice, with but one weak point; how long would the people be willing to continue under James' Governor and James' Council, and with William not proclaimed? For a time, however, it succeeded; the people had "patience," with only (as in Boston) "a general buzzing"; they were as yet like bees without a

queen, or like birds disturbed and fluttering, ready to take wing at the slightest alarm, but not breaking away into actual flight.

It is next in order to say that New-York had at the time, besides a few soldiers in the fort, six "train-bands," citizen militia. Their colonel was Bayard; the senior captain was Jacob Leisler; and the other captains were Abraham De Peyster, Nicholas Stuyvesant, Francis De Bruyn, Charles Lodowick, Gabriel Minvielle — good names, men of wealth, intelligence, standing; men of influence, had they in these decisive days sided with their colonel. To quiet fears caused just then by rumors of the French, it was the Governor's suggestion that they should take turns of duty in the fort. How easy to talk to their men if they wished to, to get them under some control during the month of this service — half a company at a time! Five-sixths of the time, five-sixths of the men under their command! Historians have called this the "Dutch plot," with Leisler as the Mephistopheles thereof; and so we must examine the ground. Stuyvesant was Bayard's own cousin, the sturdy old Director's son and himself forty-one years old. Was there no stuff in these men, these five captains, had they so determined, to meet and withstand one aggressive individual? Thus, then, the time passed till May 31st, a whole month and no outbreak. According to the good preaching of the Council, and doubtless many others, the people had been exercising the Christian grace of "patience." And, after all, it was not Leisler but the Lieutenant-Governor himself who threw the match into the powder. So small a question as by whose authority a certain sentinel had been posted in the fort led him to dismiss from the service Lieutenant Henry Cuyler, of De Peyster's company, for impertinence. A most injudicious act at such a time! It angered De Peyster and his company, who were on duty. It angered the train-bands, as an act of authority on the part of James' Governor which changed the situation. Whereupon the drums beat. Forty-nine excited men of Leisler's company rushed to his house, demanding to be led to the fort. It is said that he refused; but they went, nevertheless, under Sergeant Stoll, the leader, and Cuyler admitted them "without the word." Thus was this revolution begun; with De Peyster's company on duty, De Peyster's lieutenant admitting the malcontents of Leisler's company to the fort, and presently Leisler himself appearing as their commander. Did he usurp the fort over his fellow-captain? No. That night it was Lodowick's turn of duty; and it was Lodowick and some of his company who appeared at the council-chamber demanding the keys of the fort, and they had to be given. Even yet, however, the matter was not over. Let us not suppose everything smooth and easy. What pressure these captains must have been under from their relatives and friends! We know that they had warm discussions with the Lieutenant-Governor and Council. It was

a serious matter for them, for James might yet be king. And among themselves what discussions; all over the city what debates and disputes—"the divisions of Reuben among the sheepfolds"! Nor was it till June 3d that the real decision was made. Then Bayard once more called the train-bands together, captains and soldiers, and tried his influence with them. Leisler was not there, but it was in vain. The soldiers rushed to the fort; and there, after much debate, Leisler drew up a paper which the officers signed. In it they agreed to govern alternately till orders came from England; to hold and guard the fort for William till such time; "the captain whose watch it is," says Leisler himself, "to be for that time captain of the fort." This paper was also signed by four hundred others in the fort, citizens and soldiers. A moderate paper, yet effective. So far as the city was concerned, it decided the uncertainty; it was a positive step in favor of William; a withdrawal of allegiance to James and the government appointed by him; it deprived them of all effective power; and at the head of the movement were Leisler and his fellow-captains.



At this point occurs the opportunity for some account of Captain Jacob Leisler, as a necessary prelude to his connection with these affairs. Leisler came to New-York from Frankfort, Germany, in 1660. Concerning him the Archivist of that city writes: "Jacob Leysseler of Frankfort, who sailed to America in 1660, is evidently the son of the Rev. Jacob Victorian Leisler, baptized here March 31, 1640. No further news about this son than the date of his baptism on the day of or a few days after his birth are to be found here. The father had been born at Oettingen, Kingdom of Bavaria, became a minister at Franckenthal, Palatinate, and from there was called to Franckfort by the two Reformed congregations, the French and the Dutch, in 1638. Before this call he had been persecuted on account of his religion and for some time had lived in exile. He died February 8, 1653. Of his wife only the baptismal names Susanna Adelheid are known. Besides Jacob, other children were baptized in Franckfort: (1) Johann Heinrich, February 10, 1642; (2) Hans Jacob, October 20, 1646; and (3) a daughter, Susanna, who died young."[1]

At this period Leisler was a well-known citizen, a merchant, and a man of very considerable property. Two years after his coming he

[1] Extract from a letter of Dr. R. Jung, Archivist to the City of Frankfort-on-the-Main, to Mr. Berthold Fernow, May 23, 1891. (Translated.) Of his work in Frankfort an anniversary publication of the French Reformed Church in 1854 says: "J. Victorien Leisler, appelé de Franckenthal, par les deux communes, remplissait, de concert avec le pasteur flamand, les fonctions pastorales, malgré sa débile santé; il a servi l'église avec beaucoup de bénédictions; son ministère et celui de son successeur paraissent avoir été très-actifs et ont laissé des traces profondes."

had married Elsie (Tymens), the widow of Vanderveen, a reputable merchant. Elsie was a niece of Anneke Jans. How many families to this day keep bright the links of kinship with the latter, and—her estate, so long owned and guarded and fostered by Trinity Church! Strangely enough, this marriage brought Leisler, even thus early in life, into a family connection with Bayard, Philipse, and Van Cortlandt—at the close of it his worst enemies. In 1670 we find him a deacon in the Dutch Church, with Peter Stuyvesant and Van Cortlandt's father as fellow-members of consistory, and then, as always, a man of sturdy religious profession and belief. Evidently a man with generous impulses: when a Huguenot family was to be sold for non-payment of ship charges, he himself stepped forward and purchased their freedom. Evidently an independent man: when, in 1667, two people were on trial for "murder by witchcraft," he was one of a jury to acquit them both—a thing the Quakers of Pennsylvania only accomplished in 1684, that could hardly have been done in Boston in 1689. As a magistrate, in 1675, he so vigorously opposed an effort of Andros to thrust a priest (whom James had sent over) into occupancy of the Dutch Church, that Andros imprisoned him. Yet that at that time he was well esteemed in the community is evident from the fact that only three years later, in 1678, when he and a vessel of his were captured by the Turks, this same Andros initiated a collection throughout the province for his redemption. Leisler held few offices, but was called into service when needed; and he had been captain since 1684. This is what we know of him up to 1689. And we have thus reached an important historical question: What was he doing up to June 3d of that year? When the first intimations of William's landing came he had a vessel in port, on which he at once refused to pay duties to Plowman, James' collector and a Catholic. He also went before the Council, and before them persisted in his refusal—just like his sturdy independence, whether backed by anybody or not. From that time and to escape those duties, according to current histories, he is a dangerous person in the community, plotting treason and the overthrow of the Government. Yet at the time of the "uproar" and when Boston had set the example, where is the one man, the demagogue, quick to seize events and bulging with importance, to head "the rabble" to its destruction?

VAN CORTLANDT ARMS.

It is not Leisler. On the contrary, almost immediately thereafter, Nicholson and the Council place him in the fort at the head of an armed company to quiet the people; or, if he so chooses, to breed

further treason! A strange incongruity in the history, or wonderful stupidity on their part! Moreover, when the revolution begins—that 31st of May—it is through Nicholson's act and not his. And on the 3d of June the result is not to make Leisler a dictator, but that mutual agreement of the captains—in the face of which he is now represented to us as an ignorant man surrounded by "a rabble"; a mere puffball fuming with rage and insolence and profanity; as already infatuated with his own greatness, comparing himself to Cromwell, and most offensively assuming to his fellow-captains, whilst they are deferential! What injustice to them, in order to carry out the idea, received from the other side, of Leisler and the "lower classes, the rabble"! History makes them his mere foot-ball—Abraham De Peyster, Nicholas Stuyvesant, Charles Lodowick, and the rest; men assuredly not the ones to be dragged at a vulgar cart-tail through mud and slush. Historians deprive them of their manhood, and in these events would have us regard them as silent puppets upon a street-organ, moving to the tune of a coarse and ignorant player. And yet when, just after the revolution, Leisler himself wished to remove the obnoxious Catholic collector, he could not do it, for the reason which he gives: "I cannot get the other captains to turn out the collector"; and again (June 16th) "I can get no captain to side with me to turn him out." Outgoing letters from the fort are signed by the captains, the answers addressed to Leisler and "the rest of the captains" in command. They are so addressed by the General Court of Connecticut. When within a few days after signing that agreement Minvielle resigned, it was not on the ground of Leisler's tyranny and insolence, but because he thought their proceedings "hot-headed." The other captains remained, all of them, for months. When (June 11th) they sent to friends in England an address for the king from "the militia and inhabitants of New-York"—her citizen soldiery and only defense—did they regard the movement as that of a "rabble"? When, so late as October 20th, Bayard—still as colonel and councilor—wrote from Albany to De Peyster and De Bruyn an order "to bear good faith and allegiance" to William and Mary, but "to desist from aiding and abetting" Leisler, they put the letter into his hands; and when yet later (October 29th) he again commanded them "to obey the civil government established by Sir Edmund Andros," as still in force, they paid no heed. What do these facts prove? This period, the opening period of the revolution, was that of Leisler and the captains conjointly, not of Leisler and "the rabble." People of standing and influence parted from their own families and friends on these issues. History conceals it and them. It adopts a party stigma. It was slippery ground, and the Attorney-General, when drawing an indictment against Leisler, did not touch this period.

For a clear understanding of things, however, we must proceed with it a little further. On the 6th of June came credible news that William was king, and the messenger was on the way from Boston with letters. No doubt any longer about William; but will he continue in power the old government? What anxiety on both sides! The messenger gets to the fort first, and there all letters for the Lieutenant-Governor or the Council are opened, read, and forwarded. No news, no orders; and so things remain as they were! But to open their letters, what an outrage! What indignation! What insolence in Leisler! Yet back in March, before Leisler had appeared upon the scene, upon a mere rumor of William's landing, they had themselves opened and suppressed seventeen private letters, "for the prevention of tumult," they said, "and the divulging of such strange news." Where was the difference? The difference was, that a revolution in England which changed kings — now that it was successful — they were willing to accept; a revolution in New-York, which interfered with themselves as the government, that was Leisler and the rabble; and whatever derogated from the deference they claimed for themselves was insolence. Again, however, the truth of history requires us to ask, what of the other captains? Why single out Leisler for obloquy, when, by the agreement of only three days before, all were equally implicated, all equally and deeply interested in learning the first news? That plant of unpleasant odor which pervades these events like the sagebrush of the prairies, Leisler's insolence, was grown and perpetuated from party soil.

ANCIENT HOUSE AT SOUTHOLD, L. I.

As yet he was only one of five captains, although the senior. I do not suppose Leisler to have been at any time choice of speech or deferential in his manners; on the contrary, a man of rugged honesty whose plain and often hasty speaking did him harm. But that was not the real, the underlying offense. If we read, we shall find that gentle speaking and gentle courtesy were not a characteristic of New-York in these years of that century. "Knave" and "rogue" were frequent epithets by which to convey their opinion of one another. To the other side, however, the revolution itself was an insolence; whatever infringed upon the dignity of certain ones, of Van Cortlandt or Bayard or even the clergy, was an insolence; and upon Leisler, a German, with none of the make-up of society about him, the senior, the most popular, the boldest and most outspoken of his colleagues, upon him they visited the full measure of wrath and opprobrium.

And the feeling was already hot enough on both sides. When of Sir William Phipps, of Massachusetts, it was said, "His Excellency is needlessly hot," the reply was: "Ah, you must excuse him, it is dog-days!" The dog-days began early in New-York in 1689. Nicholson himself had at once gone to England to interview the new king, leaving Bayard, Philipse, and Van Cortlandt behind him to maintain the struggle. On the 25th of June they themselves removed Plowman, the Catholic collector, "to quiet a restless community," as they said; but when they undertook to replace him with their own officials — more insolence of Leisler! It brought about the first actual collision. The parties met at the custom-house. There were hot words, dog-day words, a hustling crowd, and some rough usage of Bayard and his supporters, but no bloodshed. A street brawl, some pummeling, but no bloodshed. The feeling abroad was, however, intense; and De Peyster's mother advised Colonel Bayard to leave the city, for fear of assassination. Wisely, no doubt; he was especially obnoxious, and some hand might have struck the blow; it has been done again and again since then. And so the parties were at length developed — the captains holding the fort and the city, the old Council powerless but persistent.

On the 10th of June, a week after the revolution began, the captains, Leisler and the rest, issued a call for a convention of delegates from the counties, to meet on the 26th and choose a committee of safety. Let us give them the credit they deserve for this act. They did not intend nor make themselves a military dictatorship. The movement in New-York had been democratic, one springing from the people, whom they for a time represented; and they meant to extend it to the province — not submitting any longer to the appointees of James and Andros, but submitting the direction of affairs to the appointees of the people. Had the other side accepted the arrangement — a committee of safety till the king could be heard from — what a blot it would have saved New-York! But no, they were the government. So the convention met without their concurrence, twelve delegates elected from New-York and Kings and Queens and Westchester and Orange — "the most part of whose inhabitants," says O'Callahan, "are concerned in the rebellion." Albany, under the great influence of Peter Schuyler, Van Cortlandt's double brother-in-law, remained aloof, and its neighbor Ulster. Ten of the twelve delegates became the Committee of Safety, and assumed control for the province. Leisler did not elect them. His was a city revolt. More than is usual in such cases, and more than did Simon Bradstreet and his colleagues at the first, by their election they represented the province in its most populous part. Such was the situation upon the 26th of June — a popular revolt, represented by the Committee of Safety, against the

old government appointed by James and Andros and the party attached thereto. What was the effect of the change upon Leisler's position? It made him first, by their appointment, captain of the fort, that is, permanently responsible for its safe keeping; and then, about the middle of August, military commander for the province. His first rise above the other captains! But that they concurred therein is indubitable, since they all retained their commands under him till some time in November. During that month Captain Stuyvesant retired from the service, angry, it is said, because some soldiers had intruded into his own house during a search for his obnoxious cousin Bayard. Our only wonder in his case is that his father's son should ever have been upon the popular side at all. At different dates during the month, and for different personal reasons, Lodowick and De Peyster also resigned and retired from service unmolested. De Peyster, at least, always felt kindly towards Leisler. Within a month (December 13th) he was appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor, as Leisler then was, and by his Council, captain of the Dock Ward, with his brother Henry as his lieutenant—responsible positions at the time.

I have been thus minute hitherto, because this whole history has been perverted by concealing the part actually taken by these captains in the earlier stages of the revolution, and by ascribing everything to Leisler and a rabble. It is the base of the defense of the other side. They were throughout, for two years, resisting Leisler and a dominant rabble—a riotous rule which only ended with Leisler's death. On the contrary, what have we? Upon the 3d of June, that agreement of the captains; upon the 6th of June, news of William's accession, concurred in by both parties, and the question of William or James no longer in conflict; upon the 10th of June, the call by the captains for a committee of safety to be elected by the people; and, upon the 26th of June, that committee in existence and its actions and authority submitted to by both Leisler and the captains and their party. And so opens the second, in its close the tragic, part of this tangled history. At last, early in December, a letter from William, dated July the fourth—a letter with a peculiar address, to "Our Lieut.-Governor and Commander-in-chief in our Province of New-York, and in his absence, to such as for the time being take care for preserving the peace and administering the laws"! Up to this time, be it understood, nothing from William save a general proclamation relative to justices of the peace and other minor officials; nothing at all to indicate his intentions or policy concerning higher officers of the crown. Of course the letter threw the elements into new fermentation. As it happened, Nicholson, to whom it was addressed, was not there, had betaken himself to England; so that complication was out of the way. But "in his absence"! If still in the exercise of his office, where

Fort William July 9th: 1690: —

Ensigne John Fleeman —

Sr = having Perused your Commission & Partly understand Your Grievance & threatning of your authority for having punctualy observed y: Same Answering to y: result & Covenant made with Conecticut Plymouth & Boston & by y: two Letter absolutely Broake I have here Inclosed sent you y: result attested also y: Copy of y: Letter delivered to me by Conecticutt agentt w: may be of Service to you I send you also two Evidences whereby it may opeare what Inclination Livingstone had for our thing wherely can be judged what may be Expected from him for his Interest also one Evidence how he declared to have had y: Copy of his maj: the K: of this province Letter w= he Could not have had Ye kept it had been broken up by y: Messenger Livingstone is y: person to whome much Credit is given & w: whome much is Consulted in Your Parts Concerning y: Albany — Expedition there is good Ground to Suspect him & on Ellyn the = Some Private Instruction is given to y: Capt = Contrary to y: Commission & Covent: I Could send You what we had — agst = Mr: Ellyn of w: we have Complained to Your Authority but not regarded but I am Loth to be y: Cause of Disord = in your Parts therefore forbear & if our Forts where not departed for your so faithfull, honest & neighbourly — observing your Com: on & therefore Blamed would have willingly Commissionated You. You deserving a better Place I Shall Certainly Himek on You if any Occasion offers & so soone I Shall See albany Proceeding Shall send You all what may be Judged Needfull for you I have with y: Governo: in Yo: favour & acquainted him Shal I wad Sentd: = of y: abuse You received Herein After my respect I Remain

Yo: friend —

Jacob Leisler

FAC-SIMILE OF AN AUTOGRAPH LETTER BY LEISLER.

should he be except within the bounds of his government? Or, in case of absence, why was not the letter addressed to his Honorable Council, men well known in England? Why the vague and general superscription, "such as for the time being take care for preserving the peace and administering the laws"? The very hub of this disputation. Can one help suspecting a motive of policy in such language from the state department? In England, James was deposed and William reigning through revolution — a revolution thus far successful, although he had yet to fight the battle of the Boyne. In Boston, as was already known, Andros had likewise been deposed and a revolutionary committee was in charge. Had the same fate, meantime, overtaken Nicholson in New-York, an enforced "absence," and in William's behalf, could he consistently reverse events and order the revolution back? The broad question for William to consider was the status of the revolution as a whole — not in New-York alone, but in Boston, the colonies, and England itself. As plain Dutch sense put it at the time, "If it was that Leisler did be ill, how came the King and Queen to sit on the throne?" His letter certainly evaded the difficulty, at least for the present. If Nicholson was yet in power, it authorized him to continue to act. If not, if a revolution had superseded him as well as Andros, it recognized "for the time being" such as took care "for preserving the peace and administering the laws." So the Committee of Safety understood it, and upon that understanding they honestly acted. So undoubtedly the Boston committee would have acted; as the government de facto, the proper recipients of the letter. Where was the difference? A revolution in both, in New-York only obscured by the existence of parties and the persistent claims of Philipse, Van Cortlandt, and Bayard, men for two years practically powerless, and not named nor officially designated in the letter. Let it here be said that neither was the appropriation of that letter, a royal letter, made a matter of indictment against Leisler. The Attorney-General claimed pay for drawing up several indictments and was an able lawyer, but he did not include this item nor this period.

I have thus brought it down to a charge to this day made against Leisler — his so-called usurpation of the Lieutenant-Governorship. In reality what? His appointment thereto by the Committee of Safety, who had already made him military commander of the province. And what would William himself have been in history, had James won the battle of the Boyne? A usurper, branded and traduced by his opponents like Leisler, or as was Cromwell in his day. The Committee of Safety, at least, were not usurpers. Elected and sustained during this interim — a period understood by all parties to be ad interim — elected and sustained during it by a clear majority of the people; if they were usurpers, what shall we say of the

Boston committee and the acting governors in the other revolted colonies? If we brand one we must brand all, brand the revolution throughout, brand the very idea of a popular revolution. But, in addition, the New-York committee had what the other colonies had not, what they deemed authority for their action conveyed to them by the king's letter. In Connecticut they rejected Andros, the royal Governor, and appointed their own. In New-York, which had no General Assembly, nothing but a Lieutenant-Governor and Council, the captains first in control sent the matter directly to the people of the province. The people elected the Committee of Safety, and they in turn, as supposedly within the scope of the king's letter, made Leisler acting Lieutenant-Governor. And neither was this matter in the indictment upon which he was tried. Indeed how merely partisan was the opposition to his assumption of the title may be seen from two letters of Colonel Bayard himself, one of them dated January 24, 1690. A prisoner in the fort of as yet only two days, but laboring, as he says, under "an extreme sickness of body," he writes "to the Hon. Jacob Leisler, Esq., Lieut.-Governor of the province of New-York, and the Hon. Council," letters in which he acknowledges his error, craves pardon, and humbly petitions consideration and release! Of course he had to swallow much pride, but there are the letters.

A WILLIAM AND MARY MEDAL.

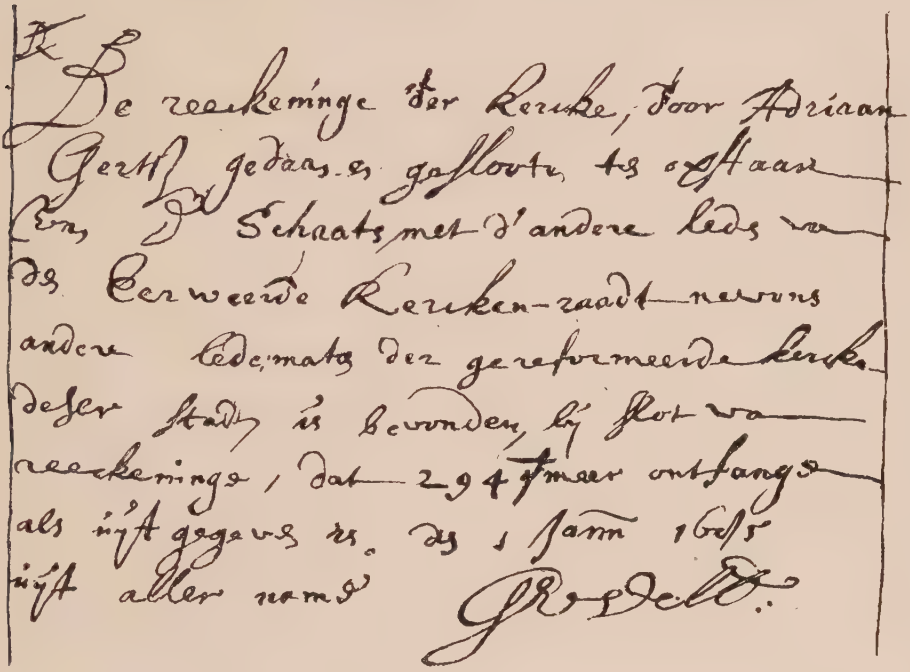
So to Leisler's Lieutenant-Governorship in her emergency yielded Albany a trifle later, when he was her only source of supplies. Indubitably his was the power in the province at the time, and so acknowledged to be by the other colonies. But for Leisler personally the position was full of difficulty and not devoid of danger. His elevation concentrated upon his head many portentous winds and wrathful storm-clouds. It made him a mark for new venom, new arrows that were laid to the string and let fly both at home and abroad. Usurpation it was called, and even during the peril of war, whatever he did was to his enemies usurpation. He came to his duties without experience; a man unused to art or concealment or the ways of policy — straight out in word or deed as conviction or feeling moved him, an honest German; a man in temperament apparently much like Stuyvesant, brave, sturdy, sometimes obstinate and sometimes choleric — Stuyvesant, who would have fired upon the British fleet in bulk but for his minister's final appeal. As such a man personally, governing revolutionary elements, watched and opposed throughout by a party ready to malign his every word and act, and that certainly had the prestige in England, his was indeed a position of difficulty and

doubtful result. One cannot do justice to this narrative who forgets the circumstances of the case. Passions running high in a small city, principally there, two hundred years ago. An aristocratic party, clever, astute, and determined, and a popular party arrayed against it. History has other instances of the same, and the bitterness evolved — waters boiling in a caldron and all the more disturbed that the space was small. Under such conditions one might need the astuteness of William, or even the stature and proportions of Cromwell, himself abused living and dead, and his enemies holding the field of history for more than two centuries. And I see Leisler so placed, a minor man to William or Cromwell; as it were some shipmaster called to the command to navigate untried waters, amid rocks and contrary currents, and with breakers booming dangerously across the bow. No easy thing to steer his craft safely in such a sea! What wonder if, through some faulty turn of the wheel or the pressure of wind and wave and current, he should meet at last with disaster!

The advancement of Leisler to the Lieutenant-Governorship made a change in the Committee of Safety, eight of whom now became his Council, December 11, 1689. They were, from the county and city of New-York, Peter De la Noy, Dr. Samuel Staats, Henry Jansen, and Johannes Vermilye; from Kings, Captain Gerardus Beeckman, M. D.; from Queens, Samuel Edsall; from Westchester, Captain Thomas Williams; from Orange, William Lawrence — French, English, and Dutch. A real Council, let me say, since the acts of the majority were to be the acts of all. To return then to the old story, were these men of "the lower classes, the rabble"? To this it might be replied that New-York itself had at the time but a small proportion of people who could be so called; a city where, say Bancroft and other authorities, "beggars were unknown and all the poor were cared for," and where outside a favored few "great equality of condition prevailed." The Huguenots, although some of them poor, were intelligent, industrious, and God-fearing; not the kind of stuff out of which to make even a diminutive rabble. The more numerous Dutch, the prevailing class, had strict Sabbath and other laws; and if they could not write English well, were well read in the Bible and Heidelberg Catechism and the history of Holland, they and their children. Learning was difficult to obtain; but solid and industrious citizens they were as a class — the pioneer ancestry of many reputable families, the crude ore out of which American life has molded much fine material. As one of just such Philipse himself grew up, only sharper than the rest in money-making and land-getting. But concerning the Council. Peter De la Noy, a Huguenot, was well known and prominent both before and after these events. Dr. Samuel Staats was afterwards councilor under Earl Bellomont, and again under Governor Hunter; and his daughter

was the first wife of Chief-Justice Lewis Morris. Henry Jansen was apparently a relative of Anneke Jans; and Johannes Vermilye was an original patentee of Harlem, from whom the family name has descended, an elder in the church and trusted with office by his fellow-townsmen again and again. These for the city. Of the others, Captain and Dr. Gerardus Beeckman, of Flatbush, Long Island, was an elder of that church under Domine Varick, his sister the first wife of Nicholas Stuyvesant. As senior councilor when Lord Lovelace died, he became acting Governor; and it is from him and the De la Noy and Keteltas families that our later Beekmans are proud to claim descent. William Lawrence, another, succeeded Van Cortlandt himself, when he died, as councilor to Earl Bellomont—a man, it was said, "of good estate and honest understanding," and in these very troubles opposed to his own uncle, John Lawrence, a man of wealth and education and prominence —so were families divided. I shall only add to this list a very important official, Abraham Gouverneur, the clerk, a young Huguenot who "could read, write, and speak readily" the three principal languages of New-York, and one whose education, like Bayard's, was remarkable for his age and time; a prominent man for years thereafter, and whose niece, the daughter of his brother Isaac, as the second wife of Chief-Justice Morris became the mother of that distinguished publicist, Gouverneur Morris. These were the men who, with two or three others and as Leisler's Council, replaced the favored rooks who had preëmpted the belfry of government under the royal governors! Not men of the lower classes, certainly! Indeed, a few years later, in 1715, in what was then called the "court circle,"—so had time socially intermixed the families,—we find both Bayards, Beekmans, De Peysters, Gouverneurs, Staatses, and Van Cortlandts. It is, therefore, as mere campaign literature that I quote a paper sent to William and Mary, May 19, 1690, of which one knows neither who wrote nor who actually signed it, valueless as history, but which has been used against Leisler; a paper ostensibly from "the merchant-traders and others the principal inhabitants of New-York." These "principal inhabitants of New-York," as they modestly claim to be, were just thirty-six in number—that is, including Rev. Mr. Pieret, the French minister, a citizen of two years' standing, and Domine Rudolphus Varick, of Long Island. By some subtlety in the social scales, Domine Henricus Selyns and the eminent Peter Daillé, his French colleague, do not figure in the list. According to these "principal inhabitants," and as they proceed to inform their Majesties, New-York was "at the sole rule of an insolent alien"—that is, one not born in their Majesties' dominions, a German. Presumably a delicate compliment to William, an intimation that they did not believe him to have been born in Holland, although some within his dominions did call him an insolent and

usurping Dutchman! But, considering the French names upon the paper, the word "alien" was rather remarkable. Where had they themselves been born; and, as compared with Leisler, how long were they in the country? And he was "assisted by some few who formerly were not thought fit to bear the meanest office, to whom they could give no better name than a rabble, and several of whom could be proved guilty of enormous crimes; who imprisoned at will, opened



FAC-SIMILE OF THE HANDWRITING OF DOMINE DELLIUS, 1685.[1]

letters, seized estates, plundered houses, and abused the clergymen"! Sufficiently partisan, whoever signed it. Certainly the Rev. Mr. Pieret never himself wrote his name "Pieretz."

But it enables us to give attention to one special point. It is by details that we must reach results, through much tangled underbrush of misrepresentation that we must clear the way to ultimate light and truth. They "abused the clergymen"! And why abuse the clergymen? Leisler and his Council were, perhaps all of them, members or officers of churches — at the least three of them were elders under Domine Selyns and Domine Varick. If, as the principal ones, the Dutch clergy of that day were tenacious of their dignity, no less re-

[1] [TRANSLATION.]

The account of the church, rendered and closed by Adriaan Gertsz, in the presence of Do. Schaats, with the other members of the Honorable Consistory, besides other members of the Reformed Church in this city, is found by the balance of the account that 294 guilders more have been received than expended. January 1st, 1685.

In the name of all. GE: DELL.

spectful, in general, were the people. It was their habit. Upon what, then, if true at all, was this charge grounded? The answer will give us—what we seek—further insight into this revolution. The Dutch ministers then in the province were Domine Dellius of Albany, Selyns of New-York, and Varick of Long Island. Letters of theirs to the Classis of Amsterdam are now in process of translation. In one of these, from Domine Varick, who suffered the most,—a letter dated April 9, 1693, when it was all over,—he tells the Classis how the love of years among his people had now for about four years been turned into hate towards him. He gives as the cause "the change in the government." Yet why on that account turn against a beloved minister? Here is some lift in the fog: "the common people were calling their authorities traitors, papists," and the like, and "the preachers seeing that was wrong tried to persuade the people of it." So stated, small cause for such hate! There the domine drops the matter, but we may fill in the history. It may not be known how long those farmers of Long Island and the Dutch elsewhere had been seeking some measure of self-government. They petitioned for it under Stuyvesant, but he refused. He would none of elections "by the rabble." But freedom was in their blood; and so again in 1681, "prompted [says Bancroft] by an exalted instinct, they demanded power to govern themselves." They did not get it, but new exactions under James. Their opportunity was William; and "their authorities" at the time were Philipse, Van Cortlandt, and Colonel Bayard—men associated in every mind with James, "the popish king," and his régime, and who, even after his overthrow, still resisted the rising popular tide. Unfortunately, the Dutch ministers took the unpopular side, in favor of these old and obnoxious "authorities," in this different from the clergy of Boston and New England, who there guided and in a measure controlled the revolution. That was all there was against them, this the pith and core of their offending. And does it not show beyond anything in this history the broad acreage of this revolution and its deeper causes—that it was not, as foolishly asserted, the wicked work and tyranny of Leisler and a few, a city rabble? In 1693, when Leisler was dead and his Council were prisoners, and not then till Governor Fletcher had sent a threatening letter to the Consistory, only one hundred and two out of five hundred church members could Domine Varick gather to his communion. He had likewise preached at Bergen and Hackensack and Staten Island; but they would no longer hear nor have him administer the communion. At Harlem, that excellent church was an out-station of Domine Selyns. He had baptized and married some of them years before. But in this matter he was on one side and they very generally on the other, with the result that after the half-yearly communion in 1690 (October 9th), they refused

his ministrations for some years. His immediate charge was the old Dutch church in New-York, where were wealthy and influential officers and members like Bayard and Philipse and Van Cortlandt. The Governor's pew was there. A majority of the members sided with the Council and the minister. And yet his salary was much withheld, greatly to his trouble and annoyance; and so late as November, 1693, it was a question whether he would not have to resign (as Domine Dellius writes) through "the ill-will of his congregation"! And as to Dellius himself—in Albany, with, as he says, a more "peaceable" people, and notwithstanding the great influence of Peter Schuyler and others—the congregation was divided. Could anything tell the story better? These were churches, their own church members and people, the moral elements in the community, and thus divided, thus largely and hotly divided against their ministers!

The French Huguenots were, apparently, equally at variance in sentiment. In the church founded by the Rev. Mr. Pieret, in 1687, as the Rev. Alfred V. Wittmeyer, its annalist and present pastor, avers, a strong opposition to Leisler existed, led by a few influential men. The Rev. Mr. Pieret was doubtless with them. But, as Mr. Wittmeyer's examination also showed, the great majority in and around New-York supported Leisler. These were probably the pastoral charge of the Rev. Mr. Daillé, the French colleague of Domine Selyns, who, in the closing scene, induced large numbers of them, in New-York and Harlem and New Rochelle and other places, to join in a petition to the Governor for Leisler's pardon. Such was the position of things with ministers and churches. "Abused" by their people in the ways mentioned, and by word of mouth, in this great excitement, some of the former undoubtedly were. Domine Varick fled to the south for a time from his own congregation, they were so incensed against him. But were they abused, and how, by Leisler and his Council? Domine Varick was later imprisoned, but not, as we shall see, by Leisler or his Council. Domine Selyns once had his house invaded by soldiers in search of Bayard — roughly and with loose discipline, no doubt, to the hurt of his feelings but not of his person. He never suffered personal molestation or violence; yet are his sufferings among the wails of this history. Domine Godefridus Dellius, in a letter of self-defense against Lord Bellomont in 1699, writes the grave charge against Leisler that he once publicly called Domine Selyns "an old rogue"—in church, it is elsewhere said! Very improper in Leisler, very unpleasant German frankness, not to be commended for imitation in these more quiet and gentle times. Yet in retributive and historical justice, one would like to know the text, the subject, the particular remark (not recorded) which produced this wrathful explosion. Stuyvesant (or he is belied) might have said just the same or worse. May we not leave such things,

mere words, mere rents in official dignity, and there was little else, as unworthy of notice in a history which ended in blood? Domine Selyns was a good and learned man, but who sometimes used large and exuberant language; as when, for their benefit in England, he wrote a Latin certificate testifying that Philipse, Van Cortlandt, and Bayard were "pious, candid, and modest Protestant Christians, filling the offices of deacons and elders with consummate approbation and praise." He used such language about his sufferings. The Rev. Mr. Pieret and the Rev. Mr. Daillé were not molested, nor was Domine Dellius actually, by Leisler or his Council.

Leisler's public acts as Lieutenant-Governor now demand of us a brief notice. The time for such was short, but he was not idle. Early in February, 1690, occurred the massacre and the burning of Schenectady. Count Frontenac had opened his campaign along the frontier. In the city the French refugees were almost in panic. Leisler was at once all energy. Within ten days delegates were on their way to confer with the other colonies as to the public safety; to Connecticut (February 21st) Johannes Vermilye, Benjamin Blagge, and Leisler's son-in-law Jacob Milborne. He raised a force of one hundred and sixty men and sent them to Albany—now as willing as she had before been unwilling to recognize his authority. He called a Provincial Assemby—the second of its kind—to provide means for the war. And in May he convened, to meet in New-York, the first Colonial Congress. This Congress decided what each colony should furnish—New-York four hundred men, Connecticut one hundred and thirty, Maryland one hundred, and so on with the rest. In addition thereto Leisler fitted out in New-York five vessels—three for the expedition from Boston against Quebec, and two to keep the French out of Long Island Sound. In doing so, as De Peyster afterwards declared to have been within his own knowledge, he spent a large portion of his own estate. Were these services recognized when the end came? No; nor mentioned, nor permitted in any way to mitigate his sentence. It was only by the efforts of Lord Bellomont and De Peyster and Dr. Staats and young Leisler with the king that any part of the money spent was subsequently returned. At the time his efforts in behalf of the province were really turned against him. The expedition north, under General Winthrop, of Connecticut, from which so much had been expected, failed to do anything and led Leisler into unwise recriminations; and unfortunately the naval outfit under Sir William Phipps was equally unsuccessful. But they cost money. When the Provincial Assembly at last met it had to levy taxes—war taxes, as usual unpopular, and any and every attempt to collect which became fuel for clamor against Leisler. Nevertheless, his prompt public spirit and efficiency as a Lieutenant-Governor are undeniable; and this so-called usurper it was to whom, with his

Council, must be credited the organization of the first Colonial Congress for mutual defense, a century-plant whose fuller fruitage was the United States. This same so-called usurper and his Council it was likewise who first among New-York officials voluntarily called into being a Provincial Assembly, as the source of legislation and taxation, a principle rejected by James but reaffirmed by William, in its results our State legislature. Leisler was a democrat, conducting, against great opposition, especially in Albany and New-York, a democratic revolution. A man of the people, he believed in the people. At the beginning he was for a committee of safety, elected by the people. And in Albany, aristocratic Albany, which resisted him till the time of the war, the contention of his officers was that the old James charter was null and that they ought to have a free election by the people. A spasm of liberty, repressed, though only so, by one hundred years of British domination yet to come!

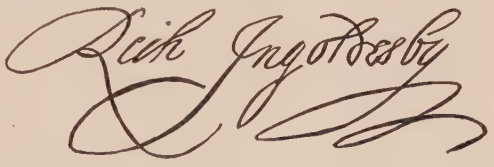
A faithful exhibit of events prior to the closing scenes requires us to add one more topic to this review. Even during the war, busy as Leisler was in bringing the colonies together, in arranging expeditions, in mustering troops, in equipping vessels, in providing guns and stores for destitute Albany, he and his Council also had the disaffected to look after. They kept up the contest, and the heat of neither party subsided. In such circumstances what was to be expected? Measures of repression, arrests, fines, imprisonments — some by the local courts, some by order of Council — sometimes, also, searches by soldiers, and sometimes therewith excesses by soldiers. Revolutionary times these, two hundred years ago, not our times! And the difference is important. Consider the tremendous violations of law and right in England under James and Jeffreys up to 1689; the extortions, spoliations, imprisonments, under Andros, the royal governors and their Council up to the same date; that Leisler had himself been imprisoned by Andros; that imprisonment was the ready "catholicon" for almost all offenses at the time; that the Rev. Nicholas Van Rensselaer, a clergyman, had been imprisoned in Albany in 1676 for words, heresy, spoken in a sermon; that Andros and others were at the very date held in prison in Boston by its Committee of Safety! Some of these things heating to the temper, and all of them a bad example to revolutionary times if not necessary! In New-York the only safe holding-place was the fort, which would hold about three hundred soldiers. And now let us examine the oft-repeated charge against Leisler of exceptional tyranny in these matters. As a clergyman imprisoned under his administration and harshly treated, it is said, and who "ultimately died from the effects of his ill-treatment," the case of Domine Varick naturally claims precedence. But Varick, as we know,

early in these difficulties fled from his own congregation into Pennsylvania. Afterwards returning, he was, at a later time, charged by some of them with high treason, arrested, fined by a court, and then imprisoned by it in the fort, for non-payment, during five months. There he had a lighted chamber, in this differing from some others, and spent the time in learning French from Captain D'Eau, a captured French emissary to the Mohawks. Not specially harsh treatment! This and more, a long letter, he writes two years afterwards, without mentioning, perhaps through forgetfulness, that he had "ultimately died of his ill treatment"! There were others with him in the fort not so well off, some with "windows nailed up, or underground," evidently wherever they could put them for safe-keeping. And some there were, he says, "with irons on the legs,"—*i. e.*, chained by one leg. Except this letter it must now be said there is little in the way of record, apart from loose and partisan allegation, to give us any definite idea as to who or how many were thus imprisoned and treated during Leisler's administration. That they would be disaffected persons, more or less dangerous, is unquestionable. That they were not hundreds is certain. They were not scooped in from the community like fish in a net, or as people were during the French revolution. Recorded court "affidavits" against individuals do not indicate a large number. The records of the Council, as we have them, contain but few names of persons to be arrested; and but few are mentioned or alluded to as in confinement when the fort was surrendered. Indeed, of leading and active partisans, the most likely to be made to suffer, the most of them were not molested. The names of such would have been given; and at the time of the trial names appear of active participants therein, men too prominent to be overlooked, who were never personally the victims of Leisler's tyranny. Minvielle, for instance, had been a captain, deserted the rest, was at once placed in the Council by Sloughter when he came, and voted for Leisler's death. Would he not have been one? It was not really the great number imprisoned, but the quality of some few who were, that gave vehemence to the outcry against Leisler.

THE GREAT SEAL OF 1691.

Of these Colonel Bayard was the principal sufferer, the one most harshly treated. He was in prison a year, and with a chain on his leg; a man who could not be "let go," and who could not be trusted to the fidelity of common soldiers. His treatment shows the intensity of feeling that existed, and especially towards him. For all that, a

blot and an impolicy; a humiliation and a treatment that made vindictive a man who would not forget it, and greatly angered his many personal and party friends. That "something more mild could have been done" in such cases was thought by the Rev. Mr. Daillé, Leisler's good friend throughout, and he went to and exhorted him to it. Such cases must stand as, on that side, instances of unhappy party spirit, of undue rigor. Seething and passionate times all around, in 1690! And yet withal, what strikes us as most remarkable is this, that in a city, as we find it said, "ruled by the sword," under an "insolent" tyrant backed by soldiers and an inflamed and ignorant "rabble"—"a perfect reign of terror"—with at least one man in their power as obnoxious to the common people as Nicholas Bayard—that during two years of such rule there was not an execution real or demanded, not a drop of blood shed, nor yet a Libby prison with its scenes of starvation and death; only a comparatively few men of the opposite party imprisoned in a garrisoned fort and fewer yet chained by the leg. Marvelous self-restraint in "the rabble"! I turn to New-York in 1775. Again news from Boston; again of the wealthy class, the coterie bred and brooded by royal governors, a large part opposed to the popular side, Tories — among them names the same as in 1689! There is likewise a committee of safety looking after patriot interests. The prisons are full, including as such the churches; with an overflow into the jails of Connecticut. Among the prisoners is "Parson" Seabury, of Westchester, carried to New Haven and imprisoned. And so intense is party feeling that at Kingston two respectable men, men with families, are hung out of hand simply as Tories! I return to the year 1690. Bayard and his party are now back again in power, with Leisler and his "Hon. Council" prisoners. It takes but a few days and they are condemned to death; a few more and two of them, Leisler and his son-in-law Milborne, are executed—first hung, then beheaded; the rest remain in prison for sixteen months thereafter as the "condemned six." Against that execution the Rev. Mr. Daillé (the same who had exhorted Leisler to mildness) pleaded and protested with the Governor personally; he then presented to the Governor and Council a largely signed petition. In vain. Indeed for the act, one of mere humanity, he was cited before Sloughter's General Assembly and narrowly escaped imprisonment! Such comparisons are fair; and when made, how tips the beam of justice, for or against Leisler, his Council and party, buried by their opponents under a lasting ignominy? Say what one may of Leisler, that he was choleric and at times unduly severe, this remains, that in most exciting scenes he shed no blood.



In this bitter struggle, this social and political convulsion, let us remember that Leisler and his party were ultimately the defeated ones. His opponents, the successful party, have had the field. History has not yet climbed over the manifest exaggerations of party spirit, nor let fall the sunlight of justice upon characters and events which those exaggerations have blackened and defaced. Can we but view it as a significant fact that none of the charges over which we have thus far passed, things deemed monstrous in Leisler, were made the subject-matter of the indictment under which he was tried and condemned and executed? Party spirit was the deadly ingredient in that business, without which his execution would not have been possible. But party spirit had to find something bearing the semblance of law and justice, some monk's cowl wherewith to hide the features of its deed, and it found it not in the things thus far examined. The ground of his indictment is yet to come, and to it, the closing scene, consummating in a tragedy, we now pass.

In January, 1691, Major Ingoldesby entered the bay — nearly three months, as it proved, in advance of Governor Sloughter, from whom he had been parted in a storm. Of course he had no orders looking to the present emergency; none from William, none from Sloughter; no orders, no business to decide upon the king's letter or Leisler's right to the Lieutenant-Governorship — the all-important question — nor did he wait for Sloughter. But he was immediately visited by Philipse, Van Cortlandt, and others, and from their representations took his course. He made an instant demand for the fort. Leisler, in reply, requested to see his orders either from the king or Governor. And here let us recall the vital fact, the key to his position and action, that in his own estimation he was for the time being rightfully Lieutenant-Governor by virtue of the king's letter, and had, therefore, a right to ask of any man, even the king's officer, his credentials before delivering to him a king's fort. Ingoldesby's answer was curt, and at once showed his bias: "Possession of his Majesty's fort is what I demand." Whereupon the issue was made with Ingoldesby, and here begins the indictment against Leisler. Since Ingoldesby showed no credentials, he refused to deliver up the fort; otherwise he offered him "all courtesy and accommodation" for his troops. But the people, their passions were running high; they saw the old party back in power reinforced by Ingoldesby, and therefore when he landed — I quote from Domine Varick, who was there — "they ran from all the houses to the fort as against a public enemy." "They opened a brisk fire." Unfortunately two were killed, a negro and a soldier — the first in this history. To an angry letter from Ingoldesby about it, Leisler the next day replied: "I have forthwith examined and find it a matter of fact" that shots have been fired at the troops. He offered to punish the offenders if

they could be found. "God forbid," he says, "that any man under my command should be countenanced in an ill act"; and he publicly reproved it. Nevertheless, it was in the indictment, "murder, one Josias Browne." And so proceeded matters for about three months, with threatened war and excitement at fever-heat, but no bloodshed, Leisler's Council and party the meanwhile standing firmly by him, except that Dr. Beeckman, fearing bloodshed and the result, endeavored to organize a third party for neutrality till Sloughter's arrival. It was impossible, and did not save him from being condemned to death with the rest. But at last, during the evening of March 19th, Sloughter himself arrived in the bay; was rowed in his barge to the landing and proceeded to the City Hall; there heard Ingoldesby and the rest, and installed a Council; Leisler's messengers he arrested and pocketed a letter he also sent, and finally ordered Ingoldesby "to arrest Leisler and the persons called his Council." Summary proceedings, but effective; he was the long-looked-for royal Governor and had the power, whatever his character or bias or acts. History has written his epitaph with entire consensus: "weak, avaricious, immoral, and notoriously intemperate" — "a profligate, needy and narrow-minded adventurer." With such a man, the important thing was "the power behind the throne." In the morning, therefore, with the proper order now in his pocket, Ingoldesby proceeded to the fort; Leisler, Milborne, and such of the Council as were there quickly became prisoners; the rest dispersed to their homes, and the revolution, after two years' existence, was ended. Say of Leisler and his Council, if one pleases, foolishly obstinate to hold out so long! But short of the present, where? Lieutenant-Governor by virtue of the king's letter — that was Leisler's position, conviction, and claim.

To that position and conviction he and his Council remained consistently firm to the end. After a year's imprisonment, and while still condemned to death, when offered pardon and release (under Governor Fletcher) if they would sue for it as criminals guilty of high treason and crime, members of that Council refused; they had committed no crime. Unhappy for them, then, as was the ending through Sloughter's hasty condemnation — Sloughter, who had been ordered by the king to investigate — what shall we say of them? Brave men, with the courage of their convictions — men who would not shirk in battle, who would not flinch nor quit the deck though the breakers were reached and their lives in deadly peril! It is amazing they should have reached the end with but one defection. But prisoners they now are — Leisler (so says the account) with "the same chain on his leg that Bayard had worn." How long to the trial? Ten days. Upon what charges to be tried? "Traitorously levying war, feloniously murdering Josias Browne"; holding the fort against the Governor,

"in the reducing of which lives had been lost." In other words, the whole period of three months from Ingoldesby's arrival is in this indictment treated as one, as opposition to the Governor, who was "reducing the fort." Hence the charges, treason and murder. Who prepare the evidence for the prosecution? Bayard, Van Cortlandt, and Pinhorne. Who are the selected judges? Ten men "the least prejudiced against the prisoners"; or, as truthful Sloughter writes, "unconcerned with the late troubles" — including Ingoldesby, also Pinhorne, who had just prepared the evidence. Who are the government counsel? The Attorney-General, "reputed the ablest lawyer in America," and four specials to assist him. But on the other side? None. All the forms of law observed, till one examines the personnel. And now the trial begins. Leisler and Milborne at once refuse to plead till the court shall decide one question—had or had not the king's letter to Nicholson given him authority to take upon himself the government? The whole case in a nutshell! That granted, and it swept away the entire indictment. How was it decided? This learned Court of Oyer and Terminer, with Chief-Justice Dudley presiding, with the Attorney-General and four eminent counsel to assist, itself composed of men selected as "the least prejudiced against the prisoners," refused to decide this just and all-important question. They referred it to the Governor and Council. With what result? A result easily to be predicted. The Governor and Council were Sloughter, Philipse, Van Cortlandt, Bayard, Minvielle, and one or two more, sitting in judgment upon their own case—a case upon which turned the legality of Ingoldesby's acts, of this present trial, and of all the Council had done and claimed since December, 1689. Upon their decision, also, depended the lives of eight men; and they gave it against Leisler. So the trial proceeded to its end, Leisler and Milborne being tried as mutes, and being with six of his Council condemned to death. One scene more in this doleful tragedy. They have asked reprieve till the king can be heard from, and this Sloughter ostensibly grants. Will it be carried out? A very weak man is Sloughter. A great "clamor of the people" besieges his Excellency — Rev. Mr. Daillé's appeals on the other side and his petition of eighteen hundred names (the number given by Gouverneur) being of no account. A great "clamor of the people," and so his Excellency leaves it to his Council. And on their part the Council—Philipse, Bayard, Van Cortlandt, Nicolls, and Minvielle—(May 14th) declare it "absolutely necessary" that the execution of "the principal criminals"—Leisler and Milborne—should take place. For what reasons? First, as recorded, "for the satisfaction of the Indians" of the Mohawk valley, who had doubtless received and eagerly read the New-York morning papers, and were to be conciliated in no other possible way! Second, for "the assertion of the govern-

ment and authority, and the prevention of insurrections and disorders for the future." Such were their recorded reasons — to conciliate savages and strike terror at home! The next evening (Thursday, May 15th) there was an entertainment at the house of Bayard, and there the "weak" Sloughter signed the death-warrant, and there is reason to believe that he may have been under the influence of wine when he did so, as is asserted by some writers. From Thursday till Saturday, no longer; but Leisler is ready, Milborne it may be not so much so; and in his last address Leisler still declared that he would have yielded the fort to Ingoldesby had he presented his credentials. In a northeast rain-storm, near the old Tammany Hall, they were both hung, then beheaded. The young patroon of Albany, Jeremias Van Rensselaer, was not on the popular side, but he wrote to the Lords of Trade "revengefully sacrificed."[1]

It is all over then, since Leisler is dead. No, there remains the vindication; it is not all over. As Julius Cæsar "at Philippi the good Brutus ghosted," so Leisler ghosted the opposite party. Years did not see the end of the bitter feud, social and political, between the

[1] Bancroft's commentary on the event is: "Both acknowledged the errors which they had committed 'through ignorance and jealous fear, through rashness and passion, through misinformation and misconstruction'; in other respects they asserted their innocence, which their blameless private lives confirmed."

There is in existence an exceedingly interesting and recently discovered letter written by a lady of the Leisler party, dated New-York, August 6, 1691, or fourteen days after the death of Governor Sloughter. A few extracts will exhibit the state of mind to which the circumstances of the day had reduced the writer, and will also throw some light upon passing events. "We are under a great trouble by reason of ye present wicked government for which we may complain to God. If things go on after this rate there is no living any longer here for Christian souls. I would have departed before this time, but that they will not suffer anybody to go. . . . All this is only because we all have been so faithfull to King William and Queen Mary. . . . When ye news came here that Prince William had arrived in England, to maintain ye Protestant religion, the Dutchman who brought it was threatened by ye then Governor, who put his sword upon his breast to run him through if he would not be silent of it. . . . We have not deserved that such wicked judges should be sent over to us, who hear ye one and put ye other to death without having heard his defense, nay though Leisler's wife and children in the most abject posture did prostrate themselves at ye governor's feet, and begged of him that he would hear their husband and father but half an hour speak since he had heard none but his adversary's and enemies, and if that time was too long that he might give him audience but one minute, yett all this was in vaine, he must be hurried to the Execucon without being heard and thus they died gloriously as two Martyrs." The Rev. Dr. Samuel Miller states (of course as tradition) that when Leisler was executed, "the shrieks of the people were dreadful — especially the women — some fainted, some were taken in labour; the crowd cut off pieces of his garments as precious relics, also his hair was divided, out of great veneration, as for a martyr." EDITOR.

Leislerians and anti-Leislerians, parties that arose out of his grave; but that we pass. In England his enemies had till now very successfully "tuned" influential minds around the seat of power. The good and reliable Sloughter, after his official investigation, had also informed the king that doubtless "never greater villains lived" than Leisler and his Council. But other influences were beginning to work. In particular a strong petition came to their Majesties from young Leisler, his mother and sister, the widow of Milborne. The Lords of Trade, to whom it was referred, reported the execution "according to law"—*i. e.*, the military offense charged against Leisler bore in law the death penalty. How, indeed, could they venture to declare William's first Governor and Council and a Court of Oyer and Terminer, with Chief-Justice Dudley at its head, guilty of judicial murder? Not yet. They, however, petitioned their Majesties to restore the estates of the deceased; and Mary in council "approved their report" and so ordered—an act, so far, of executive "mercy." But in 1695, through the efforts of young Leisler, of Gouverneur, and others, and with William's assent, the case came before Parliament. A committee was appointed and the whole history examined anew. That history was embodied in a bill, and though opposed to the utmost by Chief-Justice Dudley and others, it was passed by Parliament and William signed it! It reversed the attainder in full; and as the legitimate corollary the "condemned six" were likewise pardoned and their estates restored. Vindicated at last; Leisler and Milborne, also, receiving from the General Assembly, the State Legislature, under Governor Bellomont, public and honorable interment near the old Dutch Church.[2]

TOMB OF LEISLER.[1]

[1] Leisler and Milborne were buried almost immediately opposite the place of their execution, or in a spot which is now near the corner of Spruce street and Park Row (or Printing House Square). This ground was comprehended within property that came into Leisler's possession on his marriage with Mrs. Vanderveen, who was a stepdaughter of Govert Loockermans, to whom the land was granted in 1642. On the reversal of the sentence of attainder and the restitution of Leisler's name to honor, the bodies were taken up and moved to the cemetery back of the church in Garden street, now Exchange Place, in September, 1698; and the tombstone shown in the illustration was here erected. EDITOR.

[2] Bellomont, in a letter to the "Lords of Trade," May 15, 1699, wrote: "I do not repent my so doing since no manner of ill consequence ensued, and if it were in my power I would restore them to life again, for I am most confident, and dare undertake to prove it, that the execution of these men was as violent, cruell, and arbitrary a proceeding as ever was done upon the lives of men in any age under an English government, and it will be proved undeniably that Fletcher hath declared the same dislike and abhorrence of that proceeding that I now doe, notwithstanding his doubleness in publishing a book to applaud the justice of it, and screen his sycophant Councillors Nicolls, Bayard, Brooks, and the rest of the bloodhounds. . . . I do not wonder that Bayard, Nicolls, and the rest of the murderers of these men should be disturbed at the taking up of their bones; it put them in mind ('t is likely) of their rising hereafter in judgment against them." (Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 4: 523.) EDITOR.

When this subject was first undertaken by the writer he had only the most general impressions concerning it. On examination he found the histories relating to the matter variant and confused, but the larger part of them adverse to Leisler; and he felt obliged to analyze for himself from the very beginning. The result is now a definite opinion: that by their early and stubborn resistance to a popular and inevitable outbreak, necessarily involving their own authority, the old government seeded the future crop—a resistance on both sides growingly stubborn and full of the caloric of passion in that contracted city. They should at least have accepted the temporary solution of a committee of safety, but lost their opportunity. For the rest, the action of Parliament, the fullness of the bill, with William's signature thereto, covers, and settles all questions back to the interpretation of the king's letter. Leisler was not a usurper, but had rights which Ingoldesby and Sloughter and the rest grievously and wrongly invaded. That scaffold with all its ignominy was reared upon a miserable technicality, a subterfuge—resistance to a king's officer, the Governor's representative; but one who had no credentials from his superior, who only afterwards chose to adopt his acts. Upon that technicality, that subterfuge, eight men condemned to death, two of them actually executed! How could such a thing be done? We must remember the age and the example of England; that moral sentiment on the subject of life and executions was not the keen sentiment of the present day, which would render another such event on New-York soil impossible. Above all, however, what does history tell us, by many examples, of the blinding, almost dehumanizing effects of party spirit, of class prejudice and passion! Some of these were good men. Domine Selyns was such, though he did not interfere—perhaps could not. I think Van Cortlandt to have been such, in other matters an honorable gentleman. But they began with the idea of "the rabble," and ended by thinking their opponents through the loom and the fog phenomenal "villains"—than whom "never greater villains lived." As such they judged, as such condemned them, shedding their blood without compunction, who in two years of agitating strife, of mutual partisanship, had never shed any. So may even good men harden at times into rock and wrong—excusing themselves by many subtle mental devices. But in California is a town where one may walk, himself among orange orchards, roses, the cactus, banana and palm trees. In the distance between two hills of green is a mountain of rock, in summer ugly and grim, fit object for God's thunderbolts; but in winter there comes from the skies a soft veil of snow which hides its unseemliness from the ob-

server among the pleasant orange groves. Let us do as the skies do—cast the white mantle of charity over this tragic and ugly event of the distant past, one of such intense passion and partisanship. But Leisler, relegated as an official of New-York to the dust and opprobrium of two centuries—concerning him what does this review make the fitting conclusion? Is it not this—that as we praise the faithful sentinel of Pompeii, whom the enshrouding ashes had so long concealed, as in our day we are raising to pedestals of honor men whom the passions of the past had alone consigned to oblivion or ignominy, so should be restored to honorable place in the annals of New-York the name of Lieutenant-Governor Leisler? Let us turn his face from the wall.

Although the event of preponderating interest has now been passed in review, before this chapter is concluded some attention must be given to the remaining affairs of Governor Sloughter's brief administration, and to those of the interval that elapsed before the arrival of his successor from England. Simultaneously with his preparations for Leisler's trial, Sloughter issued writs for the election of members for a Provincial Assembly, to meet on April 9, 1691. This was in compliance with his instructions from King William, which in other respects were very similar to those which James, as Duke of York and as King of England, had delivered to Andros and Dongan before the plan of the vice-regency had been put into effect. One important difference, however, must be noted, in that a requirement was now included which had before been carefully omitted, but which recent circumstances seemed imperatively to call for. The "Test Act" of 1673 had not hitherto been extended to America, and would have been obviously inappropriate in the dominions of Roman Catholic James. Now, however, it was to be enforced in all its rigor. By this all persons holding any civil or military offices were required to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; to publicly receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the usage of the Church of England; and to subscribe a declaration against the Romish doctrine of Transubstantiation. By William's appointment the Provincial Council was to consist of the following twelve persons: Frederick Philipse,

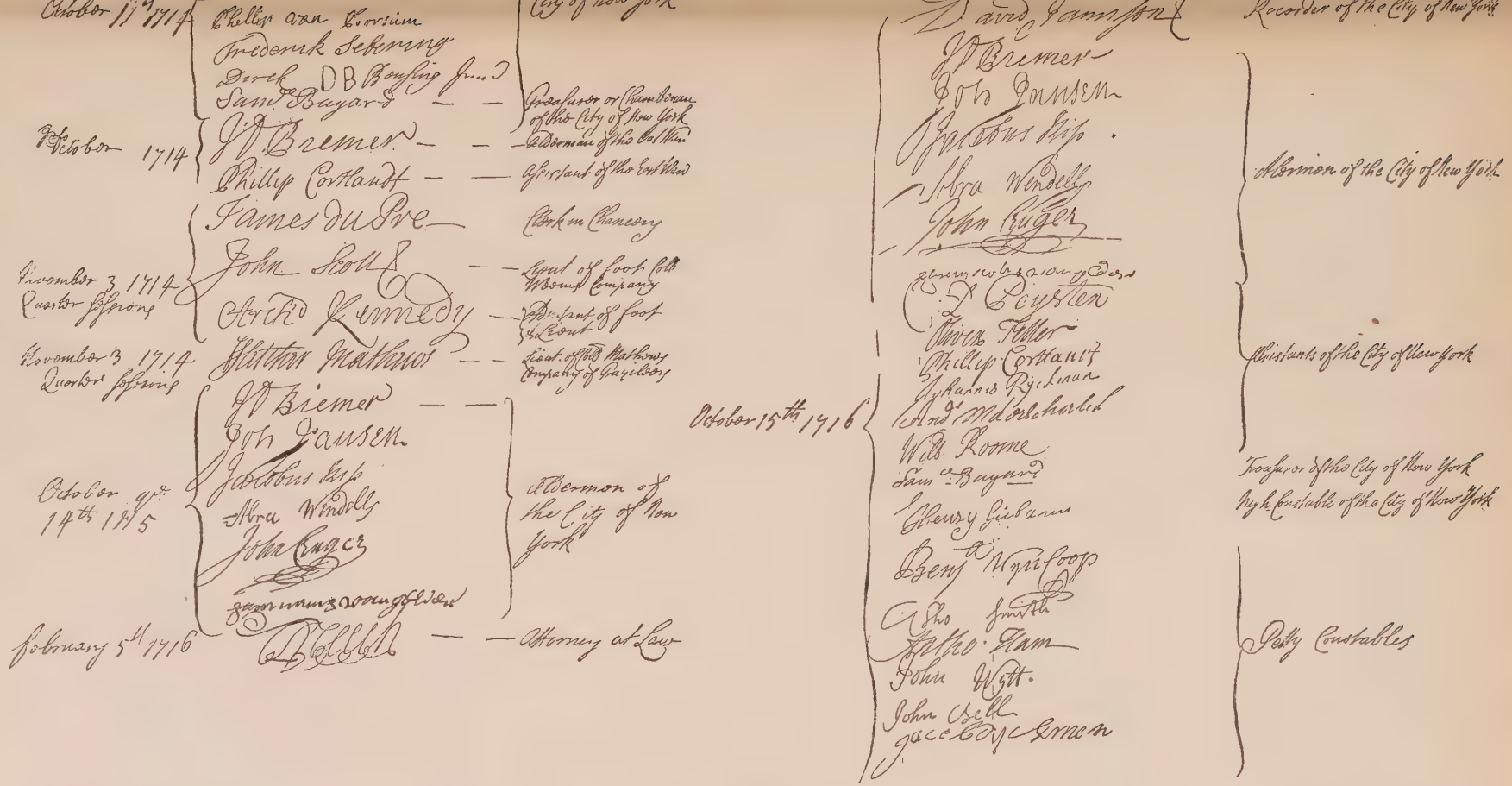
THE REMSEN HOUSE, FRONT VIEW.[1]

[1] The ancient Dutch farmhouse of which the front and rear views are given above and on p. 487, respectively, was known as the Remsen house, and was for a long period in the possession of the New-York family of that name. EDITOR.

City of N York

I A B do Solemnly and Sincerely in the presence of God Profess Testifie and declare, that I do beleive that in the Sacrement of the Lords Supper there is not any Transubstantiation of the Elements of Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ at or after the Consecration thereof by any Person whatsoever And that the Invocation or Adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other Saint and the Sacrifice of the Mass as they are now used in the Church of Rome are Superstitious, and Idolatrous And I do Solemnly in Presence of God profess Testifie and Declare that I do make this declarition and every part thereof in the plain Ordinary Sence of the words read unto me as they are Commonly understood by English Protestants without any Evasion Equivocation or Mental Reservation whatsoever and without any dispensation already Granted me for this purpose by the Pope or any other or person whatsoever or without any hope of any such dispensation from any person or Authority whatsoever or without thinking that I am or can be Acquitted before God or Man or absolved of this Declaration or any part thereof Although the Pope or any other person or persons or Power whatsoever should dispense with or Annull the same or declare that it was Null and Void from the begening

Time when	Persons Subscribing	The Office	Time when	Persons Subscribing	The Office
	Johs Jansen			D. Leyster	
	Jacobus Kip			Philip Schanet	
October 14th 1714	Abra Wendell	Alderman of the City of New York.		Johannis Beekman	
	John Cruger			And Marschalck	Assistant Aldermen of the City of New York
	Jacobus Bayard Jr.			Oliver Teller	
	D. D. Leyster		October 12th 1715	Will Roome	
	Albert Gloed			God (illegible)	High Constable
October 14th 1714	Gerardus Beekman	Assistants of the City of New York		(illegible) Lynes	
	And Marschalck			(illegible)	Petty Constable
	Johannis Beekman			Jacob Marius Groen	
	Jos Delius			Isaac + Meyer	
	Joseph Wright			Thomas + Van Cortlandt	



THE TEST ACT.

This fac-simile affords an illustration of the actual use which was made of the "Test Act" of 1673, introduced into New-York at Governor Sloughter's coming, although the document bears the date of a later century. All officers of the colonial government, and of the city, were obliged to subscribe to it, as is manifest by examination of the present paper. EDITOR.

Stephen Van Cortlandt, Nicholas Bayard, William Smith, Gabriel Minvielle, Chidney Brooke, William Nicolls, Nicholas De Meyer, Francis Rombouts, Thomas Willett, William Pinhorne, and John Haines. To mark the accession of new sovereigns and the inauguration of a new era in English history, a new seal was bestowed upon the province of New-York. It represented on one side the figures of the king and queen, to whom an Indian man and woman, in a kneeling posture, offered a present of beaver. On the reverse side were the royal arms with an appropriate legend.

THE REMSEN HOUSE, REAR VIEW.

The election called for by Governor Sloughter's writs having duly taken place, the members of the Assembly met in New-York on April 9th. The city and county were represented by James Graham, who was elected Speaker, and William Merrett, Jacobus Van Cortlandt, and Johannes Kip. "It was the first time," remarks Brodhead, "that the popular representatives of the province had convened under the direct authority of the English crown." Yet when they passed a resolution declaring that it was a right and not a privilege for the people to thus elect their own legislatures, it was promptly vetoed by the Governor. During a session of not quite six weeks, it enacted no less than fourteen laws, most of them exceedingly deferential to the royal wish. The act of greatest importance perhaps was one for the establishment of a Supreme Court for the province. Of this the Governor appointed as Chief-Justice, Joseph Dudley; as second Justice, Thomas Johnson; while the Associate Justices were William Smith, Stephen Van Cortlandt, and William Pinhorne. As there was then no palatial State House, such as now towers above the banks of the Hudson at Albany, the Provincial Assembly was compelled to content itself with the humble accommodations of a tavern.

Governor Sloughter did not long survive his arrival in America, or the victims of his hasty and partial prosecution. On March 19, 1691, he had landed on Manhattan Island; on July 23d he was suddenly attacked by illness, and died within a few hours. It is not surprising that in the ferment of those times suspicions of poisoning should have been awakened. A negro was accused of having placed poison in his coffee, and the act traced of course to the adherents of Leisler. A post-mortem examination was ordered, which resulted in the conclusion that he had come to his death from natural causes. But, on the

other side, it was confidently believed that remorse for the execution of Leisler, or delirium tremens from excessive dissipation, was the cause of his sudden death. He was buried at the expense of the province, and his remains placed in the vault of the Stuyvesant family, by the side of those of the gallant old Governor.

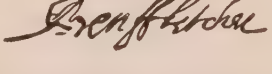
In this emergency, immediately after the funeral, on July 26th, the Provincial Council met for the purpose of supplying the vacancy in the Governorship. It called for the reading of Major Richard Ingoldesby's commission from the king. This having been done, it was declared that, whereas, in the case of the death of the Governor, the Major should act as Commander-in-chief of the military, by the express provision of this instrument, the intention must also be that he should take his place, at least temporarily, as Governor. He was accordingly summoned before the Council. The oath of office having been administered to him, and the Test Act of 1673 submitted for his subscription, Richard Ingoldesby became acting Governor of New-York, until a Governor should have been appointed by the king. The administration of Ingoldesby extended to a little over thirteen months. It was marked by no events of especial importance. In February, 1692, he urged upon the Assembly and the city government the necessity of strengthening the fort and the defenses of the city, but without a satisfactory response. In May, 1692, reports came of the approach of the French from the direction of Canada, and the Major hastened to Albany to renew in person the pledges of friendship with the faithful Iroquois. Ever threatening but never succeeding in breaking the barrier which these friendly Indians interposed between French aggression and English dominion in North America, the efforts of the French were again foiled in the present instance, and Ingoldesby was enabled to resign the government to his successor with peace and prosperity reigning within the bounds of the province. There was a rumor among the people, and there may have been some hope within his own breast, that the king might ratify the action of the Provincial Council, and make his incumbency of the office permanent. But in this he was disappointed, and on August 29, 1692, Colonel Benjamin Fletcher arrived at New-York, commissioned by William III., to be its Governor. Ingoldesby, however, remained in the province, and, as will be seen, rendered important military services under Fletcher.[1]

[1] "At Stillwater, in June, 1709, Colonel Peter Schuyler, in command of the advance guard of General Francis Nicholson's army, halted and erected a small stockaded fort which he named Fort Ingoldesby, in honor of Lieutenant-Governor Major Richard Ingoldesby." (From Stone's "Revolutionary Letters," p. 134 (1891).) EDITOR.

CHAPTER XIII

BENJAMIN FLETCHER AND THE RISE OF PIRACY
1692–1698

ON Sunday, the 28th of August, 1692, the sentry on Fort William Henry perceived a signal at the Narrows flagstaff that a vessel was sighted "att Sandy Point," and the news spread rapidly through the city that the Wolf, with the long-expected Governor, Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, on board, was in sight. This conjecture became reality when, next morning, the frigate stood up the bay, and towards evening dropped anchor under the fort, with a salute to the flag. During the night preparations for the reception of the Governor with ceremony befitting his rank and dignity were consummated. At eight o'clock next morning he disembarked and was received by a great company — the Council of the province, including the Chief Justice, the Mayor, Abraham De Peyster, and the Common Council of the city — courtly, dignified gentlemen in the handsome and distinctive costume of the day, with the militia regiments in arms and a great concourse of citizens. These saluted the Governor with "acclamations and firing," and a procession being formed, the whole body marched to the fort, where the council-chamber was thrown open, and his commission publicly read; after which Colonel Fletcher, with due solemnity, administered their several oaths to the councilors. This done, the procession again formed and marched to the City Hall, where the new Governor was publicly proclaimed and his commission read to the people, which was followed by "the like ceremony of acclamations and firing." The ceremonies concluded with a grand banquet in the evening which cost the city twenty pounds.[1]



The Governor, thus publicly inaugurated, was a striking and important figure in the city's annals, and everything relating to his history and personality is of interest. Unfortunately few data of this kind

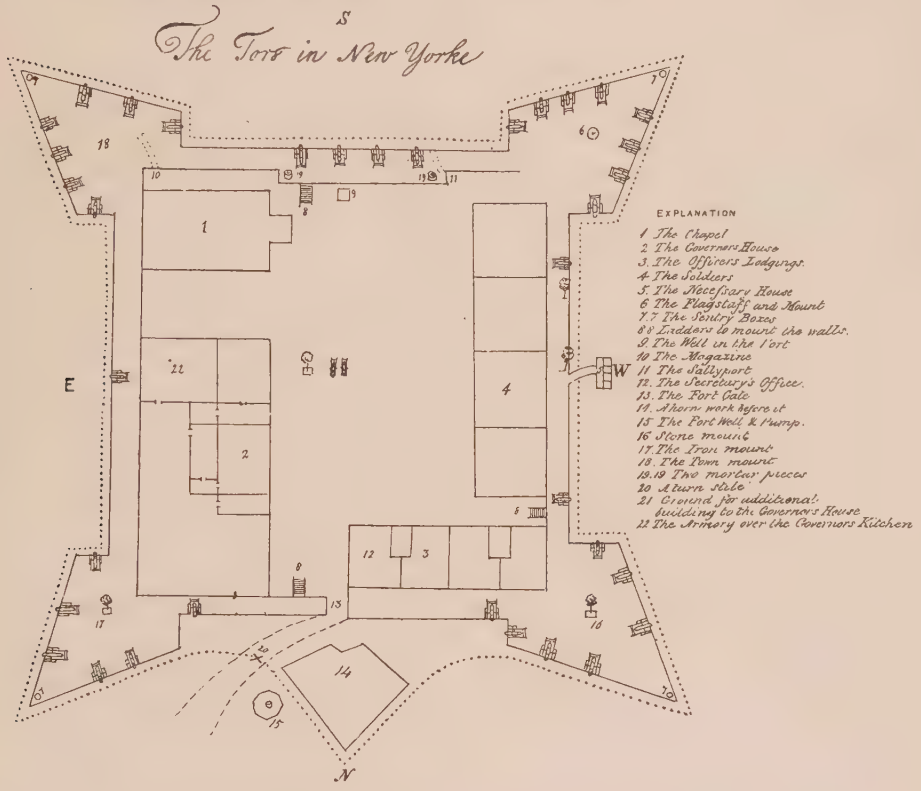
1 Tuesday, August 30, 1692: "Agreed that there be a treat made to wellcome his Excellency Benjamin Fletcher now arrived, by the city to the value of twenty pounds or thereabouts, and it is left to Alderman William Merritt to provide the same accordingly." (Council Minutes.)

have been preserved. None of the historians who have touched upon his career have given the date or place of his birth. John R. Brodhead, collector of the "Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New-York," remarks that his arms point to Cheshire, England, as the place of his birth, but the county history of Cheshire is silent concerning him. The Assembly of New-York, in 1699, adopted a petition to Lord Bellomont asking that the arms of Governor Fletcher might be removed from the king's chapel in the fort and from Trinity Church, "since his birth was so mean and obscure that he was not entitled to bear a coat of arms." Fletcher himself, writing to one of his refractory Assemblies, said that his education had been that of the camp. About all that is known of him prior to his being appointed Governor is that he was an Englishman by birth and a soldier by profession, who had done good service for William in the Low Countries and in the heady Irish war. Frederick De Peyster states "that, having been an active propagandist of Englishism and Protestantism in Ireland, he was rewarded with an estate in that country." He had been appointed Governor by William and Mary for two reasons: first, as a distinct reward for services performed, and second, because it was thought that his energy and military talents would bring peace and order to the distracted colony. It was expected that he would advance his own fortunes out of the governorship — this had been the custom of all royal governors. No portrait nor authentic description of him is known to be extant. In character he was arrogant, avaricious, passionate, something of a zealot in religion, fond of social pleasures, not averse to exhibiting himself in the gilded trappings of his station, but brave, energetic, loyal, and well affected towards the colony.

Long and minute instructions were given for his guidance in the government, which, as forming the key to his administration, we will notice at length, since they have been largely ignored by many writers who have treated of this period. He was to proceed to his government with all convenient speed, call the members of the Council together — who were named in the instrument — viz., Joseph Dudley (the Chief Justice), Frederick Flypson (Philipse), Stephen Cortlandt, Nicholas Bayard, William Smith, Gabrielle Mienville, Chidley Brooke, William Nicolls, Thomas Willett, William Pinhorne, Thomas Johnson, Peter Schuler (Schuyler), John Lawrence, Richard Townley, and John Young, Esquires,[1] administer the oath to them, and cause, with "all due and usual solemnity," his commission to be published in the province. He was to communicate to these councilors so many of his instructions as he deemed necessary for the good of the service, and permit them to have and enjoy freedom of debate and vote; he was not to act with a quorum of less than five members except in case of neces-

[1] Caleb Heathcote, who later became a prominent figure in New-York history, was added a year later.

sity, when three would be deemed legal. In nominating members of the Council, judges, and others, he was to exercise care that they were men of estate and ability, not necessitous people, or much in debt, and that they were well affected towards the government. He was not to suspend councilors without good and sufficient cause, and then must transmit to the home government copies of charges, proofs, and the replies of the accused thereunto. He was to transmit authentic copies



of all the laws and statutes made in the province. He was not to be absent from his government on any pretense whatever without leave. He was to forward by the first opportunity a map with an exact description of the whole territory under his government; likewise a list of all officers employed under him, with all public charges, and an account of the present revenue. He was not to displace any judges, justices, sheriffs, or ministers, without good and sufficient cause, which cause was to be reported to the king in full. He was to erect a Court of Exchequer for the trial of all cases affecting the revenue, if he deemed it necessary. "You shall take especial care," the document continued, "that God Almighty be devoutly and duly served throughout your

The above plan, also the one of the town on p. 502, as they appeared in the year 1695, are copied from the Rev. John Woolly's "Description of the Province and City of New-York."— EDITOR.

government, the Book of Common Prayer, as it is now established, read each Sunday and holy day, and the blessed sacrament administered according to the rites of the Church of England. You shall be careful that the churches already built there be well and orderly kept, and more built as the colony shall by God's blessing be improved, and that, besides a competent maintenance be assigned to the minister of each Orthodox church, a convenient house be built at the common charge for each minister, and a competent proportion of land assigned him for a glebe and exercise of his industry. . . . Our will and pleasure is that noe minister be preferred by you to any Ecclesiastical Benefice in that our Province without a certificate from the Right Reverend the Bishop of London of his being conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and of a good life and conversation. . . .

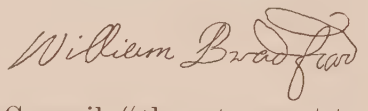
THE VAN RENSSELAER ARMS.

"And to the end the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the said Bishop of London may take place in that our Province as far as conveniently may be, We do think fitt that you give all countenance and encouragement to the exercise of the same—excepting only the colating to Benefices, Granting Licenses for Marriages, and Probate of Wills which we have reserved to you our Governor, and to the Commander-in-Chief of our said Province for the time being. . . . We do further direct that no School Master be henceforth permitted to come from England and to keep School within our Province of New-York without the License of the said Bishop of London, and that no other person now there, or that shall come from other parts, be admitted to keep school without the License first had. You are to take care that Drunkenness and Debauchery, Swearing and Blasphemy be severely punished, and that none be admitted to Publique Trust and employment whose ill fame and conversation may bring scandal there upon."

He was also to exercise care that no man's life or estate should be put in jeopardy except by due course of law; to permit liberty of conscience to all except papists; make due entries of all goods and commodities imported; cultivate the friendship of the Indians, and seek to attach them to the British crown, with the assistance of his Council; find out the best means "to facilitate and encourage the conversion of negroes and Indians to the Christian Religion," and provide for the raising and building of "Publique Work Houses in convenient places for the employing of Poor and Indigent people." He was not to permit any alteration in the value of current coin, and was to exercise censorship over the printing-press. In addition he was to make

full and frequent reports of his doings, and of the state of the province, to the Lords of Trade. His salary was fixed at six hundred pounds, exclusive of perquisites.

These were the Governor's secret instructions, only to be communicated at his discretion to the members of the Council. Additional instructions were contained in his commission, which was to be publicly read, and which should also be considered in order fully to understand the new Governor's position. This was largely devoted to a definition of his powers and prerogatives: as power to suspend members of the Council and appoint others to their places, power to call General Assemblies and to adjourn or prorogue them. One article, worthy of being quoted, gave him authority over such lands, tenements, and hereditaments as were in the power of the king to dispose of, and, with the consent of his Council, "them to grant to any Person or Persons for such term, and under such moderate Quitt Rent services and acknowledgments to be thereupon reserved unto us, as you by and with the advice aforesaid shall think fitt."



In this instrument he was also commanded to take all possible care for the discountenance of vice and encouragement of virtue and good living, "that by such example the Infidells may be invited and desire to partake of the Christian Religion."

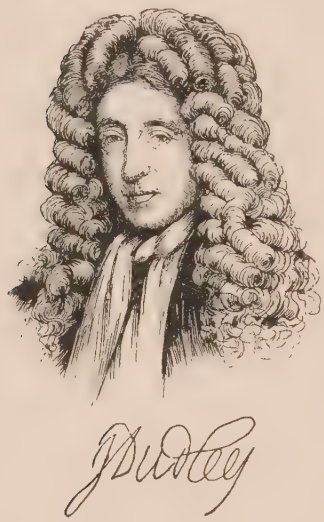
The new Governor, as soon as he was able to take a calm survey of the situation, found himself beset with difficulties. Three elements of discord — race, religion, and politics, or, more properly, faction — were present in his government. The English conquerors mostly hated and despised the Dutch. The latter, but twenty-eight years under the English yoke, looked with no kindly eyes on their conquerors. The body of the people was composed of Independents who regarded the Church of England with a dislike second only to that felt for Rome. Those who have read in the preceding chapter of the career and execution of Leisler and Milborne can imagine the feeling existing between the two factions at this moment.[1]

Twelve days after disembarking, Fletcher wrote the Earl of Nottingham: "The two parties seem implacable, and those who suffered by the violence of Leisler are suing those who acted by his commis-

1 Quaint testimony on this head is borne by the Rev. John Miller, Fletcher's chaplain, who, on his return to England, wrote a brief description of the province, with maps. The number of inhabitants at this time he places at "3000 families, whereof almost one-half are naturally Dutch, a great part (of the remainder) English, and the rest French.

"As to their religion they are very much divided: few of them intelligent and sincere, but the most part ignorant and conceited, fickle and regardless. As to their wealth and disposition thereto, the Dutch are rich and sparing. The English neither very rich nor too great husbands. The French are poor, and therefore forced to be penurious. As to their way of trade and dealing, they are all generally cunning and crafty, but many of them not so just to their words as should be." He mentions six very evil things as destructive to the happiness of New-York: 1st, the wickedness of the inhabitants; 2d, want of ministers; 3d, difference of opinion in religion; 4th, a civil dissension; 5th, heathenism of the Indians; 6th, neighborhood of Canada.

sion to their prejudice. . . . This inveteracy on both sides weakens us very much, and obstructs his Majesty's service." There were also foes without. King William was now waging war against France, and the brave Count Frontenac, who commanded in Canada, hung upon the northern frontiers of New-York in constant menace, and was using all his ability to seduce the Five Nations — the bulwark of the English power — to his master's interest. Special commissions gave Fletcher authority over the militia of Connecticut and Rhode Island and East and West Jerseys, and as full authority over Pennsylvania and Delaware as over New-York. This was deemed by the colonies affected a violation of their charter rights, and they would not submit to his authority; nor would they furnish troops and munitions for carrying on the war against Canada, as the king had commanded. The Governor made a long and tiresome journey into Pennsylvania and Connecticut, without achieving results. At the first meeting of the Council, finding that Joseph Dudley, the Chief Justice, had removed to Boston, and William Pinhorn, Recorder, to New Jersey, he suspended them, and appointed William Smith to the former and James Graham to the latter office, until their Majesties' pleasure should be known.



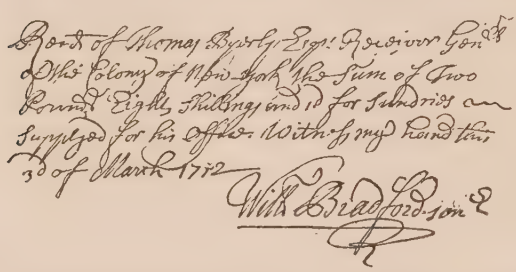
Of the city government Abraham De Peyster (who has been presented to the reader) was Mayor; the members of the Common Council were William Beekman, Alexander Wilson, William Merritt, Thomas Clarke, John Merritt, Garrett Dow, Johannes Kip, Robert Darkins, Peter King, Brandt Schuyler, and Stephen De Lancey. The Assembly called by Governor Sloughter was still sitting, and he prorogued it after "it had provided for Albany next winter." He then called a new Assembly "to relieve the revenue of debt." The public debt he found amounted to £3000, and the finances were in a wretched state, partly from the mismanagement of his predecessors and also because New-York had been forced to bear alone the expenses of the Indian war, the other colonies holding aloof. The people had been taxed until they were on the verge of revolt. This debt was the chief burden of Fletcher's administration. His subsequent quarrels with the popular Assembly were due largely to its refusal to vote the money necessary for carrying on the government. To placate the Leislerians "he discharged all recognizances taken on the score of Leisler and superseded all proceedings," and also tried his personal

powers of persuasion and blandishment, which were not inconsiderable, so that on January 7, 169$\frac{2}{3}$, he was able to write Judge Dudley "that all things appeared serene, no wave to ruffle, no cloud to obscure our peace; the face of love was not more smooth." Suddenly he heard from several sources of meetings, violent expressions, threats against certain councilors, demands of reparation for Leisler's death, and discovered at length by a letter that fell into his hands that it was Boston that was sowing the seeds of faction and fanning the smoldering embers of discontent in his government. One of the legacies from Governor Sloughter was Abraham Gouverneur and his five associates, companions of Leisler, whom he found in prison under sentence of death. These men Fletcher had pardoned under instructions from the crown, first exacting their parole not to leave the province without his consent. Gouverneur, however, escaped to Boston in a fishing-boat, and having been wrecked on Nantucket shoals, arrived there with "nothing but two shirts and a cravat," as he wrote his parents in New-York. In this same letter he told them that he had been kindly received by the Governor (Sir William Phipps), who had remarked to him, "This old King James Council that is at York spoils all, and they must be out. The Governor (Fletcher) is a poor beggar, and seeks nothing but money and not the good of the country. But there is yet hopes. Mr. Manley, your lawyer in England, is chosen Parliament man, and your cause will be inspected there to some purpose, and I doubt not but there will be satisfaction for estates, and I hope for blood also; for if what Governor Leisler and ye have done be ill, how comes their Majesties to sit upon the throne?" and promised him assistance to go to England and lay his case before the king. This letter fell into Fletcher's hands, whereupon he wrote a sharp reply to Governor Phipps, arraigning him for speaking so ill of a friendly government, and demanding the surrender of Gouverneur, whom he styled a fugitive from justice. Phipps wrote an angry rejoinder, in which he said the words attributed to him were in reality uttered by Gouverneur, but declining to deliver the latter up, who soon after escaped to England, and with young Jacob Leisler, jr., busied himself in reversing the attainder of Leisler, and in instilling into the minds of the king and his councilors suspicions and innuendos against Fletcher.

In local affairs one of the first things brought to the Governor's attention was the "Bolting and Baking Act." This curious privilege, savoring of the feudal ages, was a monopoly (granted New-York in 1678) of bolting all the flour and baking all the bread that should be exported from the province. The neighboring towns desired to have the act repealed, but were strenuously opposed by the merchants of the city. At the initial banquet given to the Governor, his atten-

tion was called to it by Mayor De Peyster, and his good offices with the king invoked in favor of continuing the privilege. The Common Council also addressed him several times upon the subject. At length, in 1694, the Assembly, by an act directed against "unlawful by-laws," abolished the privilege.

The Common Council in 1696 wrote an address praying to have the law restored, and in support of their petition cited some interesting statistics. "When the bolting began in 1678," they said, "there were only 343 houses. In 1696 there were 594. The revenue in 1678, 1679 and 1680 did not exceed £2000; in the year 1687, £5000. In 1687 there were 3 ships, 7 boats, 8 sloops; in 1694 there were 60 ships, 40 boats, and 62 sloops, since which is a decrease. In 1687, New-York killed 400 beeves; in 1694, near 4000. Lands had advanced tenfold in value. If this Act continue [that is, abolishing the monopoly of bolting], many families in New-York must perish." Some other local incidents of interest occurred about this time, worthy of mention. Nassau street was opened. A night or "rattle" watch of four men was instituted. The streets were first lighted by suspending a lantern from every seventh house. Frederick Philipse built the first bridge over Spuyten Duyvil to his manor of Phillipsborough; the Common Council authorized him (January 12th, 1693) to charge as toll 1*d.* for cattle, 2*d.* for each man and horse, 12*d.* for each score of sheep and hogs, 6*d.* for each cart and wagon, if he would build a good and convenient drawbridge. "Overseers of the poor" and "poorhouses" were instituted, and surveys of the streets were made to see which needed paving.



On making an examination of his capital, Fletcher found its defenses in a wretched state, the fortifications decayed, the troops ragged and ill provided with arms and munitions, and at once undertook to place them on a better footing. Late in September he wrote that he was about making a secret visit to the frontiers to inquire into affairs there. He went again openly in February 169$\frac{2}{3}$, when an attack by Frontenac on his allies, the Mohawks, called him to their defense. The account of this expedition given by Colonels Bayard and Lodowick, who accompanied it, is so quaint and picturesque that we present extracts. On February 12th, about midnight, an express arrived from Colonel Beeckman, of Ulster County, with news that five hundred and fifty French and Indians were on the 8th within twenty miles of Schenectady, "ready to fall upon the first two castles of our Mohogs" (Mohawks). Fletcher at once ordered the colonel of the city regi-

ment to draw out his men next morning, and sent orders to Colonel Cortlandt, of Kings County, and Colonel Willett, of Queens, to detach out of their regiments one hundred and fifty men and have them ready to embark at the ferry. "About eight o'clock (next) morning, the City Regiment being under arms, his Excellency, on horseback at the head of the regiment, demanded who were willing to follow him to the frontiers against the enemy; they unanimously threw up their hats, crying, 'One and all.' Upon which Colonel Bayard was ordered to detach one hundred and fifty of the fittest men to be under the command of three captains with their subaltern officers, ready at first beat of drum, and dismiss the regiment."

C Frontenac [1]

"About 10 o'clock," the account continues, "his Excell. did send the Express forward to Lieut.-Col. Beeckman with orders to get all the horses in the County of Ulster together in readiness to carry his Excell. and the detachments to Albany from Kingston by land in case the river were not open, and to forward any confirmation of the news to his Excell. which he expected before he did intend to imbarq. 14, Tuesday.— By break of day an Express from Major Ingoldesby confirming the former news and that the two first castles were taken by the French and Indians, whereupon eight sloops were ordered with necessary provisions and ammunition to goe round the fort, and be ready to saile, and the detachment of the City Regiment did immediately imbarq about 4 o'clock afternoon: (and) the tide offering, his Excell., attended with the officers of the detachment and several volunteers, did imbarq and sett saile." All through Wednesday and Thursday the

[1] Copied from the statue erected on the front of New Parliament House of Quebec, in September, 1890. Other niches are to be occupied by Wolfe, Montcalm, and a score of other conspicuous characters connected with Canadian history. EDITOR.

flotilla beat its way up the river, pausing only to salute the little stockade fort at Kingston, and reached Albany at last about nine o'clock Friday morning. At once Fletcher despatched Major Schuyler with fifty men towards Schenectady, and himself followed about 11 A. M. with sixteen horse, leaving orders with Colonel Bayard to forward the several detachments as they should arrive. Fletcher and his advance-guard reached Schenectady late on Friday, and next day learned that the enemy had been attacked in his fortified camp, and routed by Major Peter Schuyler's brave little army of Christians and Mohawks.

The Governor and troops, therefore, returned to Albany, where the former received an address from the Corporation congratulating him on his safe return, and thanking him for his prompt assistance. On Saturday, the 25th, Fletcher held a grand council with the savages. Accompanied by the magistrates of the city and the soldiers and militia in arms, he went to the City Hall and made a speech to the Mohawks, which was translated to them by the "Interpretesse, Helle." And on Monday the 27th, after issuing a proclamation prohibiting the selling of rum to the Indians, he "did imbarque for New-Yorke, where he arrived on Thursday following, and was received with such expressions of joy and thankfulness (as) the place could afford." The boldness and celerity of his movements, joined to the phenomenon of the Hudson's being navigable in midwinter, greatly impressed the Indians, who ever afterwards spoke of the governor as Caijenquiragoe, or "Lord of the Swift-arrow." Colonel Ingoldesby was left in command at Albany, with Major Peter Schuyler, Mayor of Albany, and a member of the famous Schuyler family, as second in command. Governor Fletcher made a second visit to the frontiers in June of the following summer, and held a grand council with the Five Nations and River Indians there, beginning on June 23d, and continuing until the 6th of July, during which he effected important treaties, and by his tact and politic speeches succeeded in attaching them more firmly to the British Crown. One instance of his art in this respect may be narrated in the words of the chronicler:

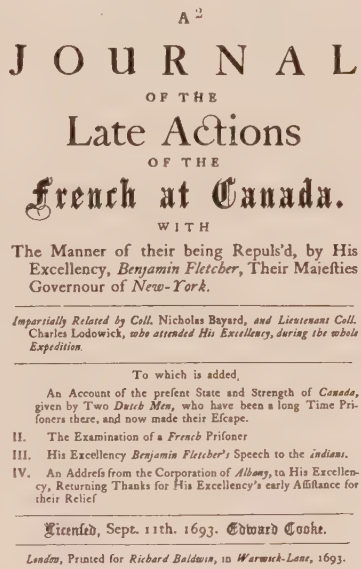
ALBANY, the 4th of July, 1693.

This evening, after the young Indians had ended their sport of killing the two fatt bulls which were presented by his Excell. with bow & arrow & roasting & eating them, His Excellency invited severall of the Chief Sachims & Captains of the most note and bravery on board their Majesties ketch Albrought rideing before the citty of Albany & treated them to their extraordinary satisfaction. Upon their desire his Excell. gave them account of the success the King of England has had against the French King beyond the great lake — of the great victory which the English fleet obtained against the French the last summer, with the Particulars of that defeat, also of a great fight that had been on land where our great King attacked the Enemy in their Camp because they would not come out to fight him, where many men were slain on both sides. . . . His Excellency also bade them be mindfull of what he said to them & true to the covenant they have renewed which they all promised to observe & keep inviola-

ble, where upon as a seale thereunto his Excell. ordered the firing of five guns which they answered with the like number of shouts.

On his return to New-York from this expedition the Common Council issued an address of congratulation and ordered that a cup of gold to the value of one hundred pounds be "presented unto his Excellency on behalf of the city, as a token of their gratitude."[1]

Perhaps the most important events during Governor Fletcher's reign were the founding of Trinity Church and the erection of a printing-press. When the new Assembly which he had called convened, he directed their attention, as the king had commanded, to the establishment of the state church. A more unwelcome subject could not have been presented. Probably two-thirds of the members were either indifferent or opposed to such a scheme, and the English Independents certainly were not well affected towards the Church of England. Nothing was done, and Fletcher again called their attention to the omission, adding, "Gentlemen, the first thing I recommended to you at our last meeting was to provide for a ministry, and nothing is yet done. You are all big with the privileges of Englishmen and Magna Charta, which is your right, but the same law provides for the religion of the Church of England. As you have postponed it this session I trust you will take hold of it at the next meeting and do something towards it effectually." The next Assembly, which met in September, 1693, was better disposed, and passed a "Settling Act," which provided for the building of a church in the city of New-York, two in Suffolk, two in Westchester, and one in Richmond counties, in each of which was to be inducted a Protestant minister with a salary ranging from one hun-



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JOURNAL

OF THE

Late Actions

OF THE

French at Canada.

WITH

The Manner of their being Repuls'd, by His Excellency, *Benjamin Fletcher*, Their Majefties Governour of *New-York*.

Impartially Related by Coll. Nicholas Bayard, *and Lieutenant Coll.* Charles Lodowick, *who attended His Excellency, during the whole Expedition.*

To which is added,

An Account of the prefent State and Strength of *Canada*, given by Two *Dutch Men*, who have been a long Time Prifoners there, and now made their Efcape.

II. The Examination of a *French* Prifoner

III. His Excellency *Benjamin Fletcher's* Speech to the *Indians*.

IV. An Addrefs from the Corporation of *Albany*, to His Excellency, Returning Thanks for His Excellency's early Affiftance for their Relief

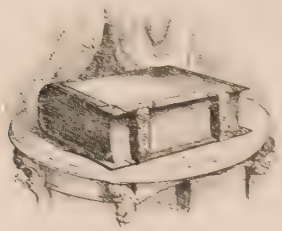
Licenfed, Sept. 11th. 1693. Edward Cooke.

London, Printed for *Richard Baldwin*, in *Warwick-Lane*, 1693.

[1] (Council Minutes, July 14, 1693.) July 20th, the Mayor reported that he had bought twenty ounces of gold for the cup, of Peter Jacob Marius, for which he had paid one hundred and six pounds, and had delivered it to Cornelius Vanderburgh to be made. The Council ordered that the revenues of the ferry should be used for no other purpose until this bill was paid. The addresses of the Common Council of this period speak in the highest terms of Fletcher. One to the king of February 14, 1693, styles him "a gentleman of pious life, who since his arrival hath laid aside all other thoughts but the true advancement of your Majesty's interests."

[2] It is believed that Bayard's Journal was the first book printed in New-York by William Bradford, who was invited to this city from Philadelphia, in 1693, by Colonel Fletcher. The work does not exist in its American original. The London reprint, of which a fac-simile of the title-page appears above, is exceedingly rare. I know of but two copies. One of these is contained in the Carter-Brown collection of Providence. A limited edition was republished in New-York in 1868, of which a quarto copy, No. 7, is now before me. Strange to say, New-York was more than half a century behind New England in possessing a printing-press, for Stephen Daye of Cambridge, Mass., issued the Bay Psalm Book in 1640. EDITOR.

dred to forty pounds, to be raised by a tax levied on the freeholders. Fletcher himself built a chapel in the fort, or repaired the old one, of which we know little more than is contained in the petition of the carpenter Derex Van Burg, under date of March 14, 1694, addressed to the Governor and Council, praying that the sum of nine hundred and odd pounds, incurred in erecting his "Majestys Capell with several other buildings in and about his Majestys fort William Henry," might be paid. In this chapel the Rev. John Miller, chaplain of his Majesty's forces, held services until Trinity Church was completed, measures for erecting which under the active encouragement of Governor Fletcher were at once begun.



THE BAYARD BIBLE.[1]

An account of the various phases in the evolution of this historic structure will be of interest to our readers. The first of which we have knowledge is a petition from "sundry inhabitants of the City of New-York, members of the Church of England," setting forth that whereas they were desirous of building "a church within this city for the use of the Protestants of the Church of England," and having met with great encouragement from several good Protestants, they asked "license" to purchase "a small piece of land lying without the north gate of the said city betwixt the King's garden and the burying-place, and to hold the same in mortmain, and thereon to build the said church, as also to take and receive all voluntary contributions, and to do all other lawful acts and things for the effecting the same." Signed by Thomas Clarke, Robert Leveting, Jeremiah Tothill, Caleb Heathcote, James Evetts, William Morris, Ebenezer Willson, William Merritt, James Emott, R. Ashfield, 19 March, $169\frac{5}{6}$, who are called "managers" of the Church of England. On the back of this paper Fletcher wrote the word "Granted."

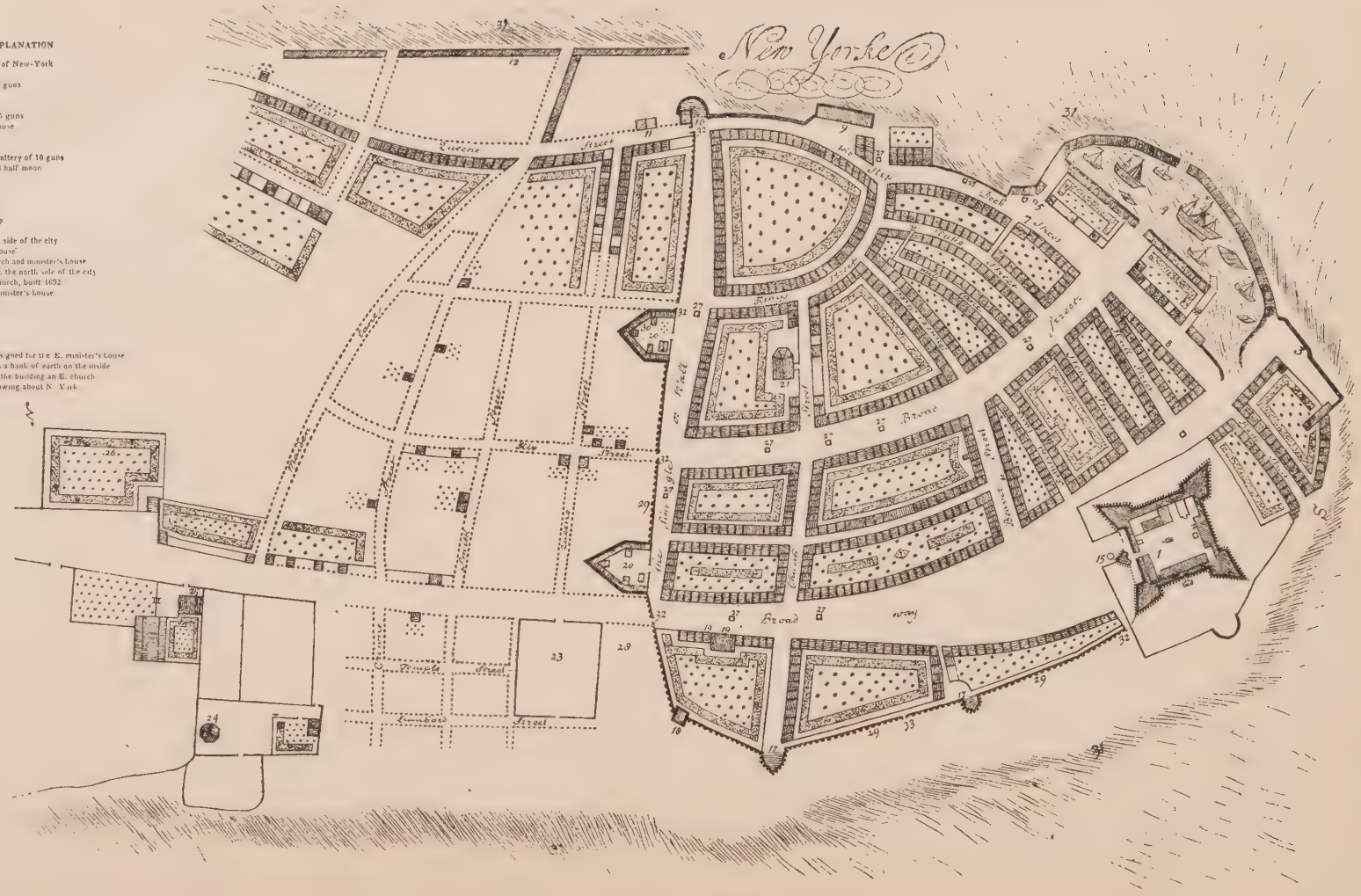
Having received their "license," the managers began the work of building the church with vigor. All classes seem to have been interested in the work. Even the Jews contributed; for instance, "for building the steeple" Lewis Gomez gave £1 2*s*., Abraham Luilna, £1, Rodrigo Pachico, £1, Jacob Franks, £1, and Moses Michaels, 8*s*. 3*d*. On the 23d of July following, Governor Fletcher was able to issue this proclamation. "Whereas the inhabitants of the City of New-York professing the religion of the Church of England have with a pious and good intent proposed and begun to erect and build a church

[1] This ancient Bible, printed in Dordrecht, Holland, is now in the possession of Mrs. Jas. Grant Wilson, of New-York, a member of the Bayard family. The title-page to the Old Testament is missing, but the massive folio volume is otherwise perfect and in the original binding, with strong brass clasps and ornamental corner-pieces. It is enriched with numerous maps and illustrated with curious copperplate engravings. The family record, which is quaintly written in Dutch and perfectly legible, is brought down to the year 1714.
EDITOR.

within the said city for the publick service and worship of God, at the humble request of the managers of the said building, and for their encouragement to carry on and finish the same, I have, therefore, with advice and consent of the Council, given and granted, and by these presents doe give and grant, free liberty to the said managers to gather and receive of and from well-disposed persons such sum and sums as shall be voluntarily contributed for the more speedy carrying on the said building."

On May 6, 1697, the managers applied for a charter, citing the Act of 1693, for settling a minister "to officiate and have the care of souls" in the city, and stating that they had built and covered a church in which such minister might officiate, but that they still needed his Excellency's countenance and pious favor, and asking that he would "be pleased to grant the said church to the petitioners in trust for all those that now are or hereafter may be in the (Communion of the Church of) England as now established by law, and that your Excellency would be pleased to order the same (to be one body) politick in deed, fact, and name by the name of the members in Communion of the Church of England established by law; and that as such they and their successors may have, hold, use, occupy (and possess all the) advantages, privileges, immunities, mortuarys, and appurtenances as are usually held (used, occupied, and possessed by) churches of the Church of England within their Majesties' realm. And also that your Excellency (will grant the said) church the aforesaid yearly maintenance by the aforesaid law established (and for the benefit and) for the charitable and pious use of the same what quantity of lands thereunto (near or adjoining that to your Excellency and) the Council shall be thought fit."

It appears by the Council minutes that the petition was read and the charter of incorporation ordered drawn, "the quit-rent to be one pepper-corn as desired." The land granted was the "King's Farm," so called, a lease only for seven years from August 19, 1697, the yearly rental being fifty bushels of wheat. When the lease expired in 1704, however, the farm was deeded the church in fee simple by Queen Anne, and became the nucleus of the Trinity Church property. This tract of land was originally the Dutch West India Company's farm, which, on the conquest by the English, was confiscated by them and called the King's Farm. It lay on the west side of Broadway between Fulton and a line between Chambers and Warren streets, and extended west to the North River. North of it lay the "Domine's Farm," or Bouwery, comprising about sixty-two acres, extending on Broadway from Warren to Duane streets, and then, leaving Broadway, extending northwesterly along the river; this farm was also subsequently granted to Trinity Parish by Queen Anne. The property has become famous in law.


New Yorke
EXPLANATION
1. The chappel in the fort of New-York
2. Leyster's half moon
3. Whitehall battery of 15 guns
4. The old dock
5. The cage and stocks
6. Stadthouse battery of 5 guns
7. The stadt- (or state) house
8. The custom house
9. The bridge
9. Burghers, or the slip battery of 10 guns
10. The fly blockhouse and half moon
11. The slaughter-houses
12. The new dorks
13. The French church
14. The Jews synagogue
15. The fort well and pump
16. Ellet's Alley
17. The works on the west side of the city
18. The north-west blockhouse
19, 19. The Lutheran church and minister's house
20 20. The stone points on the north side of the city
21. The Dutch Calvinist church, built 1692
22. The Dutch Calvinist minister's house
23. The burying ground
24. A windmill
25. The King's farm
26. Coll. Dongan's garden
27. 27. Wells
28. The plat of ground designed for the E. minister's house
29, 29. The storkado, with a bank of earth on the inside
30. The ground proper for the building an E. church
31, 31. Shewing the sea flowing about N. York
32, 32. The city gates
33. A postern gate.
Broad way
Smith Street
Rumbout Street
Pearle Street
Broad Street
Dock
Fresh water
Key
Bowling Green

One incident connected with the raising of funds for building Trinity Church portrays so vividly the life of the period that the story may be told in detail. In June, 1693, Governor Fletcher issued the following proclamation: "To all Officers and Ministers, Ecclesiastical and Civil, throughout the Provinces and Territories under my Government: Whereas, I am credibly informed that the son of Warner Wessels and Husband of Antie Christians, Inhabitants and Sailers of the City of New-York following their lawful Occupation, were taken into galley, where they are now in miserable slavery, under the Power of the Infidell, and that their Relations are not able to advance a sufficient Ransom for their Redemption, I have therefore, upon their application to me, by and with the advice of the Council, out of Christian Charity and in Commiseration of the grievous Bondage and Slavery of said Persons, granted & do by these presents grant license or liberty to the said Warner Wessels and Antie Christians to ask and receive the free and charitable Benevolence of all Christian People under my Government, as well at publick Meetings as private dwelling Houses. And to avoid irregularity in collecting the same all Ministers or Preachers where there are Parish Churches or publick or private Meeting Houses are required to publish a true Copy of this Grant by reading thereof openly, and affixing thereof afterwards upon the Door or other publick place, and admonish the people to Christian Charity, and at the next Meeting shall receive the free Offering & Benevolence of the people for the use above said. And where no Churches nor Meeting Houses are, the Constables are hereby required in their respective Precincts, having a true Copy of this Grant, to go about and Collect the Charity of good Christian people for the use above said. Of all which Benevolence and Charity the said Ministers or Preachers and Constables are to keep a distinct Account, which they are to transmit with what Money they shall collect by virtue of this Grant without delay to Stephen Courtland, Esq., Peter Jacobs Marius, John Kirbyll, and John Kipp, who are hereby empowered to receive the same, and transmit the said Money, or so much as shall be required for the Redemption of the said Captives from Slavery, by the best and most convenient means and way. Provided always, that in case there shall be a surplusage above the value of their Redemption, or in case any of the said persons shall be dead, or otherwise redeemed, they, the said Stephen Courtland, Esq., Peter Jacobs Marius, John Kirbyll, and John Kipp, shall be accountable to me or to the Governor and Commander-in-Chief for the time being for the sum collected, or so much thereof as is left upon their or some of their Redemption, that it may be set apart for the like or other pious uses, and for no other use or intent whatsoever. Given under my hand and seal at Fort William Henry, the 8th day of June, 1693. Benjamin Fletcher."

By a postscript the same license was given to the friends of Bartholomew Rousston, John Crage, and William Green, "sailers taken in the same vessel and then prisoners with them." Nothing seems to have been done in the matter until the 2d of December, 1697, when the petition of the churchwardens and vestrymen of Trinity Church was read and considered in Council, and it was reported: "One of the captives having escaped is come home, the others are dead; only one named Barthol. Rousston is removed up into the country, who by the report of him who is escaped from Galley, cannot be redeemed. His Majesties Chappell is allmost finished, and Trinity Church being a Publick structure erecting for the service of God by the Voluntary contributions of some people, which is a publick and pious use, and much is wanted to finish it. It is resolved and agreed *nemine contradicente* that the money raised by virtue of the Lycense bearing date the 8th day of June, 1693, for the redemption of the said captives in Galley be applyed to the use of Trinity Church to finish the building thereof, any former order of Councill Notwithstanding. Provided always, that if it be possible to purchase the redemption of the said Bartholomew, that the Corporation of said Trinity Church be accountable for the like sume, or so much thereof as will answer the redemption." The first trustees were ordered to deliver over the moneys to the then churchwardens, Mr. Thomas Wenham and Mr. Robert Lurting. The money, or a part of it, had been placed in the hands of May and Banker, bankers of Amsterdam, to be used in redeeming the captives. On March 20, 1700, these gentlemen wrote the Trinity corporation, saying that they had learned through their correspondents

TRINITY CHURCH IN 1737.[1]

[1] The illustration in the text is that of the second or enlarged building, completed in 1737, and unhappily destroyed by the fire that devastated the city shortly after its occupation by the English in 1776. There exists no picture of the first building, opened for service in 1698. The first vestrymen were: Thomas Wenham and Robert Lurting, churchwardens; Caleb Heathcote, William Merritt, John Tudor, James Emott, William Morris, Thomas Clarke, Ebenezer Wilson, Samuel Burt, James Evarts, Nathanael Marston, Michael Howden, John Crooke, William Sharpas, Lawrence Reed, David Jamison, William Huddleston, Gabriel Ludlow, Thomas Burroughs, John Merritt, and William Janeway. EDITOR.

at Cadiz that Rushton (Rousston) and William Green were alive in Maquines, and had since used every effort for their redemption, and that lately they had received a letter saying that, by virtue of an agreement obtained by the English, the captives would receive their freedom in a few months, and that therefore they would have to use but little of the money in their hands, and asking what disposition to make of it. On August 14, 1704, the committee to whom the petition of the churchwardens and vestrymen had been referred reported that they had examined the papers, etc., and were of the opinion that the prayer should be granted, from which it may be inferred that it was conveyed into the treasury of the church.

Will. Vesey.

The building was completed in 1698, and stood on the site of the present structure. It fronted towards the Hudson; in length it is said to have been one hundred and forty-eight feet, and in breadth seventy-two feet. Its steeple, the pride of the citizens, was one hundred and seventy-five feet high. Within, above the main entrance, was a sonorous Latin inscription, beginning *Per Augustam Hoc Trinitatis Templum Fundatum est anno regni illustrissimi*, the full inscription rendered into English being: "This Trinity Church was founded in the eighth year of the most illustrious sovereign Lord William the Third, by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and in the year of our Lord 1696, and was built by the voluntary contributions and gifts of some persons, and chiefly enriched and promoted by the Bounty of his Excellency Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, Captain-General and Governor-in-chief of this Province, in the time of whose government the inhabitants of this city of the Protestant religion of the Church of England, as now established by law, were incorporated by a charter under the Seal of the Province, and many other valuable gifts he gave to it out of his private fortune." One of these gifts was a Bible for the reading-desk, another was the "Governor's Pew."[1]

1 "To all Christian People to whome these Presents shall come Coll Benjamin Fletcher late Capt. Gen^{ll} sendeth greeting. Know yee that the said Coll Benjamin Fletcher by the consent, allowance, and approbation of the Rector, Church Wardens, and Vestrymen of Trinity Church att his own private Charge did Erect and build a Pew att the East End thereof for the use of his family & for his Heirs and Assigns for Ever, and his Majesty having thought fit to Recall the said Coll Benjamin Fletcher from this Governm^{t} the said Coll Benjamin Fletcher doth therefore hereby Assign and make over the said Pew in Trinity Church with all the Rights and Priviledges thereunto belonging unto the Hon^{ble} Coll Nicolas Bayard and Coll Caleb Heathcote of his Maj^{ts} Council of the said Province and to such others that now are of his Majesties Council of the said Province as are not otherwise seated and Provided with Pews in the said Church & to such Persons of Quality & Gent. travelling to the said City as the said Coll Nicolas Bayard & Coll Caleb Heathcote or the Church Wardens of the said church for the time being shall see meet. Provided allways, and it is the true intent and meaning here of, that in Case the Heirs of the said Coll Benjamin Fletcher or any of his friends or Relations doe att any time hereafter Arrive in this Citty of New-Yorke that they Claime and have a Right to sitt in the said Pew for the hearing Divine Service, anything above mentioned to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding. In witness, &c. Dated Ap. 26, 1698."

To this instrument Colonel Fletcher's seal—*i. e.*, coat-of-arms—was attached. He seems by these arms to have been originally from Cheshire, Eng. His wife's arms are impaled with his, and resemble those of the Lincolnshire branch of the Monckton family.

The visitor to St. James Church, Piccadilly,

When the church was ready for occupancy, the Reverend William Vesey[1] was inducted rector. An appointment more distasteful to the Independents could not well have been made, for he was a convert from their communion, and made so of design, they charged, by Governor Fletcher. In a petition addressed to the Bishop of London by the friends of Governor Burnet in New-York about 1714, it is charged that Mr. Vesey was a dissenting preacher on Long Island at the time, that he "had received his education in Harvard College under that rigid Independent Increase Mather, and had been sent by him to minister to the Puritans of New-York," who might be proselyted by the Church. But "Colonel Fletcher saw through the design and 'took off' Mr. Vesey by an invitation to this living, a promise to advance his stipend considerably, and to recommend him to holy orders to your Lordship's predecessor, all which was performed accordingly, and Mr. Vesey returned from England in priest's orders." To be taxed for the support of a church which they disliked and distrusted was distasteful enough, but to see inducted into this comfortable living one whom they looked upon as a renegade was still more unpalatable, and intensified the opposition which the Governor's zeal for the Church had already created.

Another interesting and important church edifice was built during Governor Fletcher's term—the Dutch Reformed Church of St. Nicholas on Garden street. As early as 1691 the congregation had become dissatisfied with the stone church in the fort, and fixed upon a site in what is now Exchange Place, then occupied by the peach-orchard of the widow of Domine Drisius, a former pastor of the church. The work was pushed forward with such vigor that in 1693 it was dedicated and occupied by the congregation. It was at that time the most imposing church edifice in the city. The material used was brick; in form it was an oblong square, with a large steeple in front

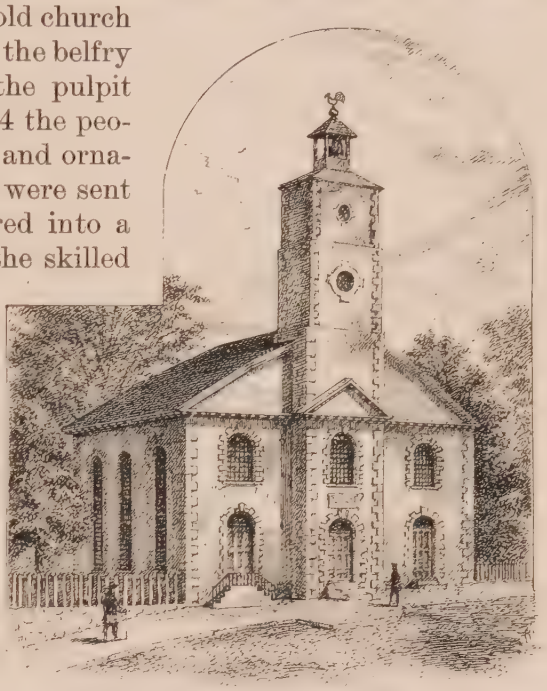
London, of which Sir Christopher Wren was the architect, may see an ancient memorial stone on one of the pillars which support the south gallery, bearing the following interesting inscription: "Beneath this Pillar lies the body of Elizabeth, wife of Colonell Benjamin Fletcher, late Captain Generall and Governour in Chiefe of his Majesties Province of New-Yorke in America and Daughter to Doctor John Hodson, Lord Bishop of Elphin in Ireland, who after her Return from that long voyage in which she accompanied her Husband, Departed this life the Fifth day of November, Anno Domini 1698, leaving one Son and two Daughters behind her and a sweet and lasting Monument in the Memorie of all that knew her."

EDITOR.

[1] It has been stated in the text that the Rev. William Vesey, the first rector of Trinity, was originally a dissenting minister, but was ordained by the Bishop of London, with a view to his accepting this rectorship. A few details concerning his personal history may be added. This ordination took place in England on August 2d, 1697; the induction occurred in the Reformed Dutch Church in Garden Street, on Christmas Day, 1697, two Dutch clergymen, the Rev. Henricus Selyns, pastor of the Church of New-York, and the Rev. John Peter Nucella, of Kingston, N. Y., bearing a principal part in the exercises. On March 13th, 1698, Trinity Church was sufficiently complete to have worship conducted there, the Garden Street Church being used by the Episcopalians for one service on the Sabbath in the interval. Mr. Vesey was born in Braintree, Mass., about 1674; it is probable that his parents and he were communicants of the Anglican Church; on graduating from Harvard in 1693, however, he entered the dissenting ministry. Mr. Vesey's pastorate reached the extraordinary length of forty-eight years. He died on July 11th, 1746. Vesey Street perpetuates his name.

EDITOR.

containing a belfry, and a room below in which the consistory held its meetings. It had long, narrow windows with small panes, in which were burned the arms of the principal supporters of the church, and there were also escutcheons of the leading families upon the walls. The silver-toned bell of the old church in the fort was transferred to the belfry of the new, together with the pulpit and other furniture. In 1694 the people brought their silver coin and ornaments as offerings, and these were sent to Amsterdam and hammered into a massive baptismal bowl by the skilled artisans of that city.[1]



DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH IN GARDEN STREET, 1693.

While Fletcher went into Pennsylvania to assume control of its government, he was called upon to preside at the trial of a young man named William Bradford, who had been for some time official printer of the colony. In 1692, having issued a pamphlet by one George Keith, which charged the Quaker authorities with a departure from their pacific principles by aiding in the capture of a privateer, his press and materials were seized by them, and he, with McComb, the publisher, was thrown into prison. At the trial—which, as before stated, was presided over by Governor Fletcher—he had been acquitted, but the authorities made it so unpleasant for him in Philadelphia that he determined to return to England.

The Governor, however, had other designs. On March 23, 1693, the Council passed a resolution which declared, "That if a Printer will come and settle in the city of New-York for the printing of our Acts of Assembly and Publick Papers, he shall be allowed the sum of £40 current money of New-York per annum for his salary and have the benefit of his printing, besides what serves the publick." Bradford accepted the offer, which was really meant for him. Immediately

1 The bowl with its quaint inscription by Domine Selyns now forms part of the plate of the South (Dutch) Reformed Church, which worshiped for many years in the building on the corner of Fifth avenue and Twenty-first street, the legal and corporate successor of the Garden Street Church. Recently this edifice was sold and a building purchased on the corner of Thirty-eighth street and Madison avenue, where this historic church society worships at present under the pastorate of the Rev. Dr. Roderick Terry. EDITOR.

TROUW-BOECK
Oft Register der
PERSONEN,
die Hier ingeschreven, en
Hier, oft buyten desse
Stadt New-Yorke
Getrouwt zyn.
Vanden 11 Dec. 1639. totten 15 May 1652.

Ao 1639.
den 11 Decemb.

Egbert van Borsum, jm. van Embden, en
annetje Bondricks, j.d. van amstordam.

den 18 dicto.

Borger Jorisz, jm. van Borkborg, in Silosien en
Engeltje Maus, j.d. van Compsto, in Swoden

Ao 1640.
den 11 Febr.

Tgonnis Nyssen, jm. van Bunnick, in 't Stigt van Utr., en
Pgabea Jacks, j.d. van Jarlston, in Engelt.

den 26 Aug.

Paulus Jansen, van Vlissingen, Wdr. van Roeltje Corn. en
Trijntje Gerrits, j.d. van Jonspeeren.

den 26 Sept.

Tgomas Sandes, jm. van amstordam, en
Sara van gercum.

den 4 Novemb.

Hoolandt Jackwart, jm. van Brandtfort in Schottlant, en
Jannetje Jans, j.d. van amsterd.

den 18 dicto

Michiel Paulus, jm. van Dormundt in Vlaenderen, en
Aeltje Kuypers j.d. van N. Nedt.

Veld.

on arriving in the city he was appointed Royal Printer, and it appears entered on his duties April 10, 1693. He met with such encouragement in New-York that he made it his permanent abode, printing not only the laws, but books of merit, and some years later founded the "New-York Gazette," the first paper issued in the city. He died in New-York, May 23, 1752, aged eighty-nine years, "being quite worn out with old age and labor," as the inscription on his tombstone in Trinity churchyard states, and after "being Printer to this Government for upwards of fifty years." John William Wallace, of Philadelphia, for many years President of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, in a commemorative address on the two hundredth anniversary of Bradford's birth, in 1863, paid him this just tribute: He "first planted the printing press in these regions. He first maintained its rights against arbitrary power. He established in this chief city of our land an influence the greatest which the world has as yet known." This influence he exerted in behalf of liberty—"a liberty inseparable from religion, from order, from good morals, from good manners, a liberty which education, self-respect, and dignity preceded, and in whose train moderation, amenity, decorum, and all the graces followed." Governor Fletcher's services in introducing Bradford are fully recognized by Mr. Wallace, who observes, "Whatever suggestions may hover about the name of Fletcher, . . . his services at this time deserve, no doubt, our eulogy."[1]

In addition to the establishment of a public printing-press, Governor Fletcher's administration evinced an intelligent regard for the need of other public institutions of a useful and beneficent character. When, in the midst of war or its apprehension on the part of France, the provincial revenues were at a low ebb, the Council cheerfully granted fifty pounds for the maintenance of post-office facilities within the province.[2] In December, 1695, the Governor made it a matter of personal interest on his own part to place before the Council a case of the loss of a sailor by unskilful surgery, and, on his urging the appointment of a surgeon-general who should examine all those who applied for a license to practise, the Council agreed to create such an office, and Captain George Lockhart was appointed to the position.[3] When, in the autumn of this same year, the poor return of the crops

The fac-simile on preceding page is a reproduction of the first page of the original records, covering nearly two centuries (from 1639 to 1800 inclusive), which are now being published in three royal octavo volumes by the New-York Genealogical and Biographical Society, under the title "The Marriage and Baptismal Records of the Reformed Dutch Church in New Amsterdam and New-York." EDITOR.

1 "William Bradford, printer, having exhibited an account of sundryes printed by direc̃on of his Excellency and Council for the use of the Government, amounting to a considerable value, which cannot be supported by his salary, this board, in considerac̃on of his extraordinary services and the printing of a book intituled "Seasonable considerac̃ons offered to the good people of Connecticut" [see Bibliography in Chapter XV], have corrected the said account, and Ordered a Warrant issue for the payment of thirty pounds to the said William Bradford." (Council Minutes, 7 : 54 ; Feb. 15, 169$\frac{3}{4}$.)

2 Council Minutes, 7 : 119 ; March 7, 169$\frac{4}{5}$.

3 Council Minutes, 7 : 173.

seemed to threaten a dearth of bread, the Council, under the inspiration of the Governor, promptly ordered a "strict inquiry to finde out what quantityes of meale or corne are within the city," and the Mayor was to "return his account thereof" within a week of the date of the order.[1]

During this term, also, the question of a suitable market-place was considered by the Council. Originally the "plain before the fort," now the Bowling Green, was used for this purpose; but an inconvenient location, not in the heart of the town, having been designated later, the landing-place of the hucksters' boats carrying the produce of the surrounding country had gradually come to be used as a market, putting at a disadvantage those who came into the city with wagons. Hence a petition was addressed to the Council to restore the Bowling Green to its ancient use;[2] while from the following extract from the minute-book of the Council (p. 182) it is learned what was done for the useful institutions of weights and measures and the currency:

May itt Please your Excellency:

In obedience to your Excellencies Command, wee have Examined the Memoriale Exhibited to your Excellency by the Attorney Gen^le^ Concerning the Settling of a Standard and Appointing an Officer for the Regulation of Weights & Scales for Curr^t^ Gold & Silver, & are humbly of the Opinion that itt is very Necessary to be done, & Pursuant Thereto Presume to recommend unto your Excellency Cornelius Vanderburgh & Jacob Boelen, Silver Smiths, as Persons of good Reputation and very fitt to be appointed by your Excellency for the keeping of the Standard of Silver & Gold Weights and markeing all such as shall be used in this Citty & Province; and that there be allowed, for the Markeing of a Ballance —— 18°, 17°, 16°, 15°, & 14° weights, one Shiling — which is most humbly Submitted by etc., etc., etc.

Robert Lurting, A. D. Peyster,
John Barberie, Gerard Domo.

By His Excellency

Benjamin Fletcher, Captain General and Governour in Chief of The Province of *New-York*, and the Territories and Tracts of Land depending thereon in *America*, and Vice-Admiral of the same, His Majesties Lieutenant and Commander in Chief of the Militia, and of all the Forces by Sea and Land within His Majesties Collony of *Connecticut*, and of all the Forts and places of Strength within the same.

A PROCLAMATION

WHereas I have received the Joyful News of the safe Arrival of Our Most Excellent Soveraigne Lord *WILLIAM* the Third, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defendor of the Faith, &c., in His Kingdom of *ENGLAND* in the Moneth of *October* last past, and of the Success of His Majesties Arms in *Flanders*. I have therefore thought fit, and by and with the Advice and Consent of His Majesties Council, for the Province of *NEW-YORK*, Do Appoint *Thursday*, the Sixteenth Instant, for the City and County of *New-York*, and the Three and Twentieth Instant for the City and County of *ALBANY*, and the rest of the Counties of the said Province, To be Observed and Celebrated Publick Days of Thanksgiving to Almighty God for the same And all Persons within this Province are Required on the said Respective Days, to forbear Servile Labour, and to Observe and Celebrate the same with fervent Demonstrations of Joy and Thankfulness

Dated at the Majesties Fort in New York *the Ninth Day of* January, *in the Seventh Year of the Majesties Reign.* Annoq. Domini 1693. 6

God Save the KING

BEN. FLETCHER.

F. Phillips, *N. Bayard,* *G. Mowatt,* } *Esqrs.* *T. Willet,* *J. Lawrence,* *C. Heathcote.* } *Esqrs.*

FAC-SIMILE OF THANKSGIVING PROCLAMATION.

[1] Council Minutes, 7: 94. The report of the Mayor was as follows:

"New-Yorke, Novbr y^e^ 27th, 1695.

May it please your Excellency:

Pursuant to the within Order, I have made strict Inquiry In the several Wards of this City, and by Return, under the hands of the respective Aldermen and Assistants, I do finde within the same the Quantities of Corne and Meale following, vizt.:

	Bushels of wheat, etc.	*halfe Barrel flower.*
East Ward	2,151	.....
Dock Ward	2,142	 287
South Ward	6,459	 364
West Ward	762	 4
North Ward	1,530	.....
Out Ward	2,025	.....
	15,069	655

(Signed) William Merrett, Mayor."

[2] Council Minutes, 7: 187.

Meantime plots and cabals against the Governor had been forming. Extravagant land grants, collusion with pirates, and a general prostitution of his office for his private gain were the principal charges against him laid before the king, but it is obvious that his zeal for the Church of England, his arrogant treatment of the popular branch of the government, and his ignoring the Leislerite party gave the chief occasion to the opposition. Other governors had made large grants of land, and had enriched themselves without incurring such deep resentment or such attacks upon their uprightness.

About the time of Fletcher's arrival Jacob Leisler's son had sailed for England to secure a reversal of the attainder of Leisler and his adherents. He was soon joined, as we have seen, by Abraham Gouverneur, who brought with him the pledged support of the government of Massachusetts. The two young men found a stronger ally, however, in Robert Livingston, of Albany, who was now in England pressing upon the government his claim for money advanced and supplies furnished during and after the war of 1688. Fletcher had resisted payment of these claims, asserting that not only had Livingston been fully paid from the revenues of the province, but that he had made a fortune by his contracts. Livingston's great influence at the English court is to be accounted for by his friendship with Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomont, and Baron of Coloony in Ireland, then among the most powerful nobles about the throne. He had been one of the first to espouse the cause of William, and was soon appointed receiver-general and treasurer to Queen Mary. The king created him Earl of Bellomont, and later Governor of New-York. Livingston now devoted himself to the removal of Fletcher, and presented several charges against him — first, of interfering with the elections for assemblymen in May, 1695, by marching soldiers to the polls to intimidate the freemen; second, of refusing to account to the Assembly for public moneys received; third, of receiving bribes.

The charges were so serious that a hearing was ordered before the Lords of Trade at Whitehall, August 28, 1695, Governor Fletcher not being represented. Phillip French, of New-York, "gentleman," deposed that before the said election he had heard it said that Governor Fletcher had said that he would pistol any man who would not vote for Peter De la Noy, and that, calling on Colonel Fletcher and asking as to the truth of the rumor, Colonel Fletcher "did not deny, but rather owned that he had said so." Being asked why he had put up De la Noy, he answered that he did not, and the deponent saying that Colonel De Peyster had reported it so, Colonel Fletcher said "De la Noy and De Peyster were both Rascalls." French also stated that there were soldiers in the field on election day, and that there was a rumor of pressing in the field which caused several of Leisler's party to leave the place. He also testified

that he had heard it said "that all the Goldsmiths in town were employed in making snuff-boxes and other plate for presents for the Governor." William Kidd, master of the brigantine Antegoa (a warm friend of Livingston's), swore to having seen "Soldiers and Seamen with Clubs in the field, and many went off the field lest they should be pressed, and he heard there were freedoms given to severall persons over night before the Election; that he, with other masters of ships, were spoke to by the Sheriff to bring their seamen on shore to vote." Samuel Bradly and John Albrough (a "Dutchman"), both of New-York, made affidavits similar to the above. Joseph Davies swore that "he saw with an Assemblyman a short account, which came from the last Assembly, of about fifteen hundred pounds, said to be remaining in the Governor's hands, of which he heard the Assembly did desire a more particular account before they would anything else, upon which the Governor did dissolve the Assembly"; and that, "being master's mate of the Nassau, he was ordered by the master of the said ship to bring the seamen of the said ship to shoar to vote at the election." At their next meeting the Lords ordered Giles Shelly, master of the Nassau, to be produced, who swore that he spoke to his seamen of his own accord, and had no orders from Colonel Fletcher for so doing. Captain Kidd and other witnesses, being cross-examined, said that the soldiers were not in uniform, nor armed, and did not vote, nor could they say that Colonel Fletcher had ordered them to the field, or given orders to have the seamen brought on shore.

In the course of the next summer Colonel Fletcher heard that Mr. Livingston had "exhibited an information" against him, and thus wrote to William Blathwayte, one of the Lords of Trade (July 13, 1696): "I have all the Gentlemen in the Councill and all the honest men in the Government ready to vouch for my behaviour. Since I came amongst them I never meddled with a farthing publick money, nor disposed of any but by advice and consent of the Councill, who were always judges of the several uses. His brother-in-law, Coll. Cortland, is ready to testify that I owed him not a farthing when he left this place. I have several times advanced to him money for victualing the companys before it was due, particularly at parting. . . . It is to be seen under his own hand that if every Governor had paid him as well as I, it had been a thousand pounds in his way. I hope Mr. Brooke and Mr. Nicolls[1] are come to England. They are able to vindicate me against anything what may be objected from any in this province."

The Lords of the Treasury (January 2, 1695) reported favorably on Livingston's claim, and recommended that it be paid; recom-

[1] Members of the Council who had been sent to England to represent the Governor and Council before the king, and who had been captured by a French privateer.

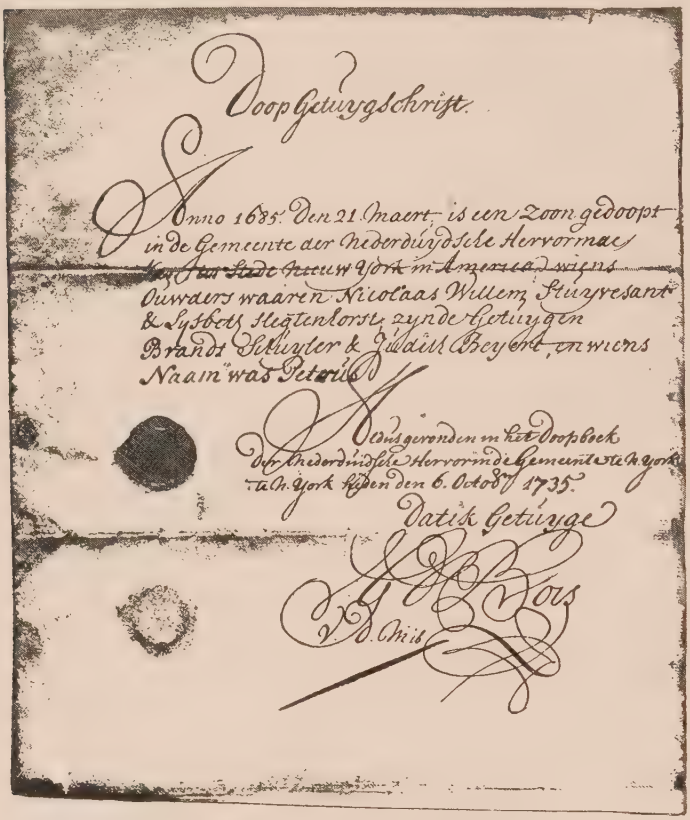
mended also that a salary of one hundred pounds sterling be settled on him during life, to be paid from the revenues of New-York, for his services as secretary or agent for the Governor of New-York to the Five Nations of Indians; also that he be confirmed in his offices of Collector of the excise and quit-rents, Town Clerk, Clerk of the Peace, and Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas at Albany, with the usual salaries during life. The influence of Bellomont was equally potent with regard to Leisler. William, having granted the latter leave to apply to Parliament, Constantine Phipps, one of the Massachusetts agents, drew up a bill reversing the attainder of Leisler and his adherents, and, although bitterly opposed by Joseph Dudley, the former Chief Justice of New-York, as unjust and likely to augment tenfold the strife of factions in that city, it was passed and became a law in April, 1695.

SOUTHEAST CORNER BROAD STREET AND EXCHANGE PLACE.

Several months later, about November 1, 1695, Messrs. Brooke and Nicolls arrived in London, having been taken by a privateer during their voyage from America, in January, 1695, and carried into France. They were probably able to present such proofs to the government in reply to Livingston's charges that the latter availed naught, at least the Governor was left undisturbed in his office for the time being. Fletcher, on hearing of the charges, wrote a letter to the Lords of Trade, denying them categorically, but admitted having received two snuff-boxes from gentlemen whom he had obliged. He declared, in the course of the letter, that he had "neither ship nor barke, part nor parcell in any vessell whatsoever, nor any hand in trade."

An event soon occurred, however, which, skilfully used by his enemies, sufficed to depose him. Piracy had long flourished in the colonies, particularly in New-York and Rhode Island. It was the logical outcome of the system of privateering which the maritime nations of that period had adopted as a legitimate arm of war. King William's war drew out from the colonial ports scores of these swift-sailing combatants, armed with the king's commission to capture and destroy enemies' ships. Many of them, once at sea, were unable to resist the temptation to take and plunder indiscriminately, and thus became pirates of full import. This gild flourished at New-York under

Fletcher as never before, simply because the war gave it cloak and opportunity. Most of the principal merchants connived at it, and profited by it. The method of procedure was as follows: Putting to sea as a privateer, under the ægis of his commission, the pirate bore away for the Arabian Gulf, the Red Sea, and that part of the Indian Ocean bordering the southern shore of Asia. These seas were then traversed by the rich galleons of the British and Dutch East India companies, bearing precious fabrics, spices, gold, and gems from the opulent cities of the Orient. These argosies fell an easy prey to the corsairs, who, after capturing them, would send their booty to New-York, and, in their character of privateers, enter it in the Admiralty Court there as lawful spoil of war. This was one method. The more popular plan, however, was to carry the prize to a pirates' stronghold on Madagascar Island, where they usually found a merchant ship waiting, having been sent out by the merchants of New-York with supplies such as the freebooters required, and which would then load with the corsairs' booty, and return to New-York as an honest merchantman, the pirates not appearing in the transaction.


Doop Getuygschrift.

Anno 1685. Den 21 Maert is een Zoon gedoopt in de Gemeente der Nederduytsche Herrormae[illegible] ~~van Stadt Nieuw York in America~~ wiens Ouwders waaren Nicolaas Willem Stuyvesant & Lysbett Slegtenhorst, zynde Getuygen Brandt Schuyler & Judith Beyard, en wiens Naam was Petrus.

Uyt gevonden in het Doopboek der Nederduytsche Herrormde Gemeente van N. York
t'N. York desen 6. Octob. 1735.

Datick Getuyge

G. D'Bois
V. D. Min.

CERTIFICATE OF BAPTISM.[1]

Enormous fortunes were made and lost in the nefarious traffic. For instance, the ship Nassau, Captain Giles Shelly, left New-York

[1] Anno 1685, on March 21st, a son was baptized in the congregation of the Dutch Reformed Church in the City of New-York in America, whose parents were Nicholas William Stuyvesant and Lysbett [Elizabeth [Slegtenhorst, witnesses Brandt Schuyler and Judith Bayard, whose name was Petrus.

Thus recorded in the baptismal register of the Dutch Reformed Church of New-York, at New-York, to-day, Octob. 6th., 1735. To which I testify.
[S.] G. D'Bois, v. d. Min.

The document of which a translation is given is the property of N. W. S. Catlin, Esq. EDITOR.

in July, 1696, for Madagascar, laden with Jamaica rum, Madeira wine, and gunpowder, which the freebooters bought eagerly at several hundred per cent. advance. She took of them in exchange East India goods and gloves, and brought back also twenty-nine of the rovers as passengers, they paying four thousand pounds passage-money. The voyage is said to have netted the owners thirty thousand pounds. The pirates, who figured as reputable privateers, lent a picturesque and Oriental magnificence to the city unknown in later and more prosaic times. They were fond of swaggering about the streets armed cap-a-pie and clad in uniforms of blue, trimmed with cloth of gold and silver, their swords and daggers showing hilts set with gems, and the stocks of their pistols made of mother-of-pearl. Many of them were intelligent men, who had seen the world and could speak entertainingly of their adventures, and who were invited to the tables of the resident gentry, and even to that of Governor Fletcher himself. Of course, had they been what they professed to be, honest and lawful privateers, there would have been nothing improper in this. However, in 1695, an event occurred which brought the matter of New-York piracy prominently before the king and his ministers. New-York pirates took in the Indian Ocean one of the sacred ships of the Great Mogul, laden with presents for Mecca. The Mogul learned that the corsairs were Englishmen, and threatened reprisals, which so alarmed the East India Company that they applied to the king for a frigate to protect their interests in those seas. None could be spared, being then engaged against France. Robert Livingston at this juncture proposed to Bellomont to fit out a private expedition against the pirates, the reward for the risk incurred to be the spoil of the pirates taken.[1] He recommended a certain shipmaster of New-York, William Kidd, who he said knew both the pirates and their haunts, as a proper person to command the expedition. Kidd, he affirmed, "was a bold and honest man, and he believed fitter than any other to be employed in such service." Kidd, on being approached, promptly announced his terms. He required one of the king's ships, "a good sailer of about thirty guns and one hundred and fifty men," with which he would undertake to capture or disperse the pirates, as he knew many of them, "and had some knowledge of the places where they usually made their rendezvous."

The matter was debated by the king in consultation with five of the highest lords of the realm,— Somers, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Shrewsbury, Lord Bellomont, the Earl of Romney, and Lord Oxford,— and it was agreed to furnish Kidd with ship and crew in

[1] For my account of these negotiations, I am indebted to a rare pamphlet entitled, "Captain Kidd. A Full Account of the Proceedings thereto. In two letters written by a person of quality to a kinsman of the Earl of Bellomont in Ireland. Second Edition. London, 1701."

return for a certain share of the booty he should take. The agreement was made by Bellomont acting for his colleagues, and was dated at London, February 20, 1695–6. By its terms the Earl agreed to provide a good and sufficient ship, to pay four-fifths of her cost, victualing, and equipment, to procure a commission from the king empowering Kidd to fight against the king's enemies and take prizes from them as a private man-of-war, and to conquer and subdue pirates, and to capture them and their goods. Kidd, on his part, was to enlist one hundred seamen, proceed at once against the pirates, use his utmost endeavor to conquer and subdue them and take from them their goods, and also to take what prizes he could from the king's enemies, and proceed with them immediately to Boston in New England. In case he captured no pirates or prizes, he and Livingston were to refund the money advanced, amounting to £6000. The prize-money was to be divided — one-fourth to the ship's crew, the other three-fourths into five equal parts, four of which were to go to the earl, and the other fifth to be divided between Kidd and Livingston, who were also to pay one-fifth of the entire cost of the expedition. If, however, Kidd captured and turned over to Bellomont prizes to the value of one hundred thousand pounds, the ship should remain his as a reward for his services. Both Kidd and Livingston were held in bonds for the former's good behavior, Kidd's being placed at twenty thousand pounds, and Livingston's at ten thousand. It only remains to add that King William himself was a partner in this strange enterprise, and a prospective sharer in its spoils. A large ship, the Adventure Galley, was purchased, and in her Kidd sailed (February, 1696) ostensibly for the Red Sea in quest of pirates.

BRADFORD'S TOMBSTONE.[1]

Meantime those opposed to Governor Fletcher were using the occasion to effect his recall. They charged that he consorted with pirates, that he gave them commissions knowing them to be such, that he

[1] The original tombstone placed over the grave of Bradford, represented in the above illustration, was unfortunately broken, and was removed, at the time of the commemoration in this city in 1863, from Trinity Churchyard to the hall of the New-York Historical Society. It was replaced by another similar stone which now marks his grave. EDITOR.

sold them protections at exorbitant sums — the price of one being an eight-hundred-pound ship — and pocketed the money. The feeling entertained against Fletcher at this time by the opposition is shown in a letter written by Peter De la Noy, Mayor of New-York under Leisler, who after a long list of grievances exclaimed: "We are not solicitous whether he is gently recalled, or falls into disgrace, so we are rid of him!" The feeling was so intense that the king decided to displace Fletcher and appoint Bellomont; but in the letter to Fletcher announcing his recall, it was stated that this was not done because his Majesty was dissatisfied with him, but that the king would give him other employment. Bellomont's commission was dated June 18, 1697, but owing to delays in England and by storms on the voyage, he did not reach his government until 1698.

As soon as he heard of the charges, Fletcher wrote a letter to the Lords of Trade absolutely denying them, and making such explanations as to put them in a different light. He wrote that he was anxiously awaiting Bellomont's arrival, the Leislerians having become very bold and restive since the triumph of Leisler and the appointment of Bellomont, as they had imbibed the idea that there would be no more taxes after the Earl's arrival, and that all that he (Fletcher) had laid upon them would be refunded. Fletcher closed his letter containing the above statement with this paragraph: "My chiefest endeavor, as it always has been, is to assert my duty to his Majesty in studying the safety of the Province, and I bless God my efforts have not been ineffectual. It has improved more in building and trade these last five years than in many years before, which I shall be able to demonstrate to your Lordships when it shall please God to bring me to my native country of England, and to justify myself as to my loyalty and honesty."

Bellomont came filled with the idea that his predecessor was a man of iniquity and corruption, which belief was encouraged by the Independents and Leislerians, whose cause he espoused. These asserted that Fletcher was not only in league with pirates, but had embezzled great sums of their public moneys, and urged that he should not be allowed to depart the province until his accounts could be investigated by competent authority—meaning the Assembly. To appease the people Bellomont appointed a commission for this purpose, but as an examination would prevent Colonel Fletcher from sailing in the frigate Richmond as he had designed, he, out of respect "to his Majesty's Commission, which he so lately bore," took bonds of him in £10,000 to answer to the king for all public money irregularly disposed of by him, and allowed him to depart.[2] On arriving in England, Colonel Fletcher demanded an examination, which was accorded by the Lords

[2] Letter of Bellomont to the Lords of Trade. Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 4: 302.

of Trade. The Board convened at Whitehall, January 20, $169\frac{8}{9}$, the majority of its members, the impartial reader will note, being friends of Lord Bellomont.

The Attorney-General and Robert Weaver, agent of New-York, stood for the king; Sir Thomas Powis for ex-Governor Fletcher. There were eighteen "articles," or counts, in the complaint, which were considered under separate heads. The principal charges were: That Fletcher had accepted from one Edward Coats the pirate ship Jacob in return for his protection, which ship he had sold for £800; that he had granted like protections to other notorious pirates for stated sums, generally about one hundred pounds per man; that he had granted commissions to Thomas Tew, John Hoare, and others as privateers for money, when it was notorious that they were pirates; that his intimacy with Tew, a well-known pirate, was scandalous; that the security for the good conduct of the privateers thus commissioned taken by Colonel Fletcher was insufficient, and did not appear in the public records; that he had granted vast tracts of land without accurate survey and for inconsiderable quit-rents; that he had exacted of the soldiers one halfpenny per day out of each man's subsistence, and had sent home full muster-rolls on which pay was drawn, when they were not half full.

Certain depositions, reports, etc., of persons in New-York were read in support of these charges. Sir Thomas Powis at once objected to the admission of such papers unless the defense were permitted to send to New-York for counter-evidence. "One of the deponents," he said, "admitted that he had been forced to swear by Bellomont; another, that he had been tricked into it, and he inveighed against the Earle of Bellomonts undue method in forcing witnesses to swear." The Board, however, admitted the papers in evidence, and denied the defense opportunity to secure rebuttal evidence. Colonel Nicholas Bayard and Mr. Chidley Brooks, of Fletcher's Council, testified that Governor Fletcher had had the consent of the Council in all cases, and that without coercion. The ex-Governor's defense, as given in the court reports, was very lame and impotent, insomuch as to justify the suspicion that his side was not fully reported. In reality, he made a vigorous defense, as we discovered in two letters by him—one, without date, written from New-York on first hearing of the charges; the second dated London, December 24, 1698, and which was laid before the Board. In the last he observed that his designation to New-York was utterly unknown to him, and without his seeking; complained that he did not know his accusers, or in what manner he was to be attacked, as only the heads of articles were exhibited; and prayed that, for "the manifestation of the truth," he might have counter-witnesses summoned and examined. As to the ship Jacob, he said she had been

commissioned by Leisler, and, after roving for some time, came into the Sound off Montauk, and, on hearing of the fate of Leisler, most of her men dispersed. Those who were of New-York sent to know if they might come in safety to the city; whereupon he had called his Council, and it was unanimously their opinion that the men should be permitted to come in on giving security not to depart the province for a year and a day. The men came, and fulfilled these conditions. The reason that their bonds could not be found now among the public papers was that, the year and a day having expired, they had reclaimed them. He had accepted the Jacob as a present, and he frankly told their Lordships why he did so. "Those who victualled the forces had a great arrears due them, and were unwilling to trust any further, and a merchant of the place bidding £800 (of that money) for the ship, he had it accordingly. I touched no part of the money, but directed it to discharge and supply the victuallers, as was honestly done. Hereupon I writ to the Agent of the Province in England that when he could recover the value of this money (which might be of about £600 Sterling) he should remit it for me into Ireland, where my small patrimony of an adventure lay in ashes by the calamity of the late rebellion. And here, my Lords, let me presume to say that I had my share in the Irish Warr, and do appeal to all the Commanders in that army as to my behaviour in it, and whether in that, or near thirty years' service before, ever any complaint was brought before against me." He declared that he was never directly or indirectly concerned in unlawful or even lawful trade, and that he never gave protections or commissions for reward. As to prosecuting pirates, he never had any complaints made to him against them on which such a prosecution could be conducted. Tew, he said, was a man of great sense and remembrance of what he had seen, so that it was a divertisement to hear him talk. He also wished to make him a sober man, and reclaim him from a vile habit of swearing, to which end he had given him a book, and Tew had given him a trifling present in return.[1] As to the land grants, he reminded their lordships of the tenor of his instructions, and that they might find in their books how all the valuable lands of the province had been granted before he came, and that some governors had had large tracts of land.

His replies to other articles were equally convincing and forcible. In the first letter he has an interesting reference to Captain Kidd, who, instead of proceeding a pirate-hunting, as his instructions ordered,

1 "His Excy did acquaint the Council that one Capt. Thomas Tew, Commander of the Sloop Amity, with five gunns and Eighty men at their private charge, are ready and willing to go against the ffrench, their Maties Enemyes, and to make this their Commission Port, and desired the opinion & advice of the Council for granting him a Commission. The Council are unanimously of opinion that he ought to be encouraged, and advise his Excy to grant him a Commission." (Colonial MSS., 39 : 105 ; Nov. 8,1694.)

had borne away for New-York. "One Captain Kidd lately arrived here, and produced a Commission under the Great Seal of England for suppressing of Piracy. When he was here many flockt to him from all parts, men of desperate fortunes and necessitous, in expectation of getting vast treasure. He sailed from hence with 150 men, as I am informed. . . . It is generally believed here they will have money *per fas aut nefas;* that if he miss of the design intended for which he has Commission, twill not be in Kidd's power to govern such a hord of men under no pay," which surmise proved to be true. The sequel of Kidd's enterprise, however, belongs to a succeeding chapter. The outcome of the examination was unfavorable to Fletcher. The Lords of Trade reported to the king that his proceedings concerning the pirates "were contrary to his duty and an encouragement to Piracy"; and, on the land grants, that "his having made such large grants of land to single persons without due caution for improvement, was not for your Majesty's service, nor did it tend to the settlement of those parts"; and recommended that the charges be referred to the Attorney-General for further action.

Fletcher attributed the decision to the influence of Bellomont and Livingston. "I cannot be ignorant," he said, in the letter above quoted, "that there are two Scotchmen got into credit who are my mortal enemies, men that are able not only to trouble a Province, but to turn it upside down; and if these men can by successive complaints keep me under prosecution they have their ends." And again: "When I consider the cloud I am under, and the bitterness with which I am pursued even to gall, and that all my actions are ransacked, 'tis truly a wonder that in so many years administration I should not have fallen into more absurdities and errors." And on August 5, 1698, at London, he wrote Mr. Blathwayt about being prosecuted by the Earl of Bellomont, and observing "the great credit his Lordship has with persons in the chiefe Stations and trust here. . . . I am confounded at the design and meaning of it; especially, looking back at the five and thirty yeares that I have borne Commission under the Crown of England, without the least reproach or impeachment of my reputation, and after nine years service in the war of Ireland and America, to become a castaway in the rear of my days is no small mortification to me."

The king, however, seems to have interposed in favor of a faithful servant; at least we discover no evidence of further proceedings against him. From certain expressions in a letter of Bellomont's it appears that the Bishop of London espoused his cause. Of Benjamin Fletcher's subsequent career nothing is known, nor is there any record of either the time or place of his death.

[Among the Archives of the English Government is an ancient document dated 1698, descriptive of our city, from which the following quaint and curious extract is taken. EDITOR.]

"The citty of New Yorke was first founded by the people of the Nether Dutch nation, in the year of our Lord 1619, and had then granted to them by the Staets Generall of ye United Provinces and the West India Company, sundry rights and priviledges. Since the first settlement of the said citty, it hath been allways the metropolis, staple-porte, and the only publick mercate [market] of the whole Province; and hath allways without interruption enjoyed all the aforesaid priviledges, according to its growth and improvement; and so by that means hath been allways termed an ancient citty, and that justly, there being nothing more ancient in this Province then the time when itt was first settled, and att that time itt was incorporate by the name of the Citty of New Amsterdam, and governed in its trade by its own laws; and albeit itt is not one thousand years old, yett itt is older than any other citty corporation within this Province, all or most of the settlements of the same proceeded from itt, and fell upon the improvement of tillage, whereby graine became the staple community [commodity] of the Province; and the cittizens of the said citty no sooner perceived that there were greater quantities of wheat raised then could be consumed within the said Province, but they *contrived and invented the art of bolting*, by which they converted the wheat into flower, and made itt a manufacture not only profitable to all the inhabitants of the Province by the incouragement of tillage and navigation, but likewise beneficial and commodious [accommodating] to all the plantations, and the improvement thereof in this citty is the true and only cause of the growth, strength and encrease of buildings within the same, and of the riches, plenty of money, and the rise of the value of lands in the other parts of the Province, and the livelyhood of all the inhabitants of this citty did chiefly depend thereon.

"Now the reason why this citty was so incorporated and had granted to them the aforesaid rights and priviledges, is because the first founders of the same were not suffered by the then government to extend themselves into particular settlements, until first there should be gathered together a sufficient number of people at this place that might be of a reasonable force for their common security and defence; whereupon they began to fortify, and finding this place of their situation to be very barren, and unfit by their industry to make them any return for their subsistence, it was therefore projected that all such as would fix themselves at this place, should only adict themselves to trade for the accommodation of those that should go settle in the country, that they might be plentifully supplied with such things as was necessary for cultivation, and likewise that they might finde at this place a mercate to vend what they raised from their industry, and that the trade thereof might be more regularly managed the said inhabitants had power given them to make laws, rules, and orders for the government of the same trade and the good and weale of the Burgers and inhabitants of the said citty, by which reglement and good order this city did encrease in people, strength, and riches, to such a degree that it became the envy of the crown of England.

"While this province was under the Dutch Government, they were so jealous of the trade of this citty that they would not permit any settlement to be made in any place within their jurisdiction, but under such restrictions as they thought convenient for the security of their trade, and particularly did restraine the inhabitants of Hudsons River and Long Island that they should not plant nor manadge any parte of husbandry without paying one-tenth parte of what they raised unto the government, and besides did oblige the planters that they should not apply themselves to any trade but only to husbandry, and that the inhabitants of Albany should only apply themselves unto the Indian trade, and all their grants or patents had that reservation or tenure in them."

FAC-SIMILE OF A PATENT OF NEW-YORK CITY PROPERTY, GRANTED BY GOVERNOR FLETCHER TO SAMUEL BAYARD, SON OF PETER BAYARD, AND ELDEST NEPHEW AND GODSON OF STUYVESANT. FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE POSSESSION OF THE EDITOR.

William the third By the Grace of God King of England Scotland ffrance and Ireland Defender of ffaith &c
To all to whom these presents Shall come or may Concerne Greeting Whereas Our Loveing Subiect Samuell Bayard of Our Citty of New yorke Marchant hath by his Petition presented unto Our Trusty and Beloved Benjamin ffletcher Our Capt Generall and Governour in Cheife of Our Province of New yorke and Territories depending thereon in Amerca prayed Our Grant & confirmation of two Certaine Lotts of Ground Situat Lying and Being within Our Said City of New yorke in the Street within Our Said City commonly called and Knowne by the name of the Dock Street on the South Side of the Said Street and bounded on the East by the Ground of Andreas Teller on the north by the Said Street on the west by the Ground of Hellena Montas and on the South by the East River or roade of the Said City Containeing in breadth ffronting to the Said Street & in the Rear thirty Six foot and in Length in both Sides Thirty five foot all of English Measure as also another Lott of Ground adjoining thereunto at the rear thereof running into the Said River in Length on the west Side thirty Six foot and on the East Syde thirty Eight foot and in breadth unto the Extent of the Said Length thirty Six foot English Measure So that the Said two lotts within the Limitts and Bounds aforementioned containe in the ffront by the Said Street and in the rear by the Said River thirty Six foot & in lengths on the East Syde one hundred and thirty three foot & on the west Syde one hundred and thirty one foot all of English Measure which request We being willing to grant Knowyee that of Our Speciall Grace certaine Knowledge and meere Motion We have given granted Ratified and confirmed And by these presents doe for us our heirs and Successors give grant Ratifye & confirme unto the Said Samuell Bayard all the aforecreated two lotts of ground within the Limitts & bounds aforesaid Together with all and Singular the Houses Buildings messuages tenem.ts Shops Cellars Sollars chambers rooms Entrys waves passages yards backsides Lights watercourses Easments wharfes and all other benefitts rights proffitts privileges comodities hereditaments and appurtenances to the aforecreated Lotts of Ground and messuages therein or in Part Within the limitts & bounds aforesaid belonging or in any wayes appertaineing To have and to hold all the aforecreated two Lotts of Ground within the limitts & bounds aforesaid Together with all and Singular the Houses buildings messuages Tenements Shops Cellars Sollars chambers rooms Entrys waves passages yards backsides Lights water Courses Easem.ts wharfes and all other benefitts rights benefitts. privileges Comodities hereditam.ts & appurtenances to the aforecreated Lotts of ground & messuages thereon Erected within the Limitts and bounds aforesaid belonging or in any wayes appertaineing unto the Said Samuell Bayard his heirs and assignes To the Sole & only proper use Benefitt & behoofe of him the Said Samuell Bayard & his heirs and assignes forever yeelding & rendering and paying therefore yearly and every year for ever unto us our heirs and Successors at Our Said City of New Yorke on the ffeast day of the Annunciation of Our Blessed Virgin Mary if the Same be lawfully demanded the yearly rent of one peper Corn in lieu and Stead of all other rents Services Dues Duties and demands whatsoever for the Said Lotts of Ground & premisses In Testimony whereof we have caused the Great Seal of Our Province to be hereunto affixed Witnesse Our trusty and welbeloved Benjamin ffletcher Our Capt Generall and Governour in Cheife of Our Province of New York and the Territories Depending thereon in Amerca and Vice Admirall of the Same Our Lieut & Commander in Cheife of the Militia and of all the ffortes by Sea and land within Our Colony of Connecticutt & of all the ffortes and places of Strength within the Same in Councill at Newyorke the Seventeenth day of June in the ninth yeare of Our Reigne Annoq Dom 1697

By the Governours Command
David Jamison Secry

ffletcher

The name was signed on either side of the seal, which explains the intervening space.

CHAPTER XIV

CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL HISTORY OF NEW-YORK IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

FEW States present in a period as brief so many political changes as our own. Settled secondarily by one body of the Teutonic stock, it was soon transferred as a result of warfare to another people of like origin, but possessed of widely different institutions. In course of time the stronger people abrogated the political and legal institutions of those they had conquered; but this result was accomplished consistently with the forms of law. The constitution and laws which grew up among a people thus blended by conquest have, in turn, been subjected to many modifications, attributable to dynastic influences, to political revolutions, to legislation, or to the subtler and less majestic forces referable to a voluntary and extended immigration into this territory of persons of widely different origin. Of such extensive causes any outline can be only suggestive.

A portion of the territory now embraced in this great and splendid modern State was occupied under feeble Dutch auspices about the year 1614, a ship bearing the Dutch flag having discovered the Hudson River in 1609. Prior to the incorporation of the Dutch West India Company in 1621, under the Stadholderate of Prince Maurice of Orange-Nassau, who was actively interested in its establishment, the settlements in New Netherland consisted of one or two fortified trading stations, the commandants of which exercised the necessary civil jurisdiction under trading licenses or charters. In 1626 the Dutch first established a rudimentary but adequate form of government for New Netherland, the nature and extent of which comprehend the first phase of our subject; for by assumptions of our jurisprudents the rights and title of the aboriginal inhabitants of this territory are substantially ignored, or do not figure in the jurisprudence of the modern State—the aborigines being said by jurists to have had no government recognizable by the law of nations and no institutions compatible with our standard of civilization. Curiously

enough, what rights the aborigines enjoyed after the European ingress seem to have been relegated to the domain of ethics rather than to that of law, although the Europeans often went through the form of extinguishing the Indian's title to the lands wanted for European occupation.

The constitution and laws first enjoyed by the early Dutch inhabitants of New Netherland were consistent with the colonial status. They depended largely on the terms of the charter granted by the States-General of Holland to the Dutch West India Company in 1621. In any survey of the jurisprudence and institutions of a European colony the controlling factor is the seat of the sovereign power. A colony is not a state; its government and institutions may be to some extent autonomous, but they are essentially *ab extra*, not *ab intra*. Therefore the politics of all colonies irresistibly tend to autonomy or to secession from the mother country. To comprehend this fact, as English statesmen now do, is to understand the dynamics of colonial politics and colonial institutions.

The Nether Dutch of England and Holland were from the first, and still are, the really strong colonial powers of Europe. Historically, New-York affords one example of their rivalry, Africa now another. The wonderful partition which followed the Columbian voyages to American territory proceeded on principles which still figure in our jurisprudence, and which, in the sixteenth century, were recognized by both England and Holland. This principle, in common with most principles of international law, is a refinement of the Roman law. International ownership *jure occupationis* has two elements: priority of discovery and priority of possession must concur in order to give valid title to *res nullius* in the shape of territory. The powers in question both claimed title to New Netherland by right of prior occupancy and discovery. The Dutch claimed the entire territory between the Delaware and the Connecticut rivers, or between Virginia and New France (40° and 45° N. latitude). They actually settled small scattered tracts, notably those on the shores of the Hudson River and its confluents. As Sir Travers Twiss has well pointed out in his work on "International Law," the investitive facts relating to title to new countries *jure primæ occupationis* are often very complicated, especially when the only actual occupation is at the embouchure of a river penetrating far inland. New-York affords a good illustration of the result of such complexity, for her jurisprudence is still slightly affected by the ancient contention as to the paramount right of the original European claimants to her territory. Indeed, to this day lawyers contend over the facts involved in the English and Dutch claims to New Netherland. The reason of this long dispute is very simple if we have recourse to the juridical results which are supposed to flow from such conflicting

claims to sovereignty. If the Dutch state was rightfully the owner of New Netherland, by all systems of recognized law the English title to this province depended wholly on conquest or cession, and consequently the laws of the conquered or ceded people *strictissimi juris* remain in force, unless expressly abrogated. As the right to abrogate the laws of a conquered or ceded state or province is often modified by treaty, we perceive that even such an ancient dispute as that indicated may have living consequences to modern jurisprudence. That the dominion of the Dutch over New Netherland was de facto for about half a century cannot be disputed. That it was not de jure has always, to some extent, been claimed by the English governmental agents and by many able lawyers even of our own time. Disputants on this point derive much comfort from both historical and judicial utterances touching the question, although, unfortunately, too few of them are authoritative. But it is now too late to reverse the verdict of history, and, in any event, a subsequent formal cession of New Netherland by Holland to England and the introduction of the English common law by express legislation make the dispute about the original Dutch title less consequential than it would otherwise be. Hence juridical necessities may well be postulated of firmer premises than a constructive denial of the original Dutch title.

In 1621, when the United Netherlands were fully established as an independent sovereign state, the States-General incorporated the Dutch West India Company in order that the remote trade to America and the West Indies might be carried on by a strong organization, and not by irresponsible private adventurers. Until the year 1664 this company exercised in New Netherland the local sovereignty, but in subordination to the States-General, where the ultimate and paramount sovereignty continued. Their charter conferred extensive governmental powers, embracing the right to make treaties with the natives in the name of the States-General, to build forts, to colonize countries, and to govern and administer justice in such as were settled. But all governors-in-chief and the instructions to be given them were to be first approved by the States-General, who would then issue formal commissions. All superior officers were to take oaths of allegiance to the States-General and to the company. The governing body of the company consisted of an assembly or college of nineteen delegates, chosen from the various chambers and branches established in different parts of the United Netherlands.

The superior administration of the local government of New Netherland was vested in a Director-General and Council, who, under the restrictions imposed by the charter and its amendments and the instructions and ordinances of the company, possessed subordinate judicial, legislative, and executive powers. The exercise of the judi-

cial power was subject to an appellate jurisdiction vested in the Amsterdam Chamber, or that branch of the company having particular charge of New Netherland. The general supervision and government of the colony were lodged in the board or assembly of nineteen delegates, briefly termed the "Assembly of the XIX."

In 1628, in order to fulfil that clause of their charter allowing them to foster colonization, the Assembly of the XIX, with the assent of the States-General, determined to subinfeudate in New Netherland certain colonies or manors, the masters or patroons of which were to be invested with seigniorial or feudal government within their colonies. This bauble of privilege was intended to stimulate colonization by the members of the company, who, being merchants, were as a rule not landed proprietors at home. In furtherance of this motive was passed, in 1629, the "Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions." It

provided that any member of the West India Company (amended in 1640 to include any inhabitant of the Netherlands) who should undertake to plant a "Colonie" of fifty persons, upwards of fifteen years old, out of the limits of Manhattan, should within his "Colonie" possess certain manorial privileges and exemptions; whoever conveyed five emigrants was to be acknowledged a master or colonist.

Under the "Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions" a number of "Colonies" or patroonships were attempted in New Netherland. Those within the limits of the present State were five in number—the colonies of Melyn, Meyndertsen, Van Werckhoven, Van der Donck, and the partners Van Rensselaer, Godyn, Bloemaert, and other associates. The "Colonie" of the latter was the only one which was successful or attained great dimensions. Owing to its isolated and fertile situation, and to the superior sagacity of its chief founder, Van Rensselaer, a shrewd Holland pearl-merchant, who acquired the interests of his associates, the Colonie Rensselaerswyck became an *imperium in imperio*, which long influenced certain land tenures of New-York. The "Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions" (sec. 21) did not forbid the occupation of land by individuals who might preëmpt it, subject, however, to the approbation of the Director-General and Council of New Netherland. The tenures of most of the landed estates in New Netherland were theoretically of the company, although the small holdings were more nearly allodial. At one time any private person could take possession of as much land as he was able to improve, at another of two hundred acres, and his property in it became absolute, but subject to a payment after ten years of tithes to the company, or a couple of capons for a house and garden.

In their "Colonies" the patroons, as feudal seigniors, exercised subordinate legal jurisdiction. In person, or by deputy, in the Courts Baron, they pronounced judgments for civil injuries and crimes; but by law their judgments were subject to the review of the Director-General and Council at Fort Amsterdam, the executive residence. There is some proof that the patroons desired to uphold jurisdiction over their colonies *jure majestatis* as successors to the Indian sovereignty, acquired by purchase.[1] The feudalism of the Dutch was an extremely moderate system, and there is no reason to suppose it was oppressive when transplanted to this country.

The organization of the West India Company met with some delay, and it was not until 1623 that efforts were directed towards colonization. In that year the company sent out an expedition which planted small settlements at Fort Orange (now Albany), Manhattan Island, and Walloons' Cove. The settlers at first were very few, and we know little of their affairs until 1626, except that they prospered greatly. In that year Peter Minuit was commissioned Director-General of New Netherland. To assist him a Council of five or six were appointed, who, with himself, were invested with all local, legislative, judicial, and executive powers, subject to the supervision and appellate jurisdiction of the Amsterdam Chamber of the company. The sentences of the court were enforced by an officer called the Schout-Fiscal, who acted also as public prosecutor, combining the duties of sheriff, attorney-general, and collector of the port.

The official records of the colony during the administration of Minuit and his successor, Van Twiller, are utterly lost, so that little is known about their mode of administering justice; but in 1638 William Kieft arrived with a commission as Director-General, and, from the time of his arrival, the records are unbroken. He was intrusted with great power, and used it shamefully. His instructions required that he should have a council. He appointed one member to sit with him in the board, and gave him one vote, reserving two for himself. The Director-General and Council composed the only judicial tribunal, and exercised both civil and criminal jurisdictions. By his instructions an appeal was to be permitted from their judgments to the home government; but, by a judicious system of fines and imprisonment, Kieft put an end to this annoying practice. As the country grew other settlements were made outside of Manhattan Island, and in several of them local courts were established by the Director. They generally had unlimited civil and criminal jurisdiction, but with the right of appeal in all cases to the Director and his Council.

Kieft continued as Director-General in New Netherland for about eight years, and in that time nearly reduced the prosperous colony to

1 "Documents relating to the Colonial History of New-York," 1:84.

ruin. Finally, upon a petition of the inhabitants, showing the evils arising from his misgovernment, the company issued orders for his recall, and appointed Peter Stuyvesant to take his place. Associated with Stuyvesant were a Vice-Director and a Schout-Fiscal, who, with the Director-General, composed the Council. Upon this Council were conferred full judicial powers, but with the qualification that when the Schout-Fiscal should prosecute for the government, in either criminal or civil cases, the military commandant should take his place upon the bench, and that in criminal prosecutions there should be added to the court two capable persons from the commonalty of the district in which the crime was committed.

The administration of Stuyvesant, which was the last under the Dutch rule, continued for seventeen years. During almost the whole of its existence a struggle was carried on in the colony between the power of the company, represented by the Director, and the people, who insisted upon their inherent right of self-government. Shortly after Stuyvesant's arrival he organized the court of justice of the colony by the appointment of the Vice-Director as presiding judge. This tribunal had power to decide all cases, civil and criminal, but the Director required that his opinion should be asked in important matters, and reserved the right to preside in person whenever he saw fit. Directly after the organization of the court a case came before it which had a very important effect upon the future of the colony. Two men, Kuyter and Melyn, who had been prominent in obtaining the recall of Kieft, were prosecuted by order of the Director for seditious libel in drawing the petition for Kieft's removal, and for disrespectful conduct towards the ex-Director. Their case coming on for trial, Stuyvesant was in favor of sentencing one to death, and of imposing a heavy fine upon the other. Finally, they were both fined and banished. Going to Holland, they appealed to the States-General, although the Director had told them that he would have them hanged on the highest tree in New Netherland if he supposed that they would be guilty of such contempt of his authority.

The States-General, who always seemed disposed to protect the colonists, reversed the sentence, and dealt the first blow at the arbitrary power of the Director. Meantime the revenue being scanty and the people refusing to be taxed, Stuyvesant made a concession to the popular demands, and created a board of nine men, to be chosen by him from eighteen persons elected by the people. This board, in addition to certain advisory powers, was to act in a judicial capacity by serving as arbitrators or referees in minor cases. They constituted the first elective judiciary in this territory. Soon, however, Stuyvesant quarreled with them, as well as with most of the leading men of the province. The aggrieved colonists appealed to the home gov-

ernment for redress, and prosecuted their petition with such force and vigor that finally the company saw that they must make some concessions or run the risk of losing their vast transatlantic possessions. They accordingly instructed Stuyvesant to permit the establishment in Manhattan of a "burgher government," after the model of the free cities of Holland.

The municipality of New Amsterdam, as established in 1653, resembled that of its more ancient namesake in Holland, being vested in burgomasters and schepens, who with the Schout-Fiscal, composed the court of magistrates as well as the executive government of the city: The burgomasters acted as orphan-masters or surrogates until 1655. As New Amsterdam was a "Colonie" of the West India Company itself, and its lands were owned primarily by the company, civic rights were somewhat less than in old Amsterdam.

In the year 1657 the citizens of New Amsterdam were, at their own request, allowed the Dutch municipal and trading privileges of burgher-recht, and they were divided, according to quality, into great and small burghers. The latter class might purchase the higher honor for a trifling sum.[1] After a custom of the Fatherland, the great burghers enjoyed the monopoly of certain municipal offices, as well as exemptions from many onerous civic duties. Combined, the burghers constituted the freedom of the city. Much sentiment has been written deprecating the introduction of this invidious and aristocratic distinction. In sober point of fact, it was a mere matter of police, and of no great political or social consequence; it was most anxiously sought by the inhabitants themselves in order that they might better protect themselves against foreign competition in trade. Burgher-right confined the trading privileges to such as were citizens of New Amsterdam.

The citizens of New Amsterdam were finally allowed to elect a schout (or sheriff), two burgomasters, and five schepens. These officers were to form a municipal court of justice, subject to the right of appeal to the Supreme Court of the province. However, Stuyvesant departed from his instructions, and, instead of permitting the people to elect their officers, appointed them himself. A few days thereafter, on the 5th of February, 1653, the newly appointed burgomasters and schepens came together and organized their court. This tribunal, known as the Court of Burgomasters and Schepens, continued during the remainder of the Dutch rule. Its name under the English was changed to that of the Mayor's Court, and at a later day to the Court of Common Pleas of the City and County of New-York, which, as it now exists, is the lineal descendant of the old Dutch court. The Court of Burgomasters and Schepens had at first original jurisdiction of all civil cases which arose in the city of New Amster-

[1] Kent's "City Charters," p. 243.

dam, and a few years afterwards full criminal jurisdiction, except in cases of murder. It acted also as a court of admiralty and as a probate court. Courts were also established among the Dutch and English settlers on Long Island, on Staten Island, and in Harlem, Wiltwyck (now Kingston), and at Fort Orange (now Albany). Most of them were organized upon a simpler basis than that of New Amsterdam, not possessing burgomasters, but only a schout and two or more schepens, or in some cases commissioners. These officers were at first appointed by the Director and Council for a term of one year, but after some time the outgoing officials were permitted to name a double number of candidates, from whom their successors were selected. The administration of the village courts was to conform to the customs of the city of Amsterdam as nearly as the circumstances of this country would permit.

Oliver Cromwell

From all these courts an appeal could be taken to the Supreme Court of the province, held by the Director-General and his Council. The decision of this tribunal was generally final, as there was no further appeal allowed by law. However, in some cases parties carried their grievances to Holland, and obtained a hearing before the States-General, which claimed and exercised an ultimate jurisdiction over the colony.

The supreme law of New Netherland was the will of the company as expressed in instructions and declared in ordinances, and in cases not thus provided for the civil law and the statutes, edicts, and customs of the Fatherland were to prevail. The civil law formed the basis of the jurisprudence of Holland, but it had been so modified by the feudal law, statutes, and usages as in time to acquire a name of its own—the "Roomsch-Hollandsche Recht," Roman-Dutch Law. The precise letter of the law of New Netherland is now in some particulars conjectural, many of the statutes and ordinances affecting it being irretrievably lost. Therefore, when the courts of New-York have had occasion to consider the subject, they have been obliged to construe the law of New Netherland either as identical with the former local laws of Holland, which are presented in the familiar commentaries of Van der Linden and Van Leeuwen, or else on the ultimate rule of the Roman-

Dutch Law — that, in the absence of positive enactments, the civil law, *jus scriptum*, furnished the judicial criterion. (Van der Linden, 50: 1, sec. 4.)

It is not now certain that the statutes or laws of New Netherland were, in all instances, identical with the laws of Holland. Resident in Holland were several legislative bodies having supremacy over New Netherland. Chief of these was the States-General of the United Netherlands, which legislated as the lord paramount of the West India Company, whose powers were restricted by the terms of the charter. The statutes of the company relating to New Netherland were mainly enacted by the Amsterdam Chamber, the branch which had especial jurisdiction over this province. The acts of the chamber at Amsterdam are missing, the originals having been sold for waste paper at auction in 1821 by order of the government of the Netherlands.[1]

In addition to the legislators in Holland, the Director-General and Council of New Netherland were empowered to enact laws, which were subject to the revision and veto of the Amsterdam Chamber. From certain provisos found in the last class of acts it is probable that they were not to be contrary to the laws of the Fatherland.[2]

The charter of the West India Company contains no express limitations of their law-making powers over colonies planted by them within their territories. (Charter, art. 2.) But there is evidence that the laws of New Netherland were required to conform in essentials to the law of Holland.[3] Assuming that, in the absence of a definitive ordinance or positive law, the law of the Fatherland obtained in New Netherland, let us glance for a moment at the law of Holland in the seventeenth century. The establishment of the University of Leyden, in 1575, gave a great impulse to the study of the *corpus juris civilis* in Holland, though at what time and by whom it was first introduced in the Netherlands, is somewhat conjectural. Even after its introduction the local laws and ordinances, inseparably blended with the feudal system, furnished the paramount judicial rule, and it was only in the absence of positive law that the *jus scriptum*, or Roman law, controlled the judiciary. The extent to which the ancient law of Holland modified the Roman law was irregular, for in some places the latter was held in high esteem, while in others it was but little observed. As thus composed, the law of Holland came to be designated the Roman-Dutch law.

The heterogeneity of the Roman-Dutch law, affixed to the law of New Netherland, has not always been observed in New-York; at

1 Introd. to Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 1: xxvi; Preface to "Laws of New Netherland," p. xvi.

2 "Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland," 7: 400, 407; "Records of Burgomasters and Schepens of New Amsterdam," p. 6.

3 Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 1: 551; "Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland," pp. 400, 407; see also the statements of the historians — Moulton, 2: 369; O'Callaghan, 1: 90; Brodhead, 1: 163.

least, casual reference would seem to indicate that it was identical with the civil law (36 Barb., p. 157), whereas, in fact, it was quite distinct (17 Wend., p. 590). Chancellor Kent, alluding to the law of Holland, happily terms the civil law the "common law" of that country. (2 Johns. Ch. p. 324.) The expression is apposite, for the civil law performed for the law of Holland an office similar to that which the English common law performs here; it supplied the rule for *casus omissi*. (Van der Linden's Com., p. 58.) In a present application of the ancient law of New Netherland to a given case it is necessary first to ascertain whether any positive law of New Netherland has prescribed a different rule from the law of the Fatherland. If not, the "Roomsch-Hollandsche Recht," as it formerly stood in Holland, will ordinarily indicate the rule in such cases.

The Roman-Dutch laws concerning inheritances *ab intestato* were not alike in all parts of Holland. In Friesland and contiguous parts the "Aasdom's Recht," or the rule that the next of blood inherited the goods, prevailed; while in Zeeland and adjacent parts the "Schependom's Recht," or the rule that the goods reverted to the source or stock whence they came, obtained. In 1580 an attempt was made to conform these different rules, and a new "Schependom's Recht" was passed; but in 1599, by a *placaat*, some of the cities and counties were allowed to resume the "Aasdom's Recht" as amended in the *placaat*.[1] The latter rule, as it prevailed in Amsterdam, came to determine the course of inheritances *ab intestato* in New Netherland;[2] but if a case arose in New Netherland not provided for by the *placaat* of 1599, nor explained by the "Aasdom's Recht," then the Roman law was authoritative here as in Holland. The Roman-Dutch law concerning succession by last will was in force in New Netherland with little or no modification. Open wills were made before a notary and two witnesses[3] or before five witnesses, or in the presence of two members of a court and the secretary. There were other modes of executing wills; they are described at length in the commentaries of Van Leeuwen and Van der Linden, and may be practically seen in the New Netherland records and laws. The laws of New Netherland relative to the public record of legal instruments were somewhat in advance of contemporary English laws on the same subject. By special grant of the supreme government the proprietors of the Dutch manors acquired *venia testandi*, or the right to dispose of their fiefs by will.[4] In all cases of

[1] It is to be noted that at this time (1599) Spain, under the reign of Philip III. (his more famous father, Philip II., having died the year before), had not yet formally acknowledged the independence of the revolted Netherlands. Though this was not done till ten years later, in 1609 (it was not finally conceded till 1648), the States-General acted in all matters of internal policy and foreign relations as if their country were already free and sovereign. EDITOR.

[2] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 1: 620; Holland Doc., 16: 26.

[3] Register of Solomon Lachaire, notary public in New Netherland, City Library, New-York.

[4] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 1: 119.

intestacy there was no preference of males to females, and no principle of primogeniture prevailed in New Netherland.

At the present time no portion of the law of New Netherland is more often considered than that relating to tenures and immovable property, or real estate. The Dutch law on this subject was very liberal to aliens. There are numerous instances where real property was held by the English in New Netherland; and by at least one act[1] many English were empowered to dispose of their property by will, according to pleasure, although the laws of New Netherland were to regulate their inheritances *ab intestato*. Ground briefs, or transports, which correspond to the English deeds, were the common mode of conveying title to immovables. In many instances lands were practically allodial, and not holden of any superior; but the manors were feudal tenures, and partook of the character of all feuds. Transports were passed and executed by the cedants before the schepens of the place where the realty was situated,[2] and thus became judicial acts of record. The manors of New Netherland were of that peculiar class of fiefs denominated common feudal tenures, being held without any lordly title of nobility attached to them.

Connected with the Dutch landed system introduced in New Netherland was a very extensive set of real rights termed servitudes, which we find alluded to in the New Netherland records. Servitudes of this kind were of two varieties—urban and predial servitudes. The urban servitudes, sometimes called house-servitudes, corresponded to the easements of the English law; in common with predial servitudes (such as rights of way), they were wholly derived from the Roman law, which affected many other affairs of every-day life in New Netherland. Such institutions as marriage, domestic service, and slavery were regulated by proper laws under the Dutch régime.

These details serve, at least, to show that the laws of New Netherland, as they stood in 1664, concerning police, property, inheritances, and status, must have been adapted to a highly civilized society. The later adjudications demonstrate that the lapse of time has not altogether obliterated the importance of these ancient laws. It was said by so distinguished a lawyer as the late Benjamin F. Butler, of New-York, that the history of New Netherland was essential to a correct understanding of the constitutional history of this State. However this may be, it is undoubtedly true that the long and intelligent administration of the Dutch has left its imprint on the customs, laws, and civilization of this State. Several writers have thought the New-York township system referable to the institutions of New Netherland, and their opinions are entitled to a careful consideration.

[1] Laws, etc., of New Netherland, p. 467.
[2] Dutch Records, New-York City Hall and Register's Office.

In the year 1664, when the government passed to the English, New Netherland is said by the Chevalier Lambrechtsen to have consisted of three cities and thirty villages. Its population was then about ten thousand souls, exclusive of the Indians, who were important auxiliaries for trade and peltries. The inhabitants enjoyed a fair measure of freedom and protection. Highroads already existed, and there were numerous owners of flourishing farms, or bouweries, and other real property, while urban life was well policed by proper laws. The treatment by the Dutch of the many English and other aliens who already dwelt within the Dutch territory was rather in advance of the age, while the jurisprudence established here by the Dutch, being largely borrowed from the high civilization of Rome, was certainly superior in refinement to the contemporary feudal and folk law introduced by the English in 1664. Theoretically, the administration of justice conformed to a high standard, and both Dutch and aliens were protected by adequate constitutional guaranties.[1] We cannot for an instant presume that the institutions which half a century had reared were swept into oblivion by a single stroke of the English conquerors in 1664. It would be more rational to suppose that the subsidence of the Dutch institutions was as gradual as the facts demonstrate it to have been.

Negro slavery was introduced by the Dutch, but it existed here only under its least objectionable conditions. A large measure of religious liberty was tolerated, although the Dutch Reformed Church was the only one publicly sanctioned. On several occasions delegates of the commonalty were brought into consultation with the Director-General and Council, and thus, to some extent, a principle of representative government was at least recognized, although it was somewhat at variance with the company's standard of colonial government, and savored too much of the English idea and encroachment to be palatable.

It must not be forgotten that at home the Dutch were a self-governing people and accustomed to that most important principle of free government — self-assessment in taxation. In common with all commercial peoples, they possessed a sturdy independence of mind and demeanor. There is no proof that these excellent qualities were diminished by transplantation to the still freer air of the new country. New Netherland was not altogether fortunate in its type of government, experience demonstrating that the selfish spirit of a mercantile monopoly is not the fit repository of governmental powers. Yet, on the whole, it must be conceded that the company's government introduced here much that was good and accomplished little that was pernicious. In 1664 it certainly surrendered to the English one of the finest and most flourishing colonies of America, possessing a hardy, vigorous, and

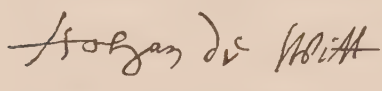
[1] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 1 : 123.

thrifty people, well adapted to all the principles of civil and religious freedom. History shows that this people speedily coalesced with all that was good in the system introduced by the English, and sturdily opposed all that was undesirable. This could not have been the case had their prior political situation inured them to a loss of personal liberty or to a diminution of personal status. It is highly probable that the theoretic defects of the Dutch frame of government were of small moment in so sparsely settled a community. The pressure of the worst forms of government is not great in a new or wild country, where the machinery is rarely visible. But, as the laws and institutions originally imposed by the Dutch settlers had important ulterior consequences to the form of government and jurisprudence of a large and opulent population, they possess a potential importance in excess of their real value. Long after the surrender of the province to the English, Dutch emigrants continued to come to the province, thus helping to perpetuate the language and many institutions of the original settlers, notably the Dutch Church in communion with the Classis of Amsterdam, which was protected by the Articles of Surrender granted by the English in 1664.

CROWN, CHARLES II.

On the 12th of March, 1664, Charles II. of England granted to his brother, the Duke of York and Albany, much American territory, including that then occupied by the Dutch of New Netherland. This patent was pretended to be granted pursuant to the English title, again asserted to be paramount by virtue of prior discovery. As such an assertion was inconsistent with repeated recognitions by the English Foreign Office of the Dutch title to the part of New Netherland lying on the Hudson River and its tributaries, in itself the patent cannot be regarded as evidence of an English title. The assertion also contradicted Queen Elizabeth's doctrine, that discovery must be followed by actual and continuous occupation in order to confer title to territory. The Duke of York followed his grant with a preconcerted and overt act of war. He despatched an armed expedition, which, on the 27th of August (Old Style), 1664, captured the city of New Amsterdam. By articles of capitulation, regularly signed by commissioners on the part of both English and Dutch, the subjects of the States-General then resident in New Netherland were to continue free denizens, and to enjoy their private property and dispose of it as they pleased; they were to enjoy their own customs concerning their inheritances and liberty of conscience in divine worship and church discipline. All public writings relative to inheritances, church government, and orphans were

to be carefully preserved. Any people might freely come from the Netherlands and settle in the captured country. The inferior magistrates were to hold over till the time of a new election, and then new ones were to be chosen by themselves, provided they took the oath of allegiance to his Majesty of England. All prior contracts were to be determined by the Dutch law. The town of Manhattan was to choose deputies, to have free voice in public affairs. The articles provided also that, in case the king of Great Britain and the states of the Netherlands so agreed, the country should be forthwith redelivered to the Dutch authorities.[1] The hostilities which ensued between England and the States-General (for, as a consequence of the capture, Pensionary John De Witt declared war) were finally settled by a *uti possidetis* clause of the treaty of Breda, signed July $\frac{21}{31}$, 1667, by the third article of which the English were to remain in possession of New Netherland in exchange for Surinam, which the Dutch had captured. By the conquerors New Netherland was immediately renamed New-York, and the ancient Dutch villages and towns were treated in like manner.



The legal status of the province for all juridical purposes would now clearly have been that of a conquered province, had it not been that the ancient dispute about the original title to the territory obtruded itself necessarily into any purely English solution of the question; and the English were now dominant. As the rights, not only of the former Dutch inhabitants, the *ante-nati*, but of the English settlers, who closely followed the English occupation, depended largely on the way this dispute was determined, the dispute itself then was, and still is, regarded as of considerable importance in the solution of legal questions. Until authoritatively settled in particular cases, it necessarily involved no less a question than this, "What was the original common law of New-York?" Under doctrines of the English jurisprudence, if it was assumed that the English title to New-York was by conquest, then, as already stated, the laws of the Dutch remained in force until expressly abrogated; but if the English title was by discovery and the Dutch were mere trespassers at all times and their government a usurpation, then the courts of New-York would be bound to regard the English common law, with certain undefined limitations, as the fundamental unwritten law of the country. But there is a vast difference between even a juridical theory and its working application.[2]

[1] The student will find these articles most readily in Appendix No. 1, Vol. 2, Van Ness and Woodworth's "Revision of Laws of New-York, in 1813." The diplomatic correspondence which followed is also important in determining the future political status of the Dutch *ante-nati*.

[2] It is proper to point out at this place that it is extremely doubtful, scientifically speaking,

It is certain, at least, that after the overthrow of the Dutch political authority, the English proceeded gradually to introduce into New-York, by express command, their own laws and customs. Yet it requires a very much more extended examination of original sources than has ever been made to determine absolutely just how much of the English laws and institutions was in force at a particular epoch of colonial history. The subject perplexed the colonial courts, and it is still perplexing. After a conquest there is sometimes a personal, as contradistinguished from a territorial law. The conquered and conquerors may live together and both preserve their separate manners and laws for a time.[1] Such was the case in New-York after 1664. The English did not exterminate the Dutch, nor did they violate flagrantly the guaranties of the Articles of Surrender. In this connection we may point out that after the English occupation, the inhabitants of New-York were distinguishable for juridical purposes primarily as the bond and the free — negro slavery already having been introduced by the Dutch. Of the free Dutch inhabitants, some had lived in the colony before 1664 (the *ante-nati*); and some of them had voluntarily migrated to the colony after 1664, but under the rights reserved in the Articles of Capitulation. The free English were also of two classes: those who had taken the oath of allegiance to the Dutch authorities, and who might therefore claim the benefits of the Articles of Capitulation; and those whose allegiance to the English crown was unaffected by any act of their own. As the new government respected the Articles of Capitulation,[2] these distinctions are not unimportant to a proper consideration of our subject.

In the formative stage of all the early English colonial possessions, there were certain rights of the colonists which it was their delight and fashion to designate as their "constitutional rights." By this expression they intended to assert that such rights were protected by the very nature, or constitution, of the colonial governments, and this necessarily involved the abstract rights of Englishmen. The colonial constitutions of the English plantations did not spring into being fully made; they were a growth which was very largely influenced by those who had been trained in all the learning of the English law.

whether the figurative account given by the early English law-writers concerning the self-introduction of English common law into colonies discovered and settled by the English, ever actually accorded with the fact. It is more probable that a minute examination would show that English law was always put in force in all colonies, however acquired, by some fiat lurking in commissions, or in instructions to colonial governors, or in many other legislative sources, such as judicial decisions, etc. But as even common error may establish law (*"communis error facit jus"*), the principle enunciated by the commentators then operated and still operates as a very important working rule, or at least presumption, in the absence of proof that a variant rule had obtained legislative sanction in a colony. Stokes, in his work on the colonies, long ago volunteered the statement that as matter of fact the English common law had been established in all the American plantations of England excepting Quebec, and this is no doubt accurate.

[1] Savigny's "History of the Roman Law in the Middle Ages," ch. iii.

[2] Chalmer's Col. Op., 747, 757; Dawson's "Sons of Liberty," 23.

These persons directed the deliberations of the several boards or councils having successive charge of the colonial trade and plantations, and they were the draftsmen of the various instruments of colonial government, which consequently conformed to English precedents and conceptions of government.

In the course of development, the English colonial constitutions underwent very great modifications, due partly to the temper of the time and partly to historical incidents. For example, at first the king of England was regarded as seized of all unsettled colonial lands as demesne lands *in partibus exteris*, as they were called. Later in colonial history, the king was held to be seized of all such lands *jure coronæ*. This was a distinct advance. The earlier Stuarts embraced the idea of modeling the government of the American colonies after that in force in the remnant of the Duchy of Normandy then under their jurisdiction — the islands of Jersey and Guernsey. According to such Norman precedents, the American colonies were entitled to their own legislatures and to be independent of the British Parliament; the English king being simply the common head of the various peoples. This framework of colonial government — very desirable to the crown and the colonies in its deductions, for it made them independent of the English Parliament — was singularly enough impaired by the republican movement in England. It was the Commonwealth which led at last to the English House of Commons acquiring an undisputed sovereignty over colonies unrepresented in their body. Thus it happened, as Bentham said, "democrats at home often became aristocrats abroad." But, fortunately for Americans, the independence of the colonies was ultimately quickened by the intrusion of the English Parliament into colonial affairs. Had the various colonial legislatures been severally independent of the English Parliament and owing only an allegiance to a common king, the world might have seen here a confederation of constitutional monarchies, each independent of the mother country. Thus the constitutional development of this entire country would have been very different, and independence greatly retarded.

The government first established in New-York by the English was that classed by English jurisprudents as a proprietary government which was in the nature of a feudatory principality. Such government owed its authority entirely to the Duke of York's patent of 1664, which operated to divest the crown of all except paramount rights. The duke, as lord proprietor, held the province as a fief of the crown. He could establish new laws, agreeable, not contrary, to the fundamental laws of England; he might establish courts, but the hearing of final appeals was reserved to the crown. The lord proprietor exercised the subordinate prerogatives primarily vested in the crown,

or those *jura regalia* usually accorded to a county palatine, after which the proprietary governments were to some extent modeled. The actual business of government of such an establishment was usually delegated to a local Deputy Governor, commissioned by the proprietor, who, with a Council, selected either by the Governor or named by the lord proprietor, possessed in the absence of a legislature the power of initiating legislation, which might or might not (according to the terms of the powers granted) be valid until confirmed or otherwise.

The patent with the commission from the lord proprietor to his first Deputy Governor, Colonel Richard Nicolls, and the latter's instructions, which were of a quasi-private character but nevertheless an amplification of the commission, formed the first so-called political constitution of the province of New-York under the English. The Deputy Governor's commission was sealed, and was virtually in form at first a mere letter or power of attorney. Colonel Nicolls' commission from the Duke of York referred specifically to the duke's patent as a final limitation of the political authority delegated. In course of time the construction given to these instruments of delegated authority by the court of final resort in England[1] became part of the constitution of the province. All colonial governors were liable to be called to account at the king's bar for misdeeds, even prior to the British acts of Parliament 11 William III., c. 12; 13 Geo. III., c. 63, sec. 39; and 42 Geo. III., c. 85.

The proprietary government of the Duke of York embraces about twenty years, which may be divided into two periods, the first between 1664 and 1674 (the date of the reconquest and retrocession by the Dutch), and the second between 1674 and 1685, when the duke's estate merged in his crown, and the province became what was called by jurisprudents a royal or crown province. The ducal laws enacted under the proprietary government have not been published, although they were collected by Dr. George H. Moore many years ago, and the valuable and unique collection is now in the library of the Historical Society at Philadelphia — a veritable mine for historians and students of institutions. Their publication would tend much to clear up doubts and difficulties that have since arisen concerning the exact form of what is undoubtedly the basis of the English law of New-York.

The first important act of the new government was the erection of courts of justice. For this purpose Staten Island and the English settlements on Long Island and in Westchester County were divided into three ridings, called Yorkshire. The justices of the peace were to hold a court of sessions in each riding three times in the year. Once in each year the justices of the peace were permitted to sit at New

[1] Appeals at first lay to the king by special reservation in the patent of 1664, but afterwards to the king in council.

York, with the Governor and his Council, in the Court of Assizes. In capital cases, unless the Court of Assizes was to sit within two months after information, the Governor and Council were to issue a commission of Oyer and Terminer for the more speedy trial of offenders. This Court of Assizes possessed general jurisdiction at law and in equity where the matter involved upwards of twenty pounds. It was also an appellate court for the entire province. As its sessions were attended generally by the inferior magistrates, it was the occasion of registering the laws and edicts of the Governor and Council, and, no doubt, new measures were either suggested or considered at its sessions. The nature of its legislative powers has been the subject of much discussion by historians and antiquaries.

The most important duty of the first Deputy Governor of New-York was the preparation of English laws for the province. Proceeding under the authority conferred by the patent and commission, he had prepared a code of laws, modeled on the laws of the other colonies, which was promulgated at a convention of deputies from the various towns of Long Island, held at Hempstead the 28th of February, 1665. The laws thus prepared are generally known as "Nicolls' Code" or more commonly, as the "Duke's Laws." For a time they were not enforced in the Dutch parts of the province, where the introduction of English law was very gradual. As the code called the "Nicolls" or "Duke's Laws" has been published in both New-York and Pennsylvania, it is unnecessary here to treat of more than its general effect. It served to establish the leading features of the English law of property and personal rights, no doubt roughly, but in a manner adapted to the simple social conditions then prevailing. It regulated the tenure and conveyance of real property, wills and testaments, actions of debt, slander, and case, trial by jury, the relations of master and servant, husband and wife, parent and child, besides many other topics. It will be sufficient to point out that between 1664 and 1674 the civil and criminal jurisprudence of the province was determined by the Nicolls Code as promulgated in 1665; the alterations, additions, and amendments of 1665 and 1666; the Duke's Laws as established in 1667–68; the orders of the General Court of Assizes, and of the Governor and Council, from 1667 to 1674; and also the remnant of the former Dutch laws, saved expressly by the Articles of Capitulation.

In 1665 Governor Nicolls changed the form of the government of the city of New-York so as to conform to the customs of England. The burgomaster, schout, and schepens gave place to a mayor, alderman, and sheriff, appointed by Nicolls. In this same year, at a Court of Assizes, all wills and land patents were required to be recorded or deposited in the Record Office at the city of New-York. The court proceedings in New-York, formerly in the Dutch tongue, began now

to be kept partly or exclusively in the English language, while the jury system was making its way. Prior to 1674 there was much dissatisfaction among both Dutch and English because there was no representative assembly in the province such as existed in the other plantations, yet this institution was postponed for nearly a decade.

On August 9, 1673, the province was reconquered by the Dutch, who restored their own laws and institutions. But the interregnum was of short duration, for, by the treaty of Westminster, the United Provinces finally ceded New Netherland to the former lord and proprietor, and in November, 1674, the English resumed formal possession of the province. The cession of New-York to the English, under the treaty of Westminster, occasioned doubts as to the nature of the duke's title to New-York, it being asserted that the *jus postliminii* did not obtain here. The crown lawyers advised that the king alone was now seized of New-York, by virtue of the treaty of Westminster. For this, and other reasons of the duke's own, a second patent for the province, in precisely the same terms as that of 1664, was again granted to him by Charles II.

The first Deputy Governor under this second patent, Major Edmund Andros, who was an accomplished soldier of fortune, devoted to the house of Stuart, issued a proclamation saving to the inhabitants "all grants, privileges, and concessions theretofore granted, and all estates, legally possessed, by any under his Royal Highness before the late Dutch Government." This proclamation was in strict accord with a principle of the law of nations, including England, that when a conquered province was recaptured, the rights of the inhabitants, under charters previously granted by the conqueror, revive and are restored *jure postliminii*, the intermediate conquest operating merely as an abeyance or suspension of rights. Long subsequent to 1674 the Capitulation Articles of 1664 were recognized as having to some extent survived,[1] although, subsequent to the treaty of Westminster, Governor Andros had refused to expressly recognize them, and thereafter they never were officially recognized by the duke's government, except very indirectly. The constitutional rights of the inhabitants of New-York, Dutch and English, after the year 1674, were again, as at first under the English rule, mainly determined by the crown patent and the Deputy Governor's commission and instructions, the authority of the Capitulation Articles being either annulled or diminished by the nature of the treaty of Westminster, which contained no express reservation in favor of the articles of 1664.

The state of the jurisprudence of the province from this period tends to become more clear. The instructions from the Duke of York to Andros were to put in force such laws, rules, and orders as had been

[1] 1 Geo. I., c. ccxciii., A. D. 1715; Van Schaack's "Laws of New-York," 1 : 97.

established by Nicolls and his successor, Colonel Lovelace, in so far as they were convenient, and not to vary from them except upon emergent necessity, and with the advice of the Council. In case any amendment was made, it was to be valid for a year's space, and if not confirmed by the duke within that time, it was to be utterly void, and as if never permitted. Obedient to these instructions, the Duke's Laws were, in 1674, formally reëstablished throughout the province, while the English form of government was restored to the city of New-York.

We may next proceed to a survey of the state of the jurisprudence of New-York between 1674 and 1683, when the first regular legislature of the province was convened. The courts formerly established by the English were at once reëstablished by Andros. The records of the Mayor's Court in New-York were directed to be thereafter kept in the English language, except in the case of those too poor to pay for translations. Admiralty cases were tried by virtue of special commissions, or else in the Mayor's Court at New-York, which was invested with an admiralty jurisdiction specially delegated. The Duke of York, as admiral of all the American plantations, was charged with admiralty jurisdiction in this part of the world, and such jurisdiction was thought to be delegated to the Deputy Governor of New-York by the latter's commission. Probate matters were fully regulated by the Duke's Laws, which contained general directions for the entire judicial establishment of the colony. The practice in the courts of justice of this period appears to have been simple, and devoid of the archaic niceties then in vogue in England. Writs ran in the king's name, and not in that of the proprietor.[1] The penal laws were much more enlightened and less rigorous than those then prevailing in England. Such amelioration was undoubtedly attributable to the earlier Dutch institutions, which were the more humane. Public officers were appointed for a year, or during the pleasure of the proprietor.

The introduction of foreign law into a colony three-fourths of whose inhabitants were Dutch, and accustomed to Dutch laws, was not an easy task. The introduction of foreign law, as Bentham has said, is always a difficult matter, but it was rendered more easy at that time in New-York by the exceedingly simple conditions of society. Very little law then sufficed here for the ordinary affairs of life. The code called the "Duke's Laws," though often inartificial, was very comprehensive, and in some respects could not have been better adapted to the exigencies prevailing. It is well deserving of a closer study by students of our institutions than it has generally received. While up to this time there appears to have been no definite legislation introducing in express terms the common law of England as the common law of New-York, by a general consensus that system seems

[1] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 3 : 219, 239.

to have been regarded as the rule in all cases not regulated by the positive laws of the province. The Duke's Laws themselves contain one provision, not generally commented on, but susceptible of being construed as a legislative introduction of the common law of England into this province. Such provision, entitled "Lawes," is as follows: "In regard it is almost impossible to provide Sufficient Lawes in all Cases, or proper Punishments for all Crimes, the Court of Sessions shall not take further Cognizance of any Case or Crimes whereof there is not provision made in some Lawes, but to remit the Case or Crime, with the Due Examination and proof, to the New Court of Assizes, where matters of Equity shall be decided, or Punishment awarded according to the discretion of the Bench, and not Contrary to the known Laws of England." This important provision, in connection with the duke's patent of 1674, directing that legislation conform to the laws of England, may be regarded then as introducing at least the rationale of English law, and as a repeal of the laws of New Netherland. But it is to other parts of the Duke's Laws—for these were then the sum and substance of all the positive law of New-York—that we must look for the introduction of many principles of the positive law of England. Governor Andros, in 1678, in an official report on the state of the province, says: "The law booke in force was made by the Governor and Assembly att Hempsted in 1665, and since confirmed by his Royall Highnesse."[1]

The English law of real property owes its introduction fundamentally to the duke's patents from Charles II. for all the land in the province, the *habendum* of which was "to be holden of us, our heirs, and successors, as of our Manor of East Greenwhich and our County of Kent, in free and common soccage, and not *in capite* nor by knight's service yielding and rendering." By many positive directions of the new government those who held their lands under Dutch "ground briefs," or transports, were compelled to take out new confirmatory patents, reciting a tenure of his royal highness the proprietor.[2] The presumption of law is that all Dutch landowners complied; thus, the Dutch estates were converted into freehold estates at common law. Free socage tenures were subject to a determinate rent and fealty, due to the feudal lord, and reserved in the *reddendum* clause of a grant. The quit-rents became in time a very troublesome incident in New-York, and were ultimately abolished, but not until the present century.

The Duke's Laws provided that all lands and heritages should be free from fines and licenses upon alienation, and from all heriots, wardships, etc., and recognized the devisability of socage lands by the laws of England, and to the same extent. The Duke's Laws, therefore, virtually reënacted the celebrated English statute 12 Ch. II., c. 24, which

[1] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 3 : 260. [2] Amendment of 1666 to Duke's Laws.

had in England already abolished knight-service; and with such abolition had disappeared there most of the burdens of feudal tenures. It would seem that this celebrated statute, 12 Ch. II., was, independently of the Duke's Laws, in force in the province of New-York, by virtue of the duke's patent, which was, as before stated, in free and common socage as of the king's manor in Greenwich, in the county of Kent. Such a grant would necessarily carry with it all the incidents of the socage tenure as it then existed in this particular manor in England.

The tenure of free and common socage, as it stood in 1664 in the king's manor mentioned, was the most liberal of all the English tenures, and had all the advantages of allodial ownership, and, indeed, it is supposed to have been the lineal successor of the ancient allodial proprietorship. Escheat was the only material incident of this tenure beneficial to the lord. An owner in fee simple of socage lands could, of his own authority, create in it any estates and interests not contrary to the general rules of law. The feudal system never prevailed in New-York after 1664. The article of the "Duke's Laws" relative to conveyances of real property was very simple, yet very comprehensive; it ordained simply that the *habendum* of all deeds and conveyances of houses and lands within this government, when an estate of inheritance was to pass, should be expressed in these words: "To have and to hold the said houses and Lands respectively to the party or grantee, his heirs and Assigns forever"; or, if an estate tail was to pass, then these words: "To have and to hold, &c., to the grantee and to the heirs of his body lawfully begotten between him and such an one his wife." Thus were introduced into the province the leading provisions of the English law of real property.

In the main, the lands of the province under the Duke of York were held by farmers and the denizens of the town in fee simple absolute, subject to certain quit-rents of small amount; but the manors, which afterwards played so important a part in the politics of New-York, began to be thought of, and the "Colonie" of the Van Rensselaers was converted into an English manor. Some inducement to draw the capital of the mercantile classes from the trade of the towns to the wild, unsettled lands of the interior was needed, and it was found in the later manor-grants. With the exception of the Dutch "Colonie" of the Van Rensselaers, nearly all the manor-grants were at first intended as mere land speculations of persons who had been successful in the province. In no instance was a New-York manor conferred as the reward of distinguished services, or of merit in any particular. Manors were granted on certain conditions to any one who sought them and paid the fees for them. There was nothing invidious in the erection of the English manors in New-York; they sprang into being as part of the institutions of England adopted

here, and, as in England, any one who had the means could acquire a manor in New-York. As values increased with the disappearance of the forests, the position of the manor-proprietors of New-York gradually became, by force of circumstances, a position of dignity and privilege somewhat anomalous. But the system was from the first doomed to ultimate destruction, for it was not consistent with the independence which reigned in the primitive forests of a new country. The spirit hostile to manors found an expression from the many farms owned absolutely, whether by Dutch boers or English yeomen. Two systems so opposed as peasant proprietorship and landlordism could not long coexist in a new country. But not until 1859,[1] when the long farm-leases made by the manor-proprietors had become intolerably obnoxious to the tenants of the manors, was it finally held by a court of New-York that the English statute of *quia emptores*, directed against subinfeudation, was always in force in New-York. But the court also held that the king was not within the statute, and that, as the law existed in New-York under the lord proprietor and under the kings of England, the manor-grants were lawful in their origin.

Immediately after Andros' arrival, in 1674, the popular desire for a representative assembly, which had been disappointed in 1665, began to be expressed. But the Duke of York could see no use for any other assembly than that which yearly took place at the Court of Assizes. He pretended to think that under any other constitution the justices then assembled would probably be the representatives. In so rudimentary a government there was, no doubt, reason in the duke's objection to a formal parliament for the province, because of its greater expense to the people, already in arrears in the payment of the public charges. A proprietary government is, after all, a species of property, and the profit of a lord proprietor is often inconsistent with the exercise of the fullest forms of legislative privilege. The revenue of the province could then barely defray the charges which the proprietor incurred by its government. The reflections of some of our historians on the character of the duke's government of New-York fail at times to consider fully either the problems to be solved or the precedents then to be observed in establishing representative institutions in a proprietary government. Certainly the few contemporary documents relating to the subject which emanate from the duke himself do not seem to be characterized by the unyielding temper which ultimately lost for him the throne of England, and with it the transatlantic province to which he had affixed forever his own title.

After some years of agitation and disaffection on the part of the inhabitants of New-York, the Duke of York finally consented, in 1682, to their having a representative assembly. Doubts concerning the

[1] Van Rensselaer *vs.* Hayes, 19 N. Y., 68.

extent of the legislative power of the proprietor had already begun to be openly expressed in the matter of the tariff levied on imports, although the newer doctrine, that certain classes of legislation were *ultra vires* a proprietor of such a colony, had not yet been definitely formulated or decided. These doubts took various shapes, which soon reached the proprietor, and perhaps hastened the establishment of a formal legislature here. The duke's allowance of an assembly necessarily diminished the law-making power of his Deputy Governor and Council, which was, to some extent, transferred to the representatives of the freeholders of the province.

A new Governor, Colonel Dongan, was commissioned to carry out the reform. His instructions virtually formed a new constitution, granted by the proprietor to the province. According to such instructions all laws passed by the Assembly and assented to by the Governor were to be valid until rejected by the lord proprietor, but the Governor might veto all acts and prorogue the Assembly. No man's life, liberty, or property was to be taken away except pursuant to established laws not repugnant to the laws of England. The Governor and Council were authorized to erect courts of justice, but the Governor alone had the power to pardon all offenders, before or after conviction, except those charged with high treason or murder, who were pardonable only by the proprietor. Encouraged by these liberal measures, the Mayor and Common Council of the city of New-York, in November, 1683, reciting their ancient charters and privileges, petitioned Governor Dongan for a new municipal charter, by which the freemen of the city might be enabled to elect their own aldermen and other municipal officers, except the Mayor, who was to be selected by the Governor and Council from the Board of Aldermen. The petition was not, however, acted on further than to divide the city into wards. The municipal government remained, until the year 1686, under the amended charter of Governor Nicolls, granted in 1665, with the modification indicated.

The instructions to Colonel Dongan mark a distinct advance in the autonomy of the province. Under them the first Assembly was convened, in the city of New-York, on the 17th of October, 1683. During a session of three weeks it passed fifteen acts,[1] the most important of

[1] The following were the titles of the acts passed:

"OCTOBER 30, 1683.

"The Charter of Libertys and privileges granted by his Royall Highnesse to the inhabitants of New Yorke and its dependencyes, (Vetoed by James II., 3rd March, 1685); and A Continued Bill for the requisite charges of the Government.

"OCTOBER 31, 1683.

"An Act for the Allowance to Representatives.

"NOVEMBER 1, 1683.

"An Act to divide this province and Dependencyes into Shires and Countyes.

"An Act for naturalizing all those of Foreign Nations at present inhabiteing with in this province and professing Christianity, and for Encouragement of others to come and settle within the same.

"An Act for repealing the former Lawes about Rates and Allowance to the Justices of the Peace.

"An Act to settle Courts of Justice.

which was the first, called the "Charter of Libertys." This act was passed at a venture; the Assembly knew that it would be valid until rejected, and they hoped that it might be confirmed by the duke. The obvious purpose of this celebrated statute was to secure a permanent legislative assembly, and restrict within defined limits the powers of government. It was intended to operate as a bill of rights and privileges. It contained the substance of the Constitution of England in so far as it was defined by Magna Charta and the Petition of Right; several others of its clauses related to estates and conveyances of lands.

The second act of the Assembly was one to subdivide the province into shires and counties, after the English manner. This act is at this day the most vivid reminder of the rule of the Stuarts left in this State. New-York County was named after the last king of their race; Orange, after his Dutch son-in-law; Richmond, for the king's illegitimate son by the Duchess of Portsmouth; Ulster, after the duke's Irish earldom. But more important to this State than these historic names, now made more famous by the rich and populous counties which bear them, is the fact that under this dynasty the enduring principles of the English common law were introduced into the old Dutch province.

By another act of this session, entitled "An Act to settle Courts of Justice," the Court of Assizes, which had stood for a period of nineteen years, disappeared to give place, so far as its jurisdiction at law was concerned, to the Court of Oyer and Terminer, a name afterwards retained to indicate the criminal circuit of the court which in turn followed. From Governor Dongan's report to the Lords of Trade (Col. Doc., 3:389) the reason of the change in the judicial establishment appears to have been the difficulty of bringing together, from the remote parts of the province, the justices of the peace, who, with the Governor, composed the Court of Assizes. The latter court was formally abolished, by a bill passed October, 1684, the following session.[1]

By the act to settle courts of justice a Court of Chancery for the province was also established. This court received the equity jurisdiction before exercised in the Court of Assizes. It is a remarkable fact that the Court of Assizes, the first English court of the province, should have had the blended jurisdiction in law and equity now pos-

"An Act to prevent wilfull perjury.

"An Act for the defraying of the publick and necessary charges of each respective Citty, Towne, and County throughout this province, and for maintaining the Poor and preventing vagabonds.

"An Act for rewarding of those who destroy wolves.

"An Act to prevent damages done by Swine.

"NOVEMBER 2, 1683.

"An Act for the due regulacon and proceedings on Execucon, returnes of Writts, and confirmeing the ffees usually taken by officers, &c.

"An Act of Settlement.

"An Act for a free and voluntary present to the Governour.

"NOVEMBER 3, 1683.

"An Act to prevent frauds in conveyanceing of Lands."

After a session of nearly three weeks, the Legislature adjourned, having enacted, among other things — "That, according to the usage, custome, and Practice of the Realme of England, a Sessions of a General Assembly be held in this Province once in three years att least."

[1] See MS. act, office Secretary of State, Albany.

sessed by the present Supreme Court of the State. But the practice then seems to have been distinctively either in law or in equity, in a manner more analogous to the present course in a Circuit Court of the United States. The jurisdiction of the new Court of Oyer and Terminer was defined in the following section of the act:

"Be itt further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That annually and every year there shall be within this said province, and in each respective county within the same, a Court of Oyer and Terminer, and General Gaol Delivery, which said court shall have power and jurisdiction to try, hear, and determine all matters, causes, and cases, capitall, criminall, or civill, and causes, tryalls at common law, in and to which the said Court all and every persons whatsoever shall or may, if they see meet, remove any action or suit—debts or damages laid in such actions and suits being five pounds or upwards—or shall or may by warrant, writt of error or certiorari, remove out of any inferior court any judgment, information, or indictment there had and depending, and may correct errors in judgment, and reverse the same if there be just cause for it; the members of which court shall be a judge, assisted with four of the justices of the Peace of the county, who shall be commissioned for that purpose." In the city of New-York the Mayor and four aldermen sat with the judges of the court, by virtue of their commissions as magistrates of the peace. By this same act courts of sessions for the counties, and town courts for the trial of small causes, were also established.

The Court of Oyer and Terminer was a pure law court, and, unlike its predecessor, had no equity jurisdiction. All issues of fact in this court were to be tried by jury, pursuant to the following section of the act: "That no person's right or property shall be by this court determined, excepting where matters of fact are either acknowledged by the parties, or judgment bee acknowledged or passeth by the defendants fault for want of plea or answer, unless the fact be found by the verdict of twelve men of the neighbourhood as it ought of right to be done by the law." Any inhabitant might appeal to the king from judgments of the higher courts, according to a clause in the Duke of York's patent. The courts thus established by the act of 1683 were to endure unchanged until James II. lost his throne and, with it, this province. This act affords a remarkable illustration of the continuity which characterizes our institutions.

The second session of the first Assembly began in October, 1684. Mr. Matthias Nicolls was chosen Speaker, and Mr. Robert Hammond Clerk. The Governor assented to thirty-one acts.[1] Vacancies having occurred in the Assembly before the meeting of the legislature again,

[1] The titles of all the acts of the ducal assemblies are given in Dr. O'Callaghan's historical introduction to the "Journals of the New-York Council."

writs were issued for the election of representatives for the city of New-York, Staten Island, and Westchester. But news of the death of King Charles II. being meánwhile received, the question was raised whether the Assembly was not dissolved in consequence of the demise of the crown. To prevent the inconvenience which might follow the dispute, it was the opinion of the Council that it was expedient to dissolve the present Assembly and to issue writs for a new one, to meet on the first Monday of October, 1685. A proclamation was accordingly issued.

At the first session of the second Assembly, held November 3, 1685, six acts received the assent of the Governor. At the close of this session the legislature adjourned to the 25th of September, 1686; but on the 4th day of September, 1686, it was prorogued by Governor Dongan, and ten days later he dissolved it by proclamation. Thus ended the second Assembly of the province. The acts of these several assemblies are of great interest, because they mark the beginning of self-government in one of the greatest and most important political communities of the world's history. To ignore them, as the modern authorities have done, by refusing to print them, is neither prudent nor philosophic, for even recently litigations of importance have involved their consideration by courts of justice under circumstances more confusing to the judges than the opportunity has warranted.

It will be observed that among the first acts passed by the Assembly was one for naturalizing those of foreign nations inhabiting the province and professing Christianity. Its avowed purpose was to encourage immigration to the great port which has since welcomed the oppressed of all lands with a hospitality never before accorded in the history of nations. To the student of institutions such an act can never be obsolete and must always be instructive. So generous a measure was but another consequence of the mixed nationality of those who from the first inhabited the best seaport of North America.

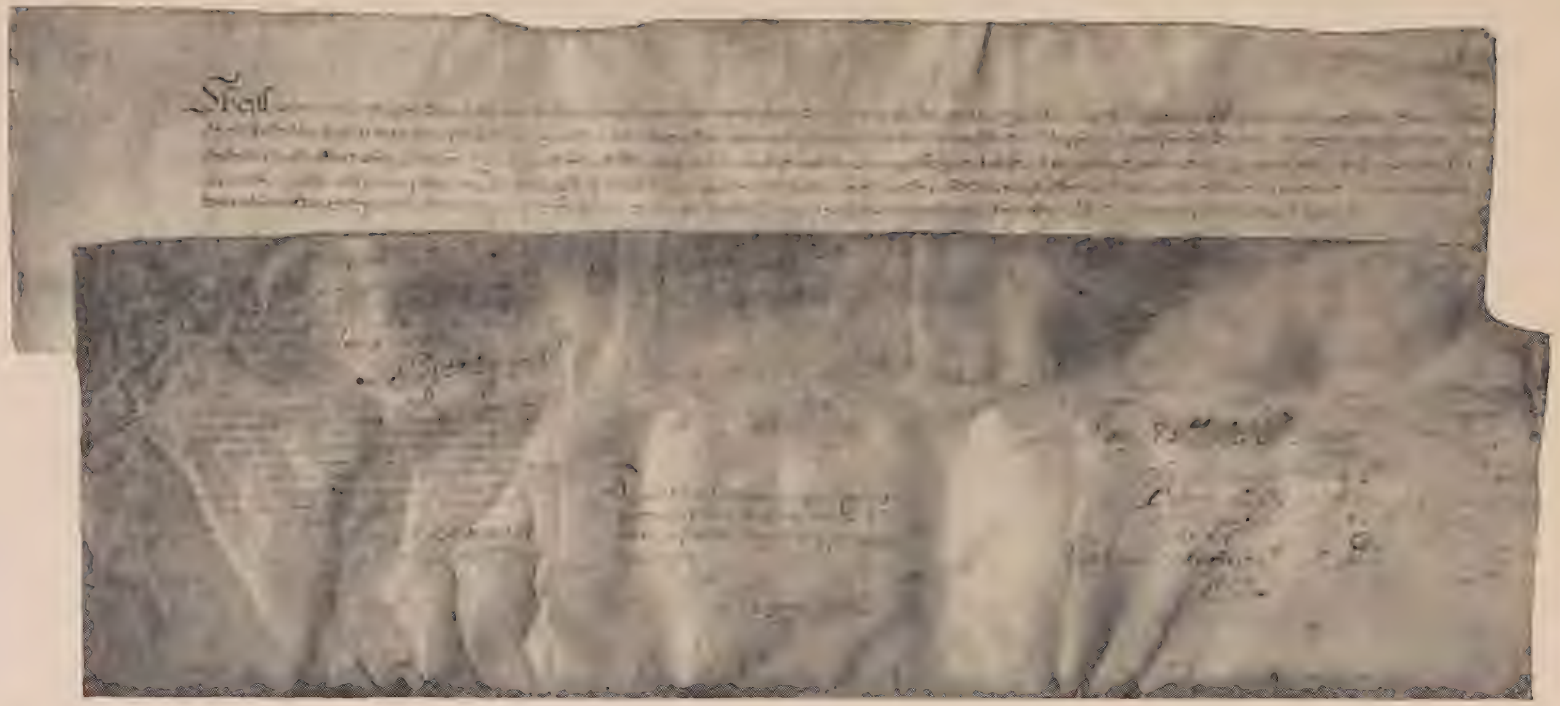
Although the Duke of York had signed the "Charter of Libertys," before it left his hand the death of King Charles II. occurred, and, as next heir to the throne, the duke and lord proprietor of New-York became King James II. of England. The New-York "Charter of Libertys" declared that the supreme legislative authority, "under his Majesty and Royall Highness, should forever be and reside in a governor, councell, and the people mett in General Assembly," and it provided that the inhabitants should be governed by and according to the laws of England. It also limited the powers of the governor of the province, and required the Assembly to meet once in three years or oftener. After the accession of King James these provisions of the charter were declared by the crown lawyers to embrace much greater privileges than were accorded by the constitution of the other plantations. The words "the people" were deemed a step toward popular sovereignty, and

repugnant to the established forms of plantation government. It is a striking fact that this assertion of the right of the people to participate in their own government, which is now the key to our entire political superstructure, should have been first made in the year 1683, in New-York. It was probably the first great public assertion of the right of popular government in all history. This is one of the pleasant heritages of our State.

The accession of King James II. merged his estate in the province in that of the crown. The franchises, liberties, and jurisdiction of a proprietary government, when they came to be in the hands of him who had the crown and jurisdiction royal, devolved on the crown, and were thenceforth determined by the law governing the royal prerogatives. As Duke of York, James was no longer seized of the province in his natural capacity, but in some manner the province was annexed to his English crown and went with it. New-York now became a crown government, or one in which the crown asserted that it had the entire control of legislation, while the administration was by public officers controlled by the king. The "Charter of Libertys" being still probationary or not confirmed, the province, at the time of King James's accession, was in no respect a chartered province, and, therefore, by the contemporary law governing the prerogatives of the crown, the inhabitants of the newly made crown province had as yet no strict legal right to participate in their own government. It was otherwise in a chartered colony, or in a crown dependency, when representative government had been once allowed.

In the second year of his reign King James II. issued a new and much fuller commission to Governor Dongan, which was, as usual, accompanied by formal instructions, dated May 29, 1686.[1] They finally rejected the "Charter of Libertys," but confirmed all those laws of the Assembly which had been previously allowed. By the new instruments the entire legislative power was restored to the Governor and Council of the province, subject to the veto of the crown. The legal right of the crown to take away an Assembly allowed by the lord proprietor presented a novel question, but one which James II. determined for himself. Had he been king when he granted the Assembly, the grant would have been irrevocable. The constitution of the province was now determined only by the common law relative to the prerogative, and no longer by the duke's patent, and it found its chief expression in the Governor's commission and instructions. The new instructions were in many respects less liberal than those which they superseded. They, however, again declared that all laws enacted by the Governor and Council were to be as nearly as convenient "agreeable to the laws and statutes of England." Appeals in civil cases involving upward

[1] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 3 : 369.



THE DONGAN CHARTER FOR THE CITY OF NEW-YORK.

of one hundred pounds were to lie from the courts of original jurisdiction in the province to the Governor, and thence to the king in Council when the matter involved three hundred pounds sterling. The new instructions are sometimes thought to have established the English Church in the province, and they lend color to this opinion.

A full account of the laws and the judicial establishment of the province under Dongan is given in his official report to the Committee of Trade of the Province of New-York, dated 22d February, 1687,[1] in the course of which he says: "The laws in force are ye Laws called his Royall Highnesses Laws and the Acts of the General Assembly." By "his Royall Highnesses Laws" is meant the code called the "Duke's Laws." It appears also from the report that Governor Dongan erected a court of judicature which was really a court of exchequer, having cognizance of disputes between the king and the inhabitants of the province concerning the crown lands and revenues. As this court was held by the Governor and Council, it was more efficacious than popular.

In 1683 the city of New-York had been divided into wards, but not until 1686 did Governor Dongan grant it a new charter. This celebrated charter of 1686 is now called, after him, the Dongan Charter. It expressly recognized and sanctioned the prior charter granted to the city by Governor Nicolls, and also the franchises and privileges conferred by the Dutch authorities while the city was under their jurisdiction. By this charter the present Court of Common Pleas in New-York City was perpetuated. At this time New-York was already a place of great commercial importance, and the Dongan Charter recites that it was "an ancient city, and the citizens of the said city have anciently been a body politic and corporate." In the year 1688 the population of the province was upwards of twenty thousand, it having doubled since 1664. Its commercial importance was much in excess of its relative size. Throughout the province the Dutch were still in the majority,[2] and they were increasing in number; they adhered tenaciously to their own customs and habits, and modified the English institutions in practice by the observance of many local customs. In this year an event occurred which gave great uneasiness to the Dutch of New-York. Their hope that the Princess Mary, wife of the Prince of Orange, the Stadholder of their Fatherland, would succeed to the throne of England, appeared to be frustrated by the birth of a son to James. The result of this event, in quickening the failing fortunes of the Stuarts, is too well known to bear repetition. In October of 1688 William of Orange landed in England, and in December King James abjured the realm and, with it, the province of New-York.

Every student of our colonial history is familiar with the fate of the Dutch colonist Jacob Leisler, who, taking advantage of the fact that

[1] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 3 : 389. [2] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 3 : 478.

the commissions of the crown officers in New-York expired with the authority from which they emanated, seized, in June, 1689, the government of the province, in the name of Protestantism and William and Mary. Leisler, without authority, convened delegates, who acted as an Assembly of the province, and who passed certain acts; but the invalidity of these acts has been generally recognized, and they do not now figure in the legislation of the province, except as historical curiosities. Yet the Leisler Assembly is probably the key of the entire Leisler episode. Had it not been for the fact that James II. had recently taken away a legislative Assembly from the province, it is most probable that the Dutch of New-York would have allowed political events to take the same tranquil course here which was pursued in England. The Leisler Assembly, therefore, best manifested the spirit which animated the conduct of the disaffected in the province. It was the overt expression of an actual revolution against the arbitrary power of King James II. But, unfortunately, the justifiable motive of the Leislerians was wholly misapprehended, or else never made apparent to the new sovereigns. Upon the arrival, in 1691, of Governor Sloughter, the first Governor under William and Mary, Leisler was tried for high treason before a Court of Oyer and Terminer, appointed by special ordinance. His conviction and execution speedily followed. That the execution, notwithstanding an appeal to the sovereign was prayed, was arbitrary and unlawful is not at this day denied. The attainder of blood was subsequently reversed by act of Parliament upon proceedings instituted by Leisler's son, but the legality of Leisler's conviction and execution was affirmed by the Lords of Trade in England. To-day the name of Leisler stands forth as that of the one historic figure who first suffered for the inherent right of Americans to govern themselves without commission or authority from any prince or potentate. Had it not been for his convocation of a popular Assembly, the Leisler incident would not differ greatly from a mere *émeute*, and would possess small historic importance.

The right of William and Mary to exercise the prerogatives of the crown over the colonies was deduced from the English convention of 1688. The prerogatives of the crown remained the same after the English revolution as before. The legal effect of such a revolution was analogous to the demise of the crown, and the same here as in England. Thereafter, as provided by the Act of Settlement, the crown provinces pursued the line of devolution prescribed for the crown, the crown possessions and the crown itself being *concomitantia*. The new sovereigns placed the government of the province of New-York upon a permanent footing by the commission to Governor Sloughter. The commission[1] contained, among others, the following clauses:

[1] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 3 : 624.

"And we do hereby give @ grant unto you full power and authority, with the advice @ consent of our said Councill from time to time as need shall require, to summon & call generall Assemblies of the Inhabitants being Freeholders within your Government, according to the usage of our other Plantations in America. And our Will and Pleasure is that the persons thereupon duely elected by the Major part of the Freeholders of the respective Countys and places and so returned and having before their sitting taken the oaths appointed by Act of Parliament to be taken instead of the oath of Allegiance and Supremacy and the Test—which you shall Commissionate fit persons under our seal of New York to administer, and without taking which none shall be capable of sitting though elected —shall be called and held the Gen^{ral} Assembly of that our Province and the Territories thereunto belonging. And that you, the said Henry Sloughter, by @ with the consent of our said Councill and Assembly, or the major part of them, respectively have full power and authority to make constitute and ordaine Laws Statutes @ ordinances for y^{e} publique Peace, welfare, and good Government of our said Province and of the people @ Inhabitants thereof, and such others as shall resort there to & for the benefit of us our Heirs and Successors. Which said Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances are to be (as near as may be) agreeable unto the Lawes and Statutes of this our kingdom of England. Provided that all such Laws, Statutes & Ordinances, of what nature or Duration soever, be within three months, or sooner, after the making thereof, transmitted unto us, under our seal of New-York for our Approbation or Disallowance of the same, as also Duplicates thereof by the next conveyance. And in case any or all of them, being not before confirmed by Us Shall at any time be disallowed @ not approved, and so signified by Us, our Heirs, & Successors, under our or their Sign Manual and Signet, or by order of our or their Privy Council unto you the said Henry Sloughter, or to the Commander in Chief

THE DONGAN CHARTER SEAL.

of the said Province for y^e^ time being, then such and so many of them as shall be soe disallowed and not approved shall from thenceforth cease, determine, @ become utterly voyd and of none effect, any thing to the contrary thereof notwithstanding."

Pursuant to this commission, an Assembly of representatives, chosen by the freeholders, was regularly convened at the city of New-York, on April 9, 1691, and thereafter, until the year 1716, members of assemblies were elected biennially. After 1716 the elections continued at intervals of greater or less duration until the War of Independence.

When a representative Assembly was once granted in a royal province the prevailing opinion was that it could not be taken away. The grant was deemed irrevocable, as the colonists, being once enfranchised, ought not to be arbitrarily disfranchised. Yet this opinion was not without its opponents, as is apparent from Lord Cornbury's position in 1705, which asserted that the people of New-York "had no claim of right to General Assemblies."[1] If New-York occupied the status of a conquered province, its constitutional right to a permanent representative Assembly was more clear, as it was certainly the law of England that the king might preclude himself from the exercise of his prerogative legislative authority over a conquered province by vesting it in an Assembly. The commission to Governor Sloughter to summon an Assembly was, therefore, in any aspect, of immense consequence to the liberties of the people of New-York. The legislature permanently established in 1691 was, as usual in such cases, an imitation of the British Parliament, a bicameral body, the Governor's colonial Council forming the upper house. The lower house constituted the "Commons" of the province. The action of both houses and the consent of the Governor were essential to a complete enactment. The colonial Council, as an upper legislative house, derived its authority, both executive and legislative, from the formal instructions given by the crown to the Governor, and was evidenced by a special commission issued to each member of the Council.

The nature of the law-making forces thereafter residing in the province, down to its independence of the crown, was substantially as follows: The immediate representative of the crown was the Governor, who, by virtue of his office and commission, was Captain-General of the military forces in New-York; he was one of the constituent parts of the General Assembly. He had the custody of the great seal of the province, and was, ex officio, chancellor within his government. He possessed also an ecclesiastical jurisdiction as ordinary, and could collate to all benefices within the province. He might, with the consent of the Council, erect courts of judicature, and by himself could appoint all judicial officers. He presided in the Court of Errors, con-

[1] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 4 : 1155.

sisting of the Governor and Council, and he was Vice-Admiral, and could erect Courts of Admiralty. All these powers were a reflection of the institutions of England, and in them we may detect the crown lawyers' conceptions of the prerogative in the seventeenth century.

The Assembly derived its energy from the crown, but the operation of its acts within its own proper jurisdiction was as absolute as that of an act of Parliament in England; yet, unlike Parliament, the Assembly of a crown province was regulated wholly by the crown and by the common law. It had no title to the prescriptive and independent jurisdiction of Parliament, which was omnipotent, and regulated only by the *lex et consuetudo parliamenti*. Such, then, was the general constitution of the legislature of New-York as established by William and Mary. Altogether, it was an extremely curious and archaic form of government, utterly unfitted to survive the conditions from which it was transplanted.

The establishment of an Assembly in the province did not then transfer to it all the local legislative authority over the province, as it undoubtedly would have done at a later stage in the political development of English colonies. There was a certain power usually reserved to the Governor of crown governments, to make laws, with the advice of the Council, on emergent occasions (Chalmer's Col. Opin., p. 192), and Colonel Sloughter's commission, in accordance with the custom, reserved to him the right to enact certain laws by ordinance, independently of the Assembly. This dual power of making laws of equal force and obligation was often complained of by the colonists; yet it was consistent with the theory of sovereignty which then prevailed. The entire theory of colonial government during the seventeenth century was based on the assumption by the English authorities that the political status of an English subject was impaired by his having left the realm. Whatever else they differed about, the collective political *imperium*, seated in England, agreed upon that theory, and practised it. It was not so, however, in the colonies, where the English colonists clung to the idea that by crossing the seas they had not lost their former political status. When driven from this position, they and their descendants took refuge in the abstract rights of man, and ultimately in revolution. In this course of reasoning the English in New-York found ready coadjutors in their fellow-citizens of Dutch descent. Thus a common contention ultimately helped to obliterate all race differences between them, and to weld them into a homogeneous political society.

One of the first proceedings of the lower house of Assembly in 1691 was to adopt a resolution which has done much to confuse the state of the early laws of New-York. This resolution[1] is as follows:

[1] "Journal of N. Y. Assembly," p. 8.

"Upon an Information brought into this House by several Members of the House, declaring, That the several Laws made formerly by the General Assembly, and his late Royal Highness James Duke of York, &c., and also the several Ordinances, or reputed Laws, made by the preceding Governors and Councils for the Rule of their Majesties Subjects within this Province, are reported amongst the People, to be still in force:

"Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*, That all the laws consented to by the General Assembly, under James Duke of York, and the Liberties and Privileges therein contained granted to the People, and declared to be their Rights not being observed and not ratified and approved by his Royal Highness, nor the late King, are null, void, and of none effect. And also the several Ordinances or reputed Laws made by the late Governors and Councils, being contrary to the Constitution of England, and the Practice of the Government of their Majesties other Plantations in America, are likewise null, void, and of none effect nor force within this Province."

From that day to this the effect of the resolution quoted has been debated. The resolution was not concurred in by the upper house, and never passed into a law. It seems to have been a mere declaration by the lower house of an existing fact, for laws not ratified by James were, by the constitution of that time, void, as were those ordinances of the late governors which were contrary to the laws of England. Yet from a variety of causes this resolution has been often assumed to have had the effect of sweeping away the entire legislation effected under the Duke of York and James II. If this were the result, all the English laws then known to the province, being the Duke's Laws and the acts of the Dongan assemblies, were abrogated. It is difficult to conceive how such a construction of this resolution ever obtained, as it undoubtedly did obtain, some currency. In 1840 Judge Furman, in the Court of Errors of New-York,[1] referring to the resolution of 1691, said "that the laws of 1683, 1684, and 1685 are generally as well worthy of attention as any which have been passed since, but never having been printed, the public know little or nothing about them." In 1853 the New-York Court of Appeals held (10 N. Y., 422) that this resolution of 1691 "was not intended as a repeal, but as a statement of the fact that they had been disallowed or discontinued by the late duke or king." There are various arguments which may be adduced in support of such a conclusion. The late Judge Murray Hoffman discusses some of them in his Chancery Practice (1 : 15), but he fails to notice the strongest argument of all — the legislature's own construction of this resolution. Several times subsequent to this resolution of 1691 bills were brought into the New-York Assembly to repeal the

[1] 24 Wendell's Reports, pp. 587, 625.

THE

LAWS & ACTS

OF THE

General Assembly

FOR

Their Majesties Province

OF

NEW-YORK,

As they were Enacted in divers Sessions, the first of which began *April*, the 9th, *Annoq; Domini*, 1691.

At *New-York*,

Printed and Sold by *William Bradford*, Printer to their Majesties, King *William* & Queen *Mary*, 1694

FROM THE NEW-YORK SOCIETY LIBRARY COPY.

Duke's Laws and the acts of the Dongan assemblies,[1] but they failed to become laws. Independently of this, the lower house had, on principle, no legal authority to give effect to the resolution of 1691. In the recent contest concerning the succession to the Lauderdale peerages in England, which depended on the validity of a marriage in New-York during the colonial era, the legal effect of this resolution of 1691 on the Duke's Laws and the acts of the Dongan assemblies was presented for adjudication, but it was not decided, as the contest was determined upon a principle of the law of evidence which enabled the committee of the House of Lords to assume that even if the Duke's Laws were in force in New-York after 1691, the result of the Lauderdale contention would be the same in the absence of certain proofs not then able to be adduced by one of the contesting claimants, Sir James Maitland, Bart. But several of the lawyers on both sides of that case were agreed in their briefs that the resolution of 1691 was inoperative as a repeal of the Duke's Laws and the acts of the Dongan assemblies, although others were of the opinion that the Duke's Laws became inoperative after 1691, either by reason of the revolution of 1688, the resolution of 1691, or by their falling into desuetude, or else by presumptive repeal. The answer to the latter opinion was that no express repeal of the Duke's Laws was ever enacted, and that by the common law a statute once regularly in force cannot fall into desuetude, but continues in operation even though not *in viridi observantia*. Independently of this reasoning, the opinion of many lawyers and judges for two centuries succeeding the resolution of 1691 warrants the conclusion that such resolution of the lower house of Assembly in 1691 was wholly inoperative to repeal the Duke's Laws or the acts of the Dongan assemblies which received the royal assent. Yet it is no doubt the fact that, the inhabitants of New-York, in the rough-and-ready fashion of that time, regarded the Duke's Laws as things of the past subsequent to 1691. But popular misconception cannot control the principles upon which the validity of ancient laws is determined, and no proof has ever yet been adduced that either the Duke's Laws or the acts of the Dongan assemblies perished in any other mode than by a repeal, either actual or by implication, by reason of subsequent inconsistent acts on the same subject.

At the date of the Assembly of 1691 it may be said then that, strictly speaking, the general law of the province was to be found in the Duke's Laws, the acts of the Dongan assemblies, and the decisions of the English courts of justice of New-York, which last, in the absence of statutory directions, were controlled by the principles of the common law of England, and no longer by the Dutch jurisprudence; for, if we assume the province to have been acquired by the English by conquest

[1] Journal Assembly, Nov. 17, 1741.

or cession, the laws of the conquered remained in force only until abrogated, and there are many sufficient evidences of such abrogation. The most important effect of this abrogation was its abolition of the ancient rule that the Dutch common law controlled those cases in the territory unaffected by positive law, and the substitution of the rule that the common law of England was the form for all cases not regulated by statute. But even if we assume, as we ought not to do, that the Dutch laws never rightfully obtained here, there is abundant evidence that the English common law was established here after 1664 by positive legislation,[1] and, in accounting for it, it is unnecessary to resort to the antiquated and figurative formula of the early English commentators, that the common law owes its introduction in New-York because the English were the first discoverers and settlers of New Netherland.

But, notwithstanding the change in the common law of the province, certain incidents of the Dutch jurisprudence long continued to obtain recognition here, and many cases have arisen, and still arise, in which it is maintained that they are even now controlled by principles of the ancient Dutch law, rather than by the more modern law of English origin. Chief among these cases are those involving the right of owners of real estate held anciently under Dutch ground briefs and abutting on the ancient Dutch highways.[2] The acts of the Assembly, long subsequent to 1691, recognized at intervals the ancient Dutch laws.[3]

The ordinary effect of the capitulation of the Dutch, reserved in the articles of 1664, furnishes another claim, even by the principles of English law, that a remnant of the ancient Dutch law continued in force after 1664 (5 Wendell's Reports, pp. 445, 446), although subsequent to the year 1674 the right of the Dutch to avail themselves of the terms of the capitulation of 1664 is not clear (24 Wendell, 624). With the few exceptions denoted, the law of New Netherland has probably passed into history, and now concerns the antiquarian and the historian, rather than the practical lawyer and litigant of this day. Yet the effect of Dutch institutions on the character of the early legislation of the province of New-York was at first marked, although at a later period it became insignificant. Owing to such causes as frequent intermarriages between the Dutch and English, and the gradual substitution of the English tongue, as well as to the adoption of English habits by the leading Dutch landowners, but above all to the fact that the early bar and the judges of the province were trained in English law, the Dutch of New-York soon abstained from maintaining their own legal institutions, and gradually acquiesced in those introduced

[1] Stokes's "Colonies," p. 31. [2] Dunham vs. Williams, 37 N. Y., 253.
[3] Van Schaack's "Laws," 1 : 97; id., 2 : 611; see also ch. 216, 9th Anne, N. Y. Laws.

by the English colonial authorities. But for a long time after the year 1664 the influence of the Dutch settlers impressed itself upon the agrarian communities and upon the social and commercial customs of the province.[1]

One of the first acts passed by the Assembly of 1691 was entitled "An Act for Quieting and Settling the Disorders that have lately happened within this Province." It was broad enough to be directed against all persons disaffected to the change in the succession to the crown, whether such persons might call themselves Dutch, Leislerians, or English Jacobites, of which there were not a few in the province. The act was capable also of being construed as a voluntary compact, on the part of the people of New-York with the new sovereigns William and Mary, that the province should continue on the footing of a royal province of the crown. No more explicit statement of the relations of the people of New-York to the crown could have been exacted by the crown itself than that contained in this act, which was as follows:

"Be it therefore enacted and ordained by the Governor, and Council, and Representatives, met in General Assembly, and it is hereby Published, Declared, Enacted, and Ordained by the Authority of the same, That there can be no Power and Authority held and exercised over Their Majesties Subjects in this Their Province and Dominion but what must be derived from their Majesties, Their Heirs, and Successors. And we do hereby recognize and acknowledge, That Their Majesties William and Mary are, and as of Right they ought to be, by the Laws of the Realm of England, our Liege Lord and Lady, King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland and the Dominions thereunto belonging, etc., that thereby Their Princely Persons are only invested with the Right to Rule this Their Dominion and Province; and that none ought or can have Power, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to use or exercise any Power over Their Subjects in this Province, but by Their immediate Authority, under Their Broad Seal of Their Realm of England, as now established."

While admitting the validity of the change in the succession to the crown, this act did not change the political status of the province as defined by the public law of England. The same Assembly also passed an act for settling, quieting, and confirming all charters previously granted by the Stuarts to any cities, towns, or freeholders within the province. This act was passed to allay the uncertainty which naturally was felt after so great a revolution as that which had happened in England, and consequently in all its dependencies. Lapse of time showed that the act was unnecessary, as the new sovereigns made no

[1] Elting's "Dutch Village Communities"; "Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science"; "5 Wendell's Reports," 446.

attack upon the grants and patents of their predecessors in any part of the English dominions.

The Assembly of 1691, with a view of placing their right to a representative government on a surer footing than the grace of the crown, again passed an act declaring what are the rights and privileges of their Majesties' subjects inhabiting within this province of New-York. It was virtually a reënactment of the old "Charter of Libertys" disallowed by James II. In 1697 the act of 1691 shared the fate of its predecessor, and was disallowed by the king.

The most important act of the Assembly of 1691 was that remodeling the judicial establishment. After two centuries have passed we must still go back to the legislation of this year to determine some questions concerning the jurisdiction of the existing courts of New-York. The act of 1691, for "establishing Courts of Judicature for the ease and benefit of each respective City, Town, and County within the Province," provided that justices of peace should have cognizance of "all causes, cases of debt, and tresspasses to the value of forty shillings." Either party might demand a jury. Every city and county was to have a court of sessions of the peace and a court of common pleas. By this act the present Supreme Court of New-York came into existence, just two centuries ago, as a law court, having cognizance "of all Pleas, civil, criminal, and mixt, as fully and amply, to all intents and purposes whatsoever, as the Courts of Kings Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer in England have, or ought to have," provided such causes involved upward of twenty pounds. The Supreme Court was vested with an extended supervisory and appellate jurisdiction over inferior law courts. The trial of all issues of fact in the Supreme Court was to be by jury, unless waived. Although the act contained no express repeal of the act of 1683, it repealed it by implication, and with its passage and approval the old Court of Oyer and Terminer ceased to exist. Nearly half a century later it was asserted that the Supreme Court had an equity jurisdiction in the exchequer branch of its organization, and this was decided in the affirmative.

The judiciary act of 1691 was a temporary act, but was continued by an act of Assembly, passed November 9 or 11, 1692;[1] and the latter was again renewed in October, 1695, for two years. In 1697 this act was finally extended for one year; but, on its expiration, differences having arisen between the Assembly and the Governor, it was allowed to expire by limitation. For a time the province was without a judicial establishment. Finally Lord Bellomont, as the Royal Governor of the province, in 1699, resorted to the prerogative, and continued the courts, on the footing of the act of 1691, by an ordinance in which the Assembly had no part.[2] This ordinance was confirmed by Lord

[1] Bradford's ed. N. Y. Laws, 1694, p. 64. [2] Appendix No. V., 2 Revised Laws of New York of 1813.

Cornbury in 1704.[1] On this basis the Supreme Court continued down to the establishment of the State government, when it was further continued as part of the existing order of things. In 1692 a prerogative court was erected, having cognizance of probate matters.

The Court of Chancery of the province, originally erected by the act of 1683, was remodeled by the "Act for establishing courts of judicature," of 1691. This act, continued from time to time, as described in the preceding paragraph, finally expired. On the 28th of August, 1701, an ordinance was issued reëstablishing the Chancery, and authorizing the Governor and Council, or any three of them, to hold the court. In June, 1702, its operations were suspended until a fee bill should be settled, and it was not again revived until the 7th day of November, 1704, when it was directed to proceed.[2] At various times the lower house of Assembly protested against the establishment of a Court of Equity by ordinance of the Governor without their concurrence, but, notwithstanding this fact, the Court of Chancery, until the year 1711, continued to be held by the Governor and Council, by virtue of the ordinance mentioned. Subsequent to the year 1711 the Governor alone sat as chancellor. The very early establishment of a chancery court in New-York was one of several causes contributing to the relative preëminence of its particular jurisprudence. In many of the American colonies equity jurisprudence had, prior to the War of Independence, no distinct existence in any large and appropriate sense. But in the province of New-York matters of equity, as distinct from cases cognizable at law, were recognized by the "Duke's Lawes" of 1665, while a Court of Chancery was established by the act of 1683.

The short administration of Colonel Sloughter, the first Governor under William and Mary, was terminated by his death July 23, 1691. He was succeeded by Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, who took office under a commission almost identical with that held by Governor Sloughter.[3] There is a slight divergence between the commission and the private instructions to Colonel Fletcher.[4] By the former the Governor was empowered to erect courts of judicature and public justice, with the advice and consent of the Council, whereas the instructions directed that no court or office of judicature, not before established, should be created. The commission was undoubtedly paramount, as the instructions were a mere criterion of the Governor's authority. In case of urgent necessity the instructions could be departed from without the violation of authority, but a departure from the commission was wholly unauthorized, and was void as *ultra vires*. As the prerogative stood in the seventeenth century, the crown might erect courts of justice in crown provinces by ordinance, even where there

[1] Idem, Appendix No. VI.
[2] Idem, Appendix No. VII.
[3] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 3 : 827.
[4] Idem, 3 : 818, 827.

SEVERAL

LAWS,

Orders & Ordinances

Eſtabliſhed by the

MAYOR,

Recorder, Alder-men and Aſſiſtants

OF THE

City of New-York,

Conven'd in Common-Council,

For the good Rule and Government of the Inhabitants of the ſaid City. And publiſhed this 28th Day of *March*, in the Mayoralty of *William Peartree*, Eſq. *Anno Domini* 1707

Printed and Sold by *William Bradford* at the Sign of the Bible in the City of *New-York*, 1707.

FROM THE LENOX LIBRARY COPY.

was an Assembly. To be sure, this power was always vehemently disputed in New-York, and the branch of the royal prerogative has now been wholly taken away, but at that time it was beyond question a lawful power.[1] In any historical review of the institutions of the British plantations of the seventeenth century, we cannot consider the present standards applicable to the modern British colonies; we can only determine what the standard was then. If an ancient act was legal by the colonial constitution then in force, it cannot be made illegal by the verdict of historians, or because it deviates from popular or philosophic conceptions of a more ideal system of government. Professor Dicey has well remarked, in a discussion of the prerogative under the English constitution, that "the struggles of the seventeenth century, the conflict between James and Coke, Bacon's theory of the prerogative, Charles' effort to substitute the personal will of Charles Stuart for the legal will of the king of England, are all matters which touch not remotely upon the problems of actual law."[2] As it then was in England so it was here, but with this modification, that the prerogatives claimed by the Stuarts in the crown colonies have since been pretty generally allowed, and have passed into settled law in accordance with their earlier assertions.

The joint reign of William and Mary ended in 1694, when the queen died. Thenceforth the king alone possessed the regal authority, pursuant to the declaration of the convention Parliament of the 12th of February, 1688. The Earl of Bellomont held the first commission from King William III., succeeding Colonel Fletcher in 1695, but he delayed his voyage until after the peace of Ryswyck, and did not arrive in New-York until April of the year 1698. During the war with France, 1689–1697, New-York was greatly infested with pirates, who sailed from the seaports of the province to the Spanish main and elsewhere, and many of the inhabitants of New-York, it was believed, were concerned in these unlawful ventures. Part of Lord Bellomont's mission was to check piracy in the province. His government included Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, as well as New-York, and, owing to the multiplicity of business necessary to its administration, John Nanfan, a relative of Lord Bellomont's, came out as Lieutenant-Governor of New-York.[3] Before this appointment the president of the Council had usually acted as Lieutenant-Governor of the province. The Lieutenant-Governor was authorized to exercise all the powers stated in the Governor's commission, in case of the latter's death or absence.[4] Lord Bellomont's commission as Governor of New-York[5] did not materially vary from that of Colonel Fletcher. It formed the last

[1] Chalmer's Col. Opin., pp. 192, 194.
[2] Dicey's "Law of the Constitution," pp. 17, 59.
[3] Smith, History of N. Y., 1 : 252.
[4] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 4 : 277.
[5] Idem, 4 : 266.

constating instrument in the compound constitution of New-York in the eighteenth century.

As stated at the outset, the government of a colonial dependency is from without, and not from within. In this particular an English colonial government of the eighteenth century differed essentially from the government of a perfect state. We shall now attempt to offer a few generalizations from the facts already stated, so as to make more clear the legal and political conditions in New-York at the close of the seventeenth century.

At the date of the settlements of the American colonies the common law of England was an archaic and confused system, of feudal origin in the main, although many doctrines of the Roman law had been surreptitiously interpolated in the accepted text of the law. Such a system, localized for centuries, could hardly be conceived as extending beyond the borders of the narrow realm in which it had been formulated. At first, therefore, it was thought that the English who departed from England were subject only to the natural law, but at a later day it was asserted that they carried their own law with them. As nobody in particular ever carried a law, it is obvious that this expression is figurative, and intended simply to impart the conception that the English emigrating to new and uninhabited countries continued to be subject to the control of English laws. But before this last idea was attained there was much fluctuation in principle. For instance, the Parliament of England was at first told that it was not proper for it to make laws for the colonies; these were the demesnes of the king, subject only to his prerogative; but in the days of the Commonwealth Parliament assumed the foreign executive, and became the actual sovereign in the colonies. This power, once gained, was never relinquished.

In 1643 a committee was appointed for regulating the plantations, and in 1650 this power was lodged in a council of state. Upon the restoration of the monarchy, the king and Parliament first shared dominion over the American plantations. With the growing years, and step by step, Parliament increased its power over the colonies. First it regulated their trade, next the internal rights of the colonists; but when it taxed them the jurisdiction was repudiated by the colonists, not always consistently, but in the end effectually. Thus, the most obnoxious thing about the colonial government by England became the dominion of the Parliament, which, unlike the prerogative of the king, was above the law and the courts. Parliament became in the colonies an intolerable absolutism, wielded by an oligarchy or a committee of aristocrats selected by a few landholders of Great Britain. Thus, the colonies were politically mere dependencies without the realm, and, unless they had legislatures of their own, they possessed no con-

stitutional rights which were effectual, or at least paramount. But until the king confederated with the Parliament there was never any general hatred of monarchy in the colonies, and at the last the people here indicted by their declarations of grievances the Parliament rather than the king.

After the accession of James II., when the proprietary government devolved upon the crown, New-York fell under the superintending power of a committee of the Privy Council in England, which had been charged by King Charles II., by an order in council, dated March 12, 1675, with the general administration of the colonies. The relation of this committee to the colonies lasted until King William III. superseded it by the Board of Trade and Plantations, in 1696. But even then appeals continued to lie from the highest court of the province of New-York to the king in council. The reservation to this effect, contained in the commissions forming the various constitutions of a province without a charter, is traced to the course of appeals from the Islands of Jersey and Guernsey, the remnant of the duchy of Normandy, which was also "without the realm and beyond the seas," and therefore afforded a good precedent for the transatlantic colonies. Had it not been for that precedent, the course of colonial appeals might have been quite different. Such are the effects of the accidents of history.

When the English obtained the actual dominion over New-York they certainly found a government, established by the Dutch and possessed of a judicial establishment, in satisfactory operation, administering a highly refined system of laws centuries older than the English laws, and much more entitled to the respect of the civilized world. The problem for the English here was quite different, therefore, from that in most of their other plantations, except Jamaica. It was a principle of English law, as of the laws of other European nations, that in conquered Christian provinces the laws of the conquered remained in force until abrogated, and that terms of capitulation were paramount to all other laws. Although the English agents had sometimes pretended that the Dutch of New Netherland had intruded on English territory, there is ample evidence not only of the falsity of this assertion, but of the subsequent abandonment of it by the English, and their conformity to the rule of law indicated. They recognized the province of New-York as a conquered province; they formally abrogated the Dutch laws and substituted their own, though they observed the Articles of Capitulation of 1664, until the Dutch, under the treaty of Westminster, had themselves abandoned the articles, and even then the English authorities in New-York long tolerated many Dutch institutions reserved by the articles, as if such articles had continued of binding force and obligation. In 1688 a

will of a Dutch *ante-natus* was probated in New-York, appointing a universal legatee in the Dutch manner. In 1684 a will conveying real estate was executed in New-York before a Dutch notary. Tutors and curators continued to be appointed by wills according to Dutch law long subsequent to 1674. In 1710 a statute was passed by the assembly, enacting that the Dutch words *onroerende* and *vaste staat* in Dutch antenuptial contracts, wills or deeds, should be taken to mean real estate, and be operative as a conveyance of real estate at common law (act of 30th October, 1710).

The law-officers of the English crown, in their opinions upon the prerogative and the powers of the government of New-York, always assumed that this province was acquired by conquest and cession from the Dutch, and that in this particular New-York stood in a position different from the English colonies acquired by discovery. Such an assumption involved the conclusion that the crown was invested primarily with the prerogative of legislation here until relinquished in some manner by charter or grant to the inhabitants themselves. Much of the confusion observable in the jurisprudence of the province was probably occasioned by the evident unwillingness of the leading lawyers and inhabitants of New-York to yield to a premiss conceding so great a power to the crown. They were familiar with the political status of a conquered province and its subordination to the crown by the common law of England. Upon this point, therefore, the Dutch of New-York were silent. Had the Dutch possessed a great political leader of their own race, this might have been different. It is a singular fact that during the entire colonial period after 1664, the Dutch of New-York never produced a great leader in politics. They seem, from the year 1664, to have acquiesced in the leadership of the English. From this year dates the unceasing struggle, between the inhabitants of New-York and the law-officers of the crown, concerning the extent of the prerogative power of legislation, in the course of which all the people of New-York learned to claim that they were entitled to the common law of England, because they were advised that such right carried with it a share in the making of laws, and that the crown had not an independent power of legislation where the English common law was once established. Yet the people of New-York did not desire the private department of the common law so much as the principles of the public law of England, or that part which established their right to an independent legislature of their own choosing. The political history of the province between the years 1664 and 1775 turns upon the seat of the legislative power. In the conflict between the crown and the people of New-York, in regard to the legislative power, the people were constantly victorious, and, with a firmness and astuteness as remarkable as any in

history, by various means succeeded in establishing and maintaining a legislature which formed, after 1691, as bold and independent a branch of government as any then existing. But it was vigilance only which restrained and defeated the prerogative, and when George III. at last confederated with his British Parliament in an effort to seat the entire political power over the colonies in England, the people of New-York realized that armed resistance was inevitable. The issue of the War of Independence was self-government. Had it not been that it militated against their political status, as they believed, the inhabitants of New-York would have made it clearer that New-York was a province of England by virtue of conquest, and not discovery.[1] Yet it is, unfortunately, not to the political action of the early inhabitants of New-York that we can look for a solution of many legal questions of this time, but to the constitution of the government which was then recognized as sovereign here.

The establishment of the English political authority in the year 1664, and the appointment of English administrative officers holding commissions from the crown or its delegate, of itself introduced the public law of England in New-York in the place of the Dutch public law. When a peopled province is acquired, the public law of the new sovereign is the measure of its authority, and consequently the public law of England (as contradistinguished from the private law) came into operation in New-York in 1664 with the dominion exercised by the English.

We have now traced the growth of the autonomy of the province, and the expression of the leading institutions, down to the year 1700. By that year the population of the province had greatly increased in number and in wealth. A large proportion were native-born, and yet many were still unfamiliar with the language and institutions of England. The City of New-York had long possessed an established municipal government, now patterned after the English municipal governments, and therefore destined to introduce to the country the English conceptions of city government, rather than those practised by the continental nations of Europe. Permanent courts of judicature of the English type had been established, which were to endure for centuries, and although, as Governor Lord Bellomont frequently stated to the Lords of Trade, their administration was probably not then of a very high order, yet it, no doubt, responded to the requirements of so simple a society.

The general state of the law of the province in 1700 was well defined by William Smith, chief justice of the Supreme Court of the province, in a report to Lord Bellomont, written on the 26th of November, 1700.

[1] See, by way of argument on this point, the statement of the churchwardens and vestry of Trinity Church to Archbishop Tenisen, Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 4:526.

There is nothing more authoritative now extant. He says:[1] "That the Courts of Law in this province establish'd are the Corporation Courts who derive their powers from Charters granted from several persons who have heretofore commanded this province. And the provincial courts, which are authorized from an ordinance of Your Excell^cy and Councill, in virtue of the powers given you by His Maj^ties letters pattents under the great Seal of England and am humbly of opinion that the coppyes of such Charters and of the Ordinance aforesaid would be best manifest to their Excell^cies by what rules and methods we are govern'd in all tryalls which is the common law of England and that several statutes there made declarative thereof and as near as may be according to the manner and methods of His Maj^tys Courts at Westminister Hall, except in the Court of Appeals which consists of the Governour or Commander in Chief, and his Majesty's Councill for the time being and is constituted by His Majes^tys letter pattents." This report is of importance also in enabling us to determine what English statutes were then recognized by the courts as in force in New-York. It will be observed that Chief-Justice Smith refers to them as those statutes declarative of the common law. This agrees with the rule then observed—that in provinces acquired by England by conquest general English statutes were binding only when in affirmance of the common law and made before the conquest.

In the same year Lord Bellomont wrote to the Lords of Trade:[2] "Nobody here understands the drawing of an act of Assembly and the Courts of Justice are managed att a strange rate"; but as William Bradford, the first printer of the province, had begun regularly, in 1694, to print the acts of Assembly, including those passed during the year 1691 and subsequently, we may now readily see from the acts themselves that the character of such legislation was well adapted to the wants of the province. The important fact in this connection is that there was then a representative Assembly which stood for local self-government, and against the strained prerogative asserted by the crown. It is of secondary importance that its acts were sometimes crude or inartificial.

Thus the close of the seventeenth century saw established in the province of New-York certain great institutions of civil government, many of which still endure under forms more or less modified by the action of the body politic in the succeeding centuries.

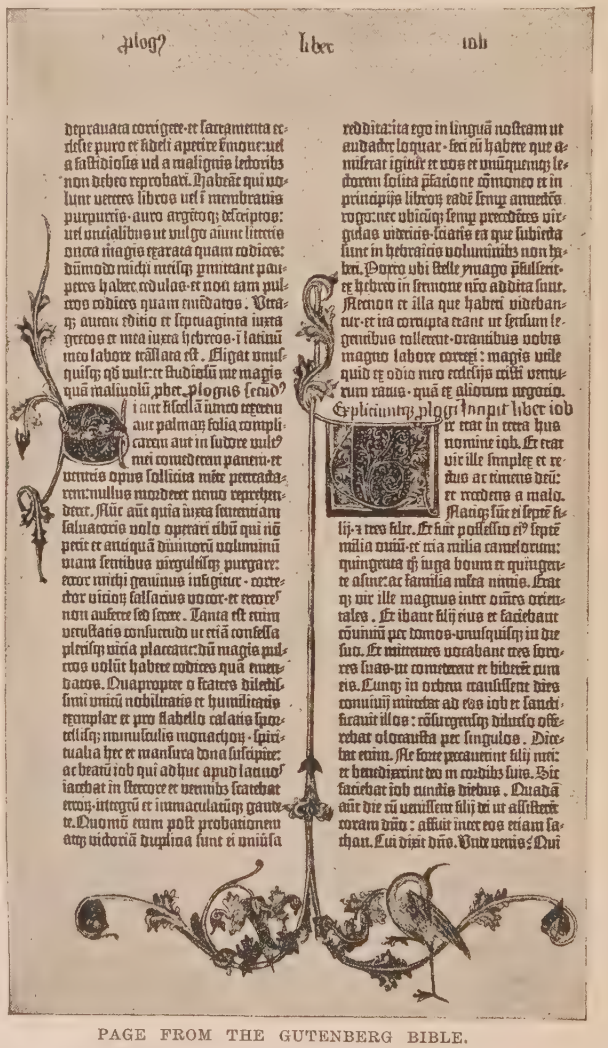
[1] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 4: 828.

[2] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 4: 830.

CHAPTER XV

PRINTING IN NEW-YORK IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

TO New-York belongs the honor of being the first English colony in America to give governmental encouragement to the printer's art. In all the four other colonies in which the printing-press was set up prior to its establishment in New-York, the printers, far from receiving government aid, were soon called upon to answer for some infringement—real or fancied—of the dignity of the provincial authorities. In Virginia, the first English press south of Massachusetts was suppressed in 1682,[1] and if, as is supposed, the Virginia printer was William Nuthead, he fared but little better on his removal to St. Mary's in Maryland. In 1643 Stephen Daye, Massachusetts' first printer, was put under £100 bonds by the General Court.[2] Of Pennsylvania we shall speak later. Dr. Moore[3] has not long since called



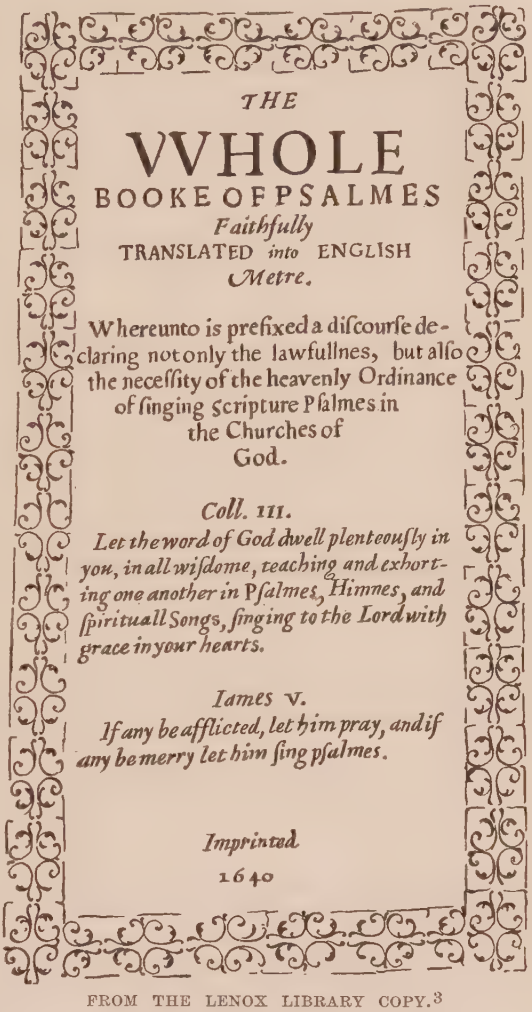
PAGE FROM THE GUTENBERG BIBLE.

1 Henning, 2 : 518.

2 Thomas, 1 : 43. Albany, 1874.

3 "Historical Notes on the Introduction of Printing into New-York, 1693," by George H. Moore, LL. D. Printed for the Author. New-York, 1888.

attention to a small volume entitled "An Arrow against Idolatry," by Henry Ainsworth, which bears the fictitious imprint of "Novi Belgia, 1640," as well as the fact that Francis Lovelace, the second English Governor of New-York, "soon after he assumed the government in 1668, manifested his desire for having a printer in the province by sending for one to New England; but he does not appear to have been successful in his application."[1] The first step towards success was in the passage of the following resolution by the Provincial Council: "March 23, 1693. Resolved in Council, That if a Printer will come and settle in the city of New-York for the printing of our Acts of Assembly and Publick Papers, he shall be allowed the sum of £40 current money of New-York per annum for his salary and have the benefit of his printing besides what serves the publick."[2] This offer met with a ready response from William Bradford, who for eight years had been engaged as printer and bookseller in Philadelphia.



THE

VVHOLE

BOOKE OF PSALMES

Faithfully

TRANSLATED *into* ENGLISH

Metre.

Whereunto is prefixed a diſcourſe declaring not only the lawfullnes, but alſo the neceſſity of the heavenly Ordinance of ſinging Scripture Pſalmes in the Churches of God.

Coll. III.

Let the word of God dwell plenteouſly in you, in all wiſdome, teaching and exhorting one another in Pſalmes, Himnes, and ſpirituall Songs, ſinging to the Lord with grace in your hearts.

Iames V.

If any be afflicted, let him pray, and if any be merry let him ſing pſalmes.

Imprinted

1640

FROM THE LENOX LIBRARY COPY.[3]

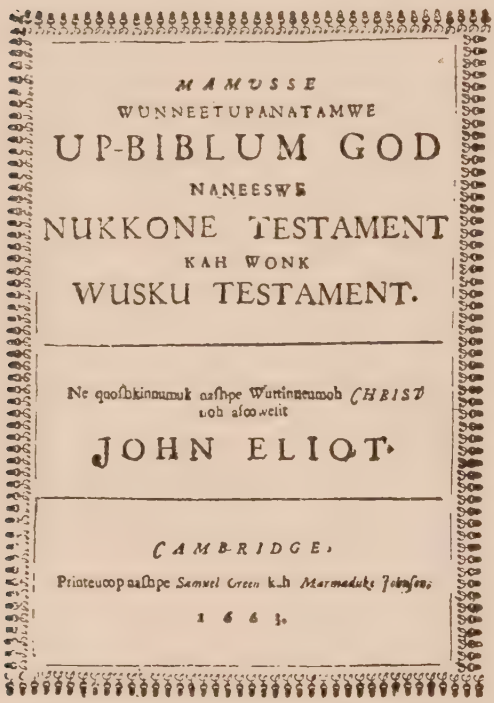
William Bradford, the founder of the press in the middle colonies, was the son of William and Ann Bradford, of the parish of Barwell, in the county of Leicester, England. He was born there May 30, 1663,

1 Historical Notes, p. 5, and "An Address delivered at the Celebration by the New-York Historical Society of the Two Hundredth Birthday of William Bradford," by John William Wallace, Albany, 1863, p. 62.

2 Council Minutes, 6 : 182.

3 Several fac-similes of title-pages appear in this chapter for special reasons, although not printed in New-York. A page of the Gutenberg Bible, of which there are but two copies in this country, is introduced as being the first work printed with movable types; the Bay Psalm Book is included as being the first work in English that appeared in the New World; and Eliot's Indian Bible, owing to its being the earliest Bible printed on this continent. The chapter also includes a fac-simile of the first page of an early number of the pioneer newspaper printed in our city, copied from an exceedingly rare volume of Bradford's "Gazette," in possession of the New-York Society Library. EDITOR.

and baptized the same day by the rector of the parish. His father died in 1668, and his mother in 1683; both were buried in the churchyard at Barwell. He was apprenticed to Andrew Sowle, of London, the principal Quaker printer and bookseller of his day. Bradford remained with Sowle until 1685, and during this time became a Quaker, but whether the influence of his master or his master's daughter Elizabeth, whom he married in London on the 28th of April, 1685, was most potent in bringing about his "convincement," is now hard to say. It has been asserted that he was one of Penn's company on the Welcome. It is not only unlikely that it was our printer, as he was not then out of his apprenticeship, and there is no record of his having obtained a certificate of removal from the London meeting prior to 1685, but is directly at variance with the tone of George Fox's letter of sixth month, 1685,[1] commending him to "Friends" in Pennsylvania and elsewhere. The companion of Penn on his first voyage to America was beyond a doubt another William Bradford, who settled and became a man of some local importance in Sussex County, now part of Delaware. William Penn returned to England in 1684, and it may be inferred from Bradford's statements in 1689[2] that he held out inducements to the young printer which led him to emigrate to Pennsylvania. Bradford obtained from the London meeting a certificate of removal for himself and wife, dated August 12, 1685, which was read to the quarterly meeting in Philadelphia on the 4th of the following January; his arrival here is thus shown to have been some time between the October and January quarterly meetings. His printing-office and residence appear to have been first in Philadelphia, then in Oxford Township, Philadelphia County, from whence he seems to have removed his office back to Philadelphia in 1688, adding to it a book-store, and keeping it there but residing in Oxford Township during the remainder of his stay in Pennsylvania.


MAMUSSE
WUNNEETUPANATAMWE
UP-BIBLUM GOD
NANEESWE
NUKKONE TESTAMENT
KAH WONK
WUSKU TESTAMENT.

Ne quoshkinoumuk nashpe Wuttinneumoh CHRIST
noh asoowetit
JOHN ELIOT.

CAMBRIDGE:
Printeuoop nashpe Samuel Green kah Marmaduke Johnson,
1 6 6 3.

TITLE TO ELIOT'S INDIAN BIBLE.

His first publication was "Kalendarium Pennsilvaniense, or Amer-

[1] Wallace's Address, p. 24.

[2] Wallace's Address, p. 50.

DEFENCE, A. D. 1689, BY WILLIAM BRADFORD, WHO ESTABLISHED PRINTING IN THE MIDDLE COLONIES, OF THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.
(FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.)

The Examination of Wm Bradford before Governour Blackwell at Philadelphia the 9th of the 2d Month 1689. touching printing the Charter.

Governour, why Sir, I would know by what power or Authority you you thus print? How is the Charter printed.

Bradford, It was by Governour Penns encouragement I came to this Province and by his Liberty I print.

Governour, What Sir, Had you Liberty to print the Charter I desire to know from you whether you did print the Charter or not, and also get you to work.

Bradf. Governour, it surely is an improper trouble thing for any man to accuse himself, thou knowst it very well.

Govr. Well, I shall not much press you with it, but if you were so ingenious as to confess it, it would go the better with you.

Bradf: Governour, I desire to know my accuser, I think it very hard to be put upon accusing my self.

Govr. Can you deny that you printed it: I do know you did print it and by whose ins and will I know it, and make you smart for it too before you come so shall be seen.

Inq. Will Shewing by Jo. Sir. I am informed that one hundred and sixty reams paper yesterday and that Jos. Growdon saith he drew 208 for his part towards the same printing.

Bradford, It's nothing to me what Joseph Growdon saith, let me know my accuser and I shall know the better how to make my defence: I do not desire to know any thing that might give offence to any. I have been here near four years, and never Ride so much to me before by Governour or any else Printing the Laws was one of the first things Governour I saw presented to me before I came here yet I have for bear the same Because I knew not how it might offend. But if I had printed them, I do not know that I had done amiss.

Governor. Truly I question whether there hath been a Governour here before or not or them that understood what Government was which makes things as they now are.

Bradf: That strange I do think and believe that there hath been a Governour here. However since those same here (Governour) I never heard of any thing to the contrary but that I might print such things as were to my hand by Patent or my liking; it is that by which I subsist. Nor do I know of any Impertinent appointed: when things are settled and ordered I hope I shall comply so far as to endeavour to avoid giving offence to any.

Govr. Sir, I am Informed and that you shall know: I will bind you in a bond of five hundred pound that you shall print nothing but what I do allow of or I will lay you fast.

Bradf: Governor, hitherto I have not hitherto known thy pleasure herein and therefore hope thou wilt judge me more favourably if I have done any thing that does not look well to thee.

Govr. If you would confess you might expect favour, but I see you are willfull: You should have come and askt my advice and not have done any thing that particular parties bring to you. Sir I have particular order from Governour Penn for the suppressing of printing here and narrowly to look after your press, and I will search your house look after your press, and make you give in five hundred pounds security to print nothing but what I allow or I'll lay you fast.

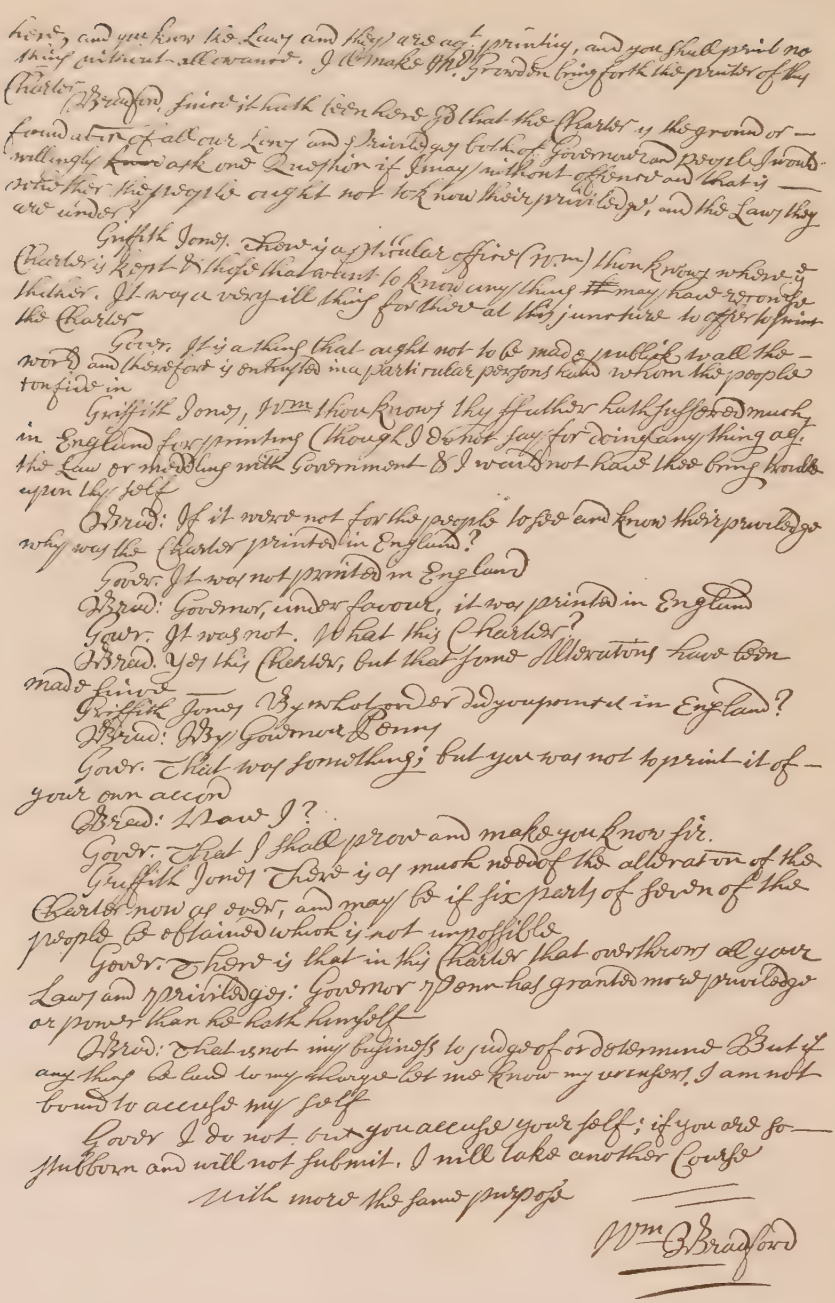
John Hicks: "the Charter is the ground work of our Laws and for you to print it at this time without order from Governour is a great misdemeanor.

Griffith Jones said: Wm I doubt there be right and lake of advice of those that are advised to that which will not be for thy good at last.

Bradf: Governour, it is my employment and calling and that by which I get my living to print; and if I may not print such things as come to my hand which are innocent I cannot live: I am not a person that take part with any party or other as Griffith Jones seems to suggest. If I print one piece of one party or other as Griffith Jones seems to suggest. If I print one thing to day, and the contrary party bring me another to morrow to compare part with, I cannot say that I shall not print it. Printing is a manufacture of the nature and therefore ought rather to be encouraged than suppressed.

Govr. I know printing is a great benefit to a Country if it be rightly managed, but if otherwise a great mischief. Sir we are within the Kings Dominions, and the Laws of England are in force here

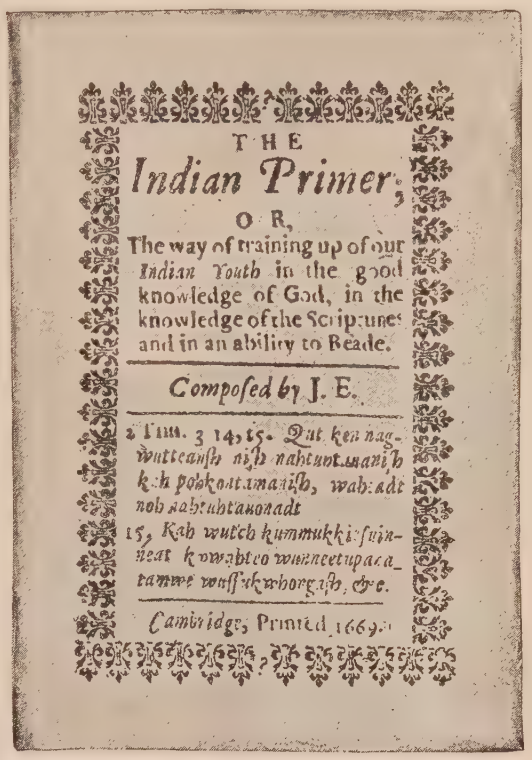
[Continued on next page.]



ica's Messinger; Being an Almanack for the Year of Grace 1686." This brought him a summons before the Governor and Council, for referring to the Proprietary, in the table of chronology, as "Lord Penn"; and, on his appearance, he was ordered to blot out the objectionable title, and forbidden to print anything without license from the Provincial Council.[1] In 1687 he was cautioned by the Philadel-

[1] Colonial Records, 1:165.

phia meeting not to print anything touching the Quakers without its approval. Two years later he was again called before the Governor and Council—this time for printing the charter of the province. The spirited report, in his own handwriting, of his examination on this occasion is now preserved in the collection of the New-York Historical Society.[1] Disappointed at the non-fulfilment of Penn's promise of the government printing and the failure of his scheme for printing an English Bible, which, although indorsed by the meeting, found few subscribers, and harassed by both the civil and religious authorities, Bradford determined to leave the province. Having transferred his press to his "Assignes," and in July obtained the customary certificate of removal, he and his family returned to England.[2] But the Quakers were loath to spare him. At the yearly meeting, held in September, it was "agreed to grant him, besides all the business which they could throw in his way, a yearly salary of £40."[3] The sum offered induced Bradford to return; and next year he was one of the founders of the first paper-mill in America.


THE
Indian Primer,
OR,
The way of training up of our Indian Youth in the good knowledge of God, in the knowledge of the Scriptures and in an ability to Reade.
Composed by J. E.
2 Tim. 3 14, 15. Qut ken nagwatteaush nish nahtuntamanish kah pohkontamanish, wahadt noh nahtuhtaonadt 15, Kah wutch kummukkiſuinneat kowabtoo wunneetupaca-tamwe wussukwborgash, &c.
Cambridge, Printed 1669.
THE ELIOT INDIAN PRIMER.

Early in 1692 he asked for and received a release from his contract with the meeting, no doubt wishing to feel entirely free to support George Keith in his struggle against the Unitarian tendency then prevalent among the Quakers in America. As the quarrel grew more and more violent he became one of Keith's most active supporters; and in August, on the appearance of Keith's "Appeal from the Twenty-eight Judges," some of his type was seized, and he and others were arrested and imprisoned. The account of the trial,[4] which took place in the following December, probably written by Bradford or Thomas Budd,[5] was printed by him soon after his removal to New-

1 It is given in full in Wallace's Address, pp. 49–52.

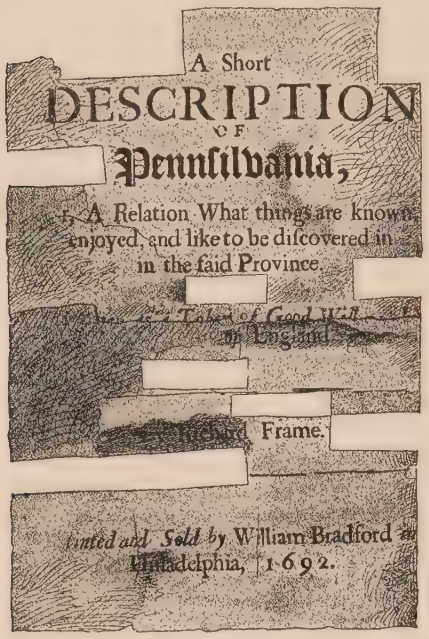
2 The birth of his son Isaac is recorded in London in 1689.

3 Wallace's Address, p. 53.

4 "New England's Spirit of Persecution Transmitted to Pennsilvania."

5 While Keith was before the London yearly meeting, May 28th to June 11, 1694, "Inquiry was made

York; and from it we learn that "on the soil of Pennsylvania, the father of our press asserted, in 1692, with a precision not since surpassed, a principle in the law of libel hardly then conceived anywhere, but which now protects every publication in much of our Union—a principle which English judges, after the struggles of the great Whig Chief Justice and Chancellor, Lord Camden, through his whole career, and of the brilliant declaimer, Mr. Erskine, were unable to reach, and which, at a later day, became finally established in England only by the enactment of Mr. Fox's Libel Bill in Parliament itself."[1] The jury disagreed, and Bradford was held for appearance at the next court. In the mean time the dissensions in the province aroused by the Keithian schism had led to the abrogation of Penn's charter by the crown, and the appointment of Benjamin Fletcher to be Royal Governor of Pennsylvania as well as of New-York. No further action was taken in the Bradford case before the arrival of the new Governor, except the issuance of a writ under which "the Sheriff took Goods out of the Shop of Wil. Bradford half as much more as the said Warrant was for."[3] One of Fletcher's first acts on reaching Philadelphia was, upon Bradford's petition, to order the restoration of his types and other goods.


A Short
DESCRIPTION
OF
Pennſilvania,
A Relation What things are known
enjoyed, and like to be diſcovered in
in the ſaid Province.
Frame.
Printed and Sold by William Bradford at
Philadelphia, 1692.

FROM THE ONLY KNOWN COPY.[2]

Bradford's first warrant for his salary as "Printer to King William and Queen Mary, at the City of New-York," was dated October 12, 1693, and was for six months, due on the 10th preceding, thus showing that upon the 10th of April, 1693, he had complied with the terms of the resolution of the Council passed in the previous March, and introduced the art and mystery of his craft into New-York.[4] What was the first product of his press is a matter of doubt. It may have been, as Dr. Moore suggests, the "Journal of the Late Actions of

in this Meeting who was the owner and author of it [*i. e.*, New England's Spirit of Persecution]; and G. Keith disowned it to be his, but he owned that part of it which concerned his Trial; and T. Budd said he was not willing to discover the author's name." ("True Account of the Proceedings, &c., of the Yearly Meeting begun in London on the 28th of 3d month, 1694," by Robert Hanney, London, 1694, p. 6.)

[1] Wallace's Address, p. 56.

[2] The copy of Frame's poem belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia is unique, and no other perfect copy is known of the Book of Common Prayer, except that in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. See p. 582.
EDITOR.

[3] "New England's Spirit of Persecution," pp. 3, 4.

[4] Wallace's Address, p. 63.

the French at Canada,"[1] or "New England's Spirit of Persecution Transmitted to Pennsilvania," or the Act of Assembly noticed later. The first of these is certainly among the very earliest issues of the New-York press, as the London edition was licensed on September 11, 1693, while the license for the reprint of the second bears date of October 19, 1693. It has been argued that "New England's Spirit of Persecution" was printed before Bradford left Philadelphia, because he omitted his name from the imprint, but he made the same omission in Keith's "Truth Advanced," which was not published till nearly a year after his settlement in New-York, and in Maule's "Truth Held Forth," which was not printed till 1695; this argument is therefore of no weight. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the year in Pennsylvania then began by law on March 1st,[2] and anything printed prior to that day would have been dated 1692. The title-page of "New England's Spirit" says "Printed in the Year 1693"; and as we have already said the tract is a report of Bradford's trial at the December term of the Court of Quarter Sessions. The last leaf of the tract contains an account of his appearance at the next court, which was not held until March, 1692–93, and it could not therefore have been written till after the first week of that month; and as he certainly issued two, and probably three small works in Philadelphia during the brief portion of 1693 he remained there, and his office was still crippled by seizure made in the preceding September, he could hardly have got out this tract before his removal to New-York.

New-England's Spirit of Perfecution

Tranſmitted To

PENNSILVANIA,

And the Pretended *Quaker* found Perſecuting the True

Chriſtian-Quaker,

IN THE

TRYAL

OF

Peter Boſs, George Keith, Thomas Budd, and *William Bradford,*

At the Seſſions held at *Philadelphia* the Nineth, Tenth and Twelfth Days of *December*, 1692, Giving an Account of the moſt Arbitrary Procedure of that Court.

Printed in the Year 1693.

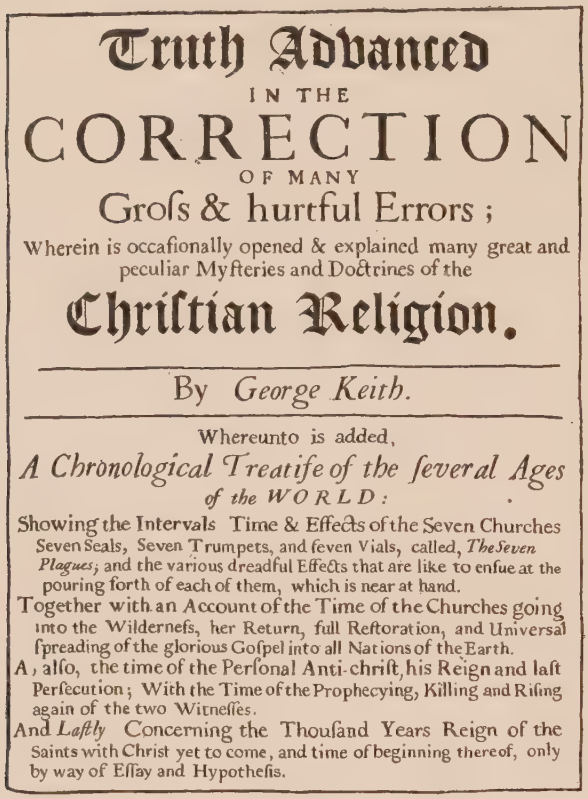
FROM THE LENOX LIBRARY COPY.

Besides the two pamphlets just mentioned, three separately

1 "Historical Notes," pp. 16–18, New-York, 1888.

2 "Charter and Laws of Pennsylvania, 1682–1700," p. 116, Harrisburgh, 1879.

printed acts of the New-York Assembly, passed in 1692 and 1693, and an ordinance establishing courts, passed in 1691, are of uncertain priority. The coincidence of the date of one of the former, "An Act for raising six Thousand Pound for the payment of three Hundred Volunteers and their Officers to be employed in the Reinforcement of the Frontiers of this Province at Albany," etc., passed April 10, 1693, with the commencement of Bradford's term of office, suggests the probability of its having been the very first print of his press in New-York. Lancaster's "Queries to the Quakers" and the "New England Primer," of which only fragments have been preserved, also hold uncertain positions as to their order of appearance among the publications of this year. The order in which the remaining known issues of Bradford's press appeared during its first year must be nearly as follows: An Act for the Assembly of Pennsylvania levying a tax for the support of the government, passed June 2; Fletcher's Proclamation granting license to Warner Wessells and Antie Christians to collect money for the redemption of their relatives from slavery in Salee, dated June 8th; A translation of the same in Dutch; A Proclamation in regard to erecting Fire Beacons to give warning of invasions from Canada, dated August 25th; A Catalogue of Fees, after September 20th; An Exhortation and Caution to Friends Concerning the buying or keeping of Negroes,[1] after October 13th; An Account of Several Passages and Letters between his Excellency Benjamin Fletcher, etc., And the present Administrators of the Laws in the Collony of Connecticut, after October; A Proclamation urging the people of Connecticut to yield obedience to their Majesties Commission to



Truth Advanced
IN THE
CORRECTION
OF MANY
Groſs & hurtful Errors;
Wherein is occaſionally opened & explained many great and peculiar Myſteries and Doctrines of the
Chriſtian Religion.

By *George Keith.*

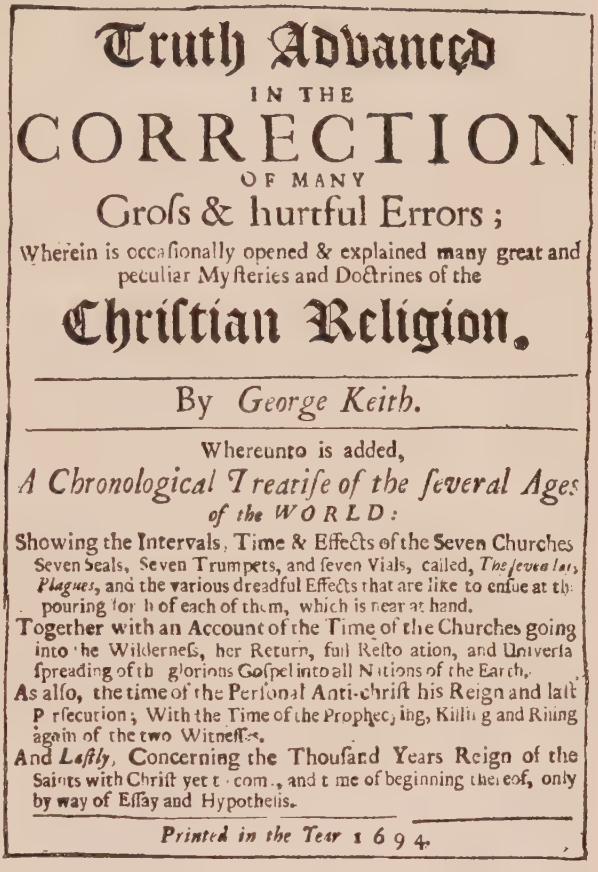
Whereunto is added,
A Chronological Treatiſe of the ſeveral Ages of the WORLD:
Showing the Intervals Time & Effects of the Seven Churches Seven Seals, Seven Trumpets, and ſeven Vials, called, *The Seven Plagues;* and the various dreadful Effects that are like to enſue at the pouring forth of each of them, which is near at hand.
Together with an Account of the Time of the Churches going into the Wilderneſs, her Return, full Reſtoration, and Univerſal ſpreading of the glorious Goſpel into all Nations of the Earth.
Alſo, the time of the Perſonal Anti-chriſt, his Reign and laſt Perſecution; With the Time of the Prophecying, Killing and Riſing again of the two Witneſſes.
And *Laſtly* Concerning the Thouſand Years Reign of the Saints with Christ yet to come, and time of beginning thereof, only by way of Eſſay and Hypotheſis.

FROM THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY COPY.

[1] The first protest against slavery printed in America. It was issued by the Keithian Quaker meeting at Philadelphia, and was reprinted in the "Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography for 1889," from the only known copy, now in the library of Devonshire meeting-house, London.

Fletcher to be Governor of that colony, dated November 8th; A Proclamation relative to deserters from the army and navy and travellers and others without passes, dated November 13th; and Leeds' Almanac for 1694. The imprint of the last is dated 1694, but it was, no doubt, issued, as was usual with like publications, late in 1693.[1] Bradford maintained to the end of his career this practice of dating the imprint of almanacs published by him with the year for which they were to serve, while the advertisements in his newspapers show that they were generally on sale about October of the preceding year.

The almanac for 1694 announces Keith's "Truth Advanced" as "now in the Press," and the speedy printing of the Laws of the Province. The former small quarto volume of two hundred and twenty-four pages is, with the exception of Maule's "Truth Held Forth,"[2] the largest work printed by Bradford at one time prior to



Truth Advanced
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And *Laſtly*, Concerning the Thouſand Years Reign of the Saints with Chriſt yet to come, and time of beginning thereof, only by way of Eſſay and Hypotheſis.

Printed in the Year 1694.

FROM THE PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY COPY.

1 In 1863 the two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of William Bradford, "who, first of all men in America, asserted, and maintained to his cost, the liberty of unlicensed printing," was appropriately celebrated by the New-York Historical Society, the principal feature of the occasion being an admirable address delivered by the late John William Wallace of Philadelphia, one of Bradford's descendants, and for many years the honored President of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. The approaching two-hundredth anniversary of the introduction of the printing-press in our city will also be suitably commemorated, in 1893, by the New-York Historical Society. EDITOR.

2 Thomas Maule was born in Warwickshire, England, in 1645, and died in Salem, Mass., in 1724. In his religious faith he was a Quaker. He was in many respects a remarkable person, and without the possibility of contradiction, a stanch defender of his religious opinions, a troublesome man to the authorities of Massachusetts Colony, and a thorn in the side of Cotton Mather. He was the author of several works, three of which were printed by William Bradford in New-York before 1701. The work of which two fac-simile pages are given, reduced one-third, is so far as known believed by many to be the earliest and "the most considerable monument of typography in New-York previous to 1700." The following is its title: "Truth Held Forth and maintained According to the Testimony of the holy Prophets, Christ and his Apostles recorded in the holy Scriptures. With some Account of the Judgements of the Lord lately inflicted upon New England by Witchcraft. To which is added Something concerning the Fall of Adam his state in the Fall and the way of Res-

1710. It is printed on paper made at the Rittenhouse Mill, of which Bradford was part owner, and in the water-mark of some of the sheets can be seen the name of the manufacturer. The Hebrew letters which occur in its pages made the compiler of the Brinley catalogue skeptical as to its having come from Bradford's press, because he had "not found them in any other volume printed by him." But they are to be seen on page 8 of "New England's Spirit of Persecution." The historical importance, rarity, and, of late years, the high price commanded by the "Laws and Acts of the General Assembly of their Majesties Province of New-York, As they were enacted in divers Sessions the first of which began April the 9th, Anno Domini, 1691. At New-York, Printed and Sold by William Bradford, 1694," have made it the most famous of all of Bradford's publications. As originally issued it consisted of eighty-four small folio pages, to which were added the Catalogue of Fees and the three separately issued acts printed in 1693, making one hundred and twelve pages in all. To this Bradford continued

(179)

God. before whom, in the time of praying & prophecying, the Head is to be uncovered, *for the Head of every man is, Christ, and the Head of Christ is God*; which proves a dishonour to the Name of the Lord, to honour men whole hearts they know, not as to God, but honour them in the same form as they do the Lord, when their Prayers are made to him, who is the searcher of all hearts, and giver to every man according to the fruits of his doings, which to the aithful will be a Crown of Righteousnes to the hoary Head, but to the Sinner, though a hundred yea s old he is accurſed, which alſo doth of Hat-Honour, by which men hon_ur that which is accurſed of God.

CHAP. XXIX.

Concerning the great Judgments of God upon the Inhabitants of New-England *by Witch-craft.*

WItch-craft is altogether wrought, through the Spirit and Power of the Devil, which rules in the Children of Diſobedience, who ramain in the Works of the fleſh, with which Witch-craft is included, *Gal.* 3. and 5 20. for which cauſe the juſt Judgments of God, are the Reward of all Wicked and Ungodly men, but to all that repent, their Sins and Blaſphemies, wherewithſoever they ſhall blaſpheme, ſhall be forgiven, but he that blaſphemeth againſt the holy Ghoſt, ſhall not be forgiven in this World, nor the world to come, *Joh.* 5. 6, 17. *Mat.* 21. 10. Now as to divers Authors, their apprehenſions are various, in differing one from the other about Witches and Witch-craft, which to prevent error, that

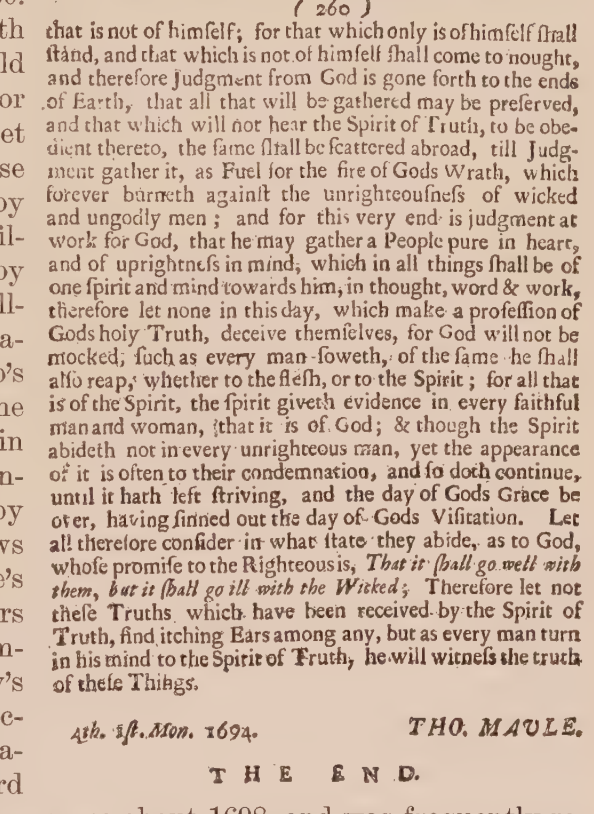
Y 2

FROM MAULE'S "TRUTH HELD FORTH."

toration to God again, With many other Weighty things necessary for People to Weigh and consider." Printed by W. Bradford. Quarto, pp. viii., and 260. On December 12, 1695, the Massachusetts authorities issued to the sheriff of Essex County a warrant for the arrest of Thomas Maule of Salem for printing and publishing without license of authority this book. The return of the warrant by George Corwin, the sheriff, was made on December 14, 1695, and states that he had seized said Maule and thirty-one copies of the work. Maule was confined in the jail in Salem, and the books burnt by the public executioner. In his second work, also printed by William Bradford in New-York in 1697, entitled "New England Persecutors Maul'd With their own Weapons," etc., which gives an account of this trial in Boston, he states, page 61, that his "Copy [manuscript of the work] is in another government in the hands of the printer." In Judge Sewell's Diary, published by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1878, Vol. I, page 416, it is said, under date December 16, 1695, that "Thomas Maule Shopkeeper of Salem is brought before the council for printing and publishing a quarto of 260 pages entitled Truth held forth and maintained — owns the book but will not own all till sees his copy which is at N. York with — Bradford who printed it, Saith he writt to the Governour of New-York before he could get it printed. Book is ordered to be burnt," etc. Chapter XXIX. of Truth Held Forth and maintained is a masterly exposé of the Salem Witchcraft Delusion, and is, so far as at present known, the earliest printed refutation extant. Perhaps the most perfect copy of this extremely rare work, and from which the fac-similes were made, is in the library of Dr. Samuel S. Purple of New-York. The few copies of this book of which we have any knowledge lack the title-page.

EDITOR.

to add the acts passed by successive assemblies down to 1709, and so carelessly was the work performed that it has resulted in a bibliographical puzzle which no one has yet thoroughly mastered. Of the seven copies known to exist no two are exactly alike in their contents and pagination. Mr. Brinley's copy sold in 1880 for $1600; Mr. Vanderpool's in 1888 for $1450; and in 1889 a copy lacking the title-page was sold privately for $1750; all these of course contained more or less of the laws added between 1694 and 1710. Bradford also printed in 1694 the first edition of the "Charter and Laws of the City of New-York," but no copy is now known to be extant. In 1695 he began printing the "Votes of Assembly," the earliest publication of the proceedings of an American legislature, and in consideration of this additional labor his salary was raised to £60.



(260)

that is not of himſelf; for that which only is of himſelf ſhall ſtand, and that which is not of himſelf ſhall come to nought, and therefore Judgment from God is gone forth to the ends of Earth, that all that will be gathered may be preſerved, and that which will not hear the Spirit of Truth, to be obedient thereto, the ſame ſhall be ſcattered abroad, till Judgment gather it, as Fuel for the fire of Gods Wrath, which forever burneth againſt the unrighteouſneſs of wicked and ungodly men; and for this very end is judgment at work for God, that he may gather a People pure in heart, and of uprightneſs in mind, which in all things ſhall be of one ſpirit and mind towards him, in thought, word & work, therefore let none in this day, which make a profeſſion of Gods holy Truth, deceive themſelves, for God will not be mocked; ſuch as every man ſoweth, of the ſame he ſhall alſo reap, whether to the fleſh, or to the Spirit; for all that is of the Spirit, the ſpirit giveth evidence in every faithful man and woman, that it is of God; & though the Spirit abideth not in every unrighteous man, yet the appearance of it is often to their condemnation, and ſo doth continue, until it hath left ſtriving, and the day of Gods Grace be over, having ſinned out the day of Gods Viſitation. Let all therefore conſider in what ſtate they abide, as to God, whoſe promiſe to the Righteous is, *That it ſhall go well with them, but it ſhall go ill with the Wicked*; Therefore let not theſe Truths which have been received by the Spirit of Truth, find itching Ears among any, but as every man turn in his mind to the Spirit of Truth, he will witneſs the truth of theſe Things.

4th. 1ſt. Mon. 1694. THO. MAULE.

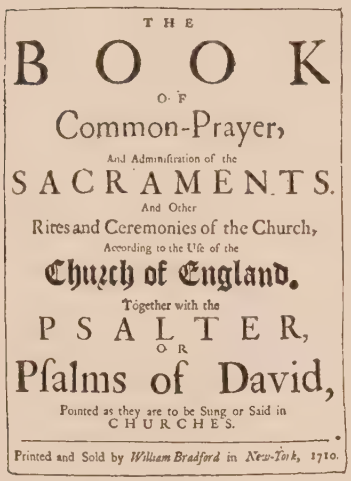
THE END.

In 1696 he reprinted, with some alterations, an old French work—"Le Trésor des Consolations Divines et Humaines." The expense of the work was borne by Mr. A. Pintard,[1] in fulfilment of a vow made by him during a dangerous illness. Among the publications in 1697 John Clap's Almanac for that year—the first almanac compiled in New-York—of which Brinley's very imperfect copy sold for $420; Leeds' "News of a Trumpet" and Maule's "New England Pesecutors Mauld" are the most important. "The Secretary's Guide," a text-book of practical forms and information compiled by Bradford himself, made its first appearance about 1698, and was frequently reprinted during the ensuing forty years. "A Letter from a Gentleman in the City of New-York," a copy of which sold at the Barlow sale in 1889 for $320, and Francis Daniel Pastorius' "New Primer, or Methodical Directions to Attain the True Spelling, Reading, and Writing of

1 This gentleman was Antoine Pintard, a Huguenot native of Rochelle, who came to this country from France in 1685, and settled in Shrewsbury, New Jersey, where he and his wife are buried. He resided for many years in this city, and was the great-grandfather of John Pintard, one of the founders of the New-York Historical Society. EDITOR.

English; whereunto are added some things Necessary . . . for those, who from foreign Countries and Nations come to settle among us," were also issued in 1698.

Leeds' "Trumpet sounded out of the Wilderness" is the only work printed in 1699, except an almanac and the usual public documents, which has been preserved. In 1700 Bradford published "A Hue and Cry against Errors," one of the endless number of tracts arising out of the Keithian controversy (the books by Leeds mentioned under 1697 and 1698 refer to the same subject), and Southwick's "Gospel Order Revived." The latter was an attack on Mather's "Order of Gospel," printed in Boston in the preceding year, and to the pamphlet was prefixed an "Advertisement. The Reader is desired to take Notice, that the Press in Boston is so much under the aw [*sic*] of the Reverend Author whom we answer, and his Friends, that we could not obtain of the Printer there to print the following sheets, which is the only reason why we have sent the copy so far for its impression, and where it [*sic*] printed with some Difficulty." Bradford seems to have considered the last seven words to cast an imputation on his professional skill, and caused them to be taken out of the form, so that in most of the known copies they do not appear.


THE
BOOK
OF
Common-Prayer,
And Administration of the
SACRAMENTS.
And Other
Rites and Ceremonies of the Church,
According to the Use of the
Church of England.
Together with the
PSALTER,
OR
Pfalms of David,
Pointed as they are to be Sung or Said in
CHURCHES.
Printed and Sold by *William Bradford* in *New-York*, 1710.

THE FIRST PRAYER-BOOK.

Such is the record of the New-York press in the seventeenth century, so far as has now been discovered. The recall of Fletcher in 1698 deprived Bradford of a stanch and influential friend, and with Lord Bellomont, the new Governor, he soon quarreled, the climax being reached in 1700, when his salary was suspended. But the suspension was only temporary. Bellomont died, and in less than a year, by order of Lord Cornbury, Bellomont's successor, Bradford's salary was restored to him. The beginning of the new century found the press firmly established in New-York, and the first printer entering on a long course of well-merited prosperity.

Through the courtesy of N. W. Stuyvesant Catlin, Esq., of New-York, the Editor has been so fortunate as to obtain a picture of the birthplace, near Alphen, Holland, of Colonel Nicholas Bayard, the author of the Journal mentioned on another page, and for two score years among the most prominent characters of this city. The figures represented in this ancient painting, which is appropriately framed in the wood of his uncle Stuyvesant's famous pear-tree that stood for more than two centuries in Third avenue, are those of Samuel Bayard, the opulent Amsterdam merchant, and his wife Anna Stuyvesant. The painting represents his country seat, some seven miles from Leyden, and it is now engraved for the first time. The two accompanying portraits (on page 584) which have never appeared before and are also the property of Mr. Catlin, are those of the Rev. Lazare Bayard, D. D., and his wife Judith Beyens, the father and mother of Samuel Bayard, the ancestor of all the American Bayards. EDITOR.

THE BIRTHPLACE OF COL. NICHOLAS BAYARD, ALPHEN, NEAR LEYDEN, HOLLAND.

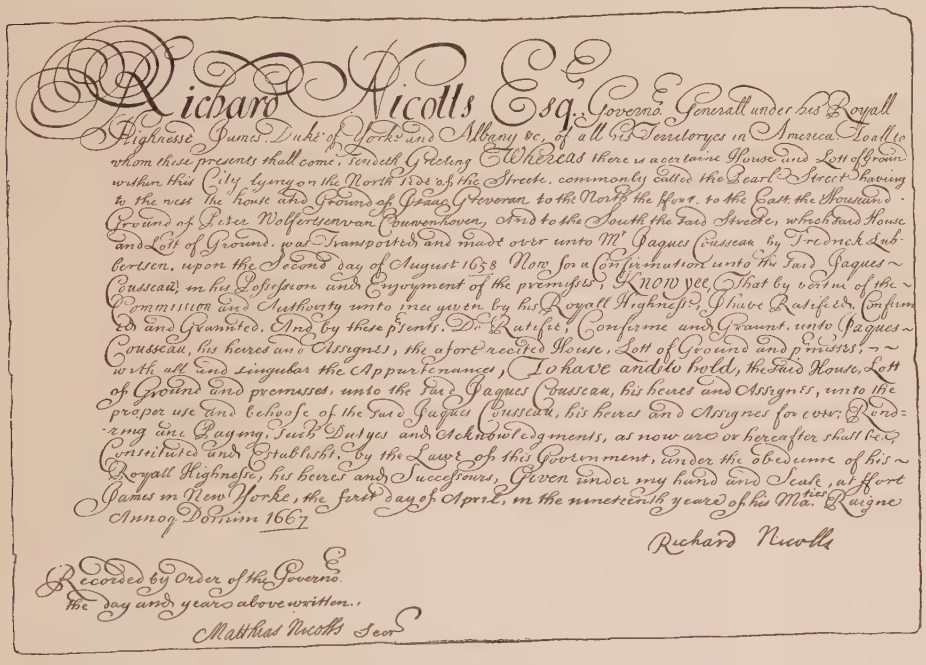
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF NEW-YORK PRESS IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.[1]

1693.

AN | ACCOUNT | of | several Passages and Letters between his Excellency | Benjamin Fletcher, | Captain General and Governour in Chief of the Province of New-York, | Province of Pennsilvania, County of New-Castle, &c. Commissionated | by their Majesties under the great Seal of England, to be their Lieut. | and Commander in chief of the Militia, and of all the Forces by Sea | and Land within their Majesties Collony of Connecticut, and of all the | Forts and places of Strength with the same. | And | The present Administrators, of the Laws in the | Collony of Connecticut, in the Month of October, 1693. | [Colophon:] *Printed and Sold by William Bradford, Printer to their Majesties King | William and Queen Mary, at the Bible in New-York*, 1693. | Folio, pp. 8.

AN EXHORTATION & Caution | To | Friends | Concerning buying or keeping of Negroes. | [*New York: William Bradford.* 1693.] Sm. 4to. pp. 6.

A JOURNAL of the late Actions of the French at Canada. With the Manner of their being, repulsed by his Excellency, Benjamin Fletcher, Their Majesties Governour of New-York. Impartially related by Coll. Nicholas Reyard [*Bayard*], and Lieutenant Coll. Charles Lodowick, who attended his Excellency, during the whole Expedition. To which is added, I. An Account of the present State and Strength of Canada, given by two Dutch-Men, who


Richard Nicolls Esq. Governr Generall under his Royall
Highnesse James Duke of Yorke and Albany &c, of all his Territoryes in America Knight to
whom these presents shall come, Sendeth Greeting Whereas there is a certaine House and Lott of Ground
within this City lying on the North side of the Streete, commonly called the Pearle Street shaving
to the west the house and Ground of Grace Groveran to the North the Rivr to the East the Mountain
Ground of Peter Wolfertsenvan Couvenhoven, And to the South the said Streete, which said House
and Lott of Ground was Transported and made over unto Mr Jaques Cousseau by Fredrick Lub-
bertsen upon the Second day of August 1658 Now for a Confirmation unto the said Jaques
Cousseau in his Possession and Enjoyment of the premisses, Know yee That by vertue of the
Commission and Authority unto mee given by his Royall Highnesse I have Ratified Confirm
ed and Graunted, And by these presents Do Ratifie Conferme and Graunt unto Jaques
Cousseau, his heires and Assignes, the aforerecited House, Lott of Ground and premisses &c
with all and singular the Appurtenances, To have and to hold, the said House, Lott
of Ground and premisses, unto the said Jaques Cousseau, his heires and Assignes, unto the
proper use and behoofe of the said Jaques Cousseau, his heires and Assignes for ever Yeild-
ing and Paying such Duties and Acknowledgments, as now are or hereafter shall bee
Constituted and Established by the Lawes of this Government, under the obedience of his
Royall Highnesse, his heires and Successours, Given under my hand and Seale, at Fort
James in New Yorke, the first day of April, in the nineteenth yeare of his Maties Raigne
Annoq Domini 1667

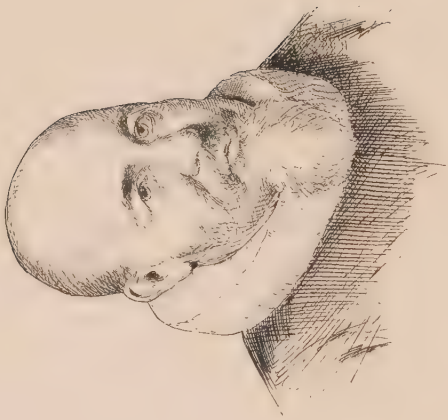
Richard Nicolls

Recorded by Order of the Governr
the day and yeare above written.

Matthias Nicolls Secr

[1] From advance sheets of "The Issues of the Press in New-York, 1693–1752." By Charles R. Hildeburn, Philadelphia, 1892.

MRS. JUDITH BAYARD.



DR. LAZARE BAYARD.

have been a long time Prisoners there and now made their Escape. II. The Examination of a French Prisoner. III. His Excellency Benjamin Fletcher's Speech to the Indians. IV. An Address from the Corporation of Albany, to his Excellency, Returning thanks for his Excellency's early Assistance for their Relief. *New York: William Bradford.* 1693.

This title is condensed from that of the London reprint reproduced on page 499, no copy of the original pamphlet being now known to exist.

LANCASTER'S Queries | To The | Quakers, | With The | —— [*New York: William Bradford.* 1693.] Sm. 8vo.

A fragment of the title-page and first two pages of the preface is all that is known to exist of this tract.

THE NEW ENGLAND Primer Improved. *New York: William Bradford.* 1693.

NEW-ENGLAND'S Spirit of Persecution | Transmitted To | Pennsilvania, | And the Pretended Quaker found Persecuting the True | Christian-Quaker, | in the | Tryal | of | Peter Boss, George Keith, Thomas Budd, | and William Bradford, | At the Sessions held at Philadelphia the Nineth, Tenth and | Twelfth Days of December, 1692. Giving an Account | of the most Arbitrary Procedure of that Court. | [*New York:*] *Printed* [*by William Bradford*] *in the Year* 1693. | Sm. 4to. Title 1 leaf, text, pp. 1–38.

NEW YORK. Province of New-York, ss. | Anno Regni Gulielmi & Mariæ, | Regis & Reginæ, | Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, | Quinto; | On the Tenth Day of September, 1692, in the | Fifth Year of their Majesties Reign this Act passed | at the City of New-York. | An Act for Restraining and Punishing Privateers | and Pyrates. | [*New York: William Bradford.* 1693.] Folio, pp. 1–3.

In some copies the first line is omitted.

NEW YORK. An Act for Granting to their Majesties the Rate of | One Penny per Pound upon all the Real and Per | sonal Estates within this Province of New-York, | &c. To be allowed unto his Excellency the Go- | vernour, for the Care of the Province, November | the 12th, 1692. | [*New York: William Bradford.* 1693.] Folio, pp. 1–4.

NEW YORK. Anno Regni Gulielmi & Mariæ, | Regis & Reginæ, | Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, | Quinto. | The 10th of April, Anno Domini 1693. | An Act for raising six Thousand Pound for the payment | of three Hundred Volunteers, and their Officers, to | be employed in the Reinforcement of the Frontiers of | this Province at Albany, from the First of May | next, to the First of May then next following, in | the Year of our Lord 1694. | [Colophon:] *Printed and Sold by William Bradford, Printer to King William and* | *Queen Mary, at the City of New-York*, 1693. | Folio, pp. (6).

NEW YORK. A Catalogue of Fees | Established by the | Governour and Council | At the Humble Request of the | Assembly | [Colophon:] *Printed*

To the Half yearly Meeting of ffriends held at Burlington the 3d of 3d Month 1687

Dear ffriends

I thought meet to lay before you of this Meeting something of my antention, & desire your concurrence and assistance therein so far as you think it of forwards, which is, that I have proposed to some ffriends, and laid it before our monthly Meeting at Philadelphia concerning the printing of a large Billam Folio, by way of Subscriptions, because it will be a very great charge, insomuch that I cannot accomplish ~~to do it~~ my Self without assistance therefore I propose that they who will forward so good a work (as this is conceived to be) by subscribing and paying down (in one or two months time) the Sum of Twenty Shillings, shall have one Bible so printed and bound as mentioned in the paper of proposals, so soon as they are so printed and bound which I hope will be in little more than one year and half after Subscription paid: ffriends here at Philadelphia and Here away are willing to forward and encourage the said work Our Monthly meeting very well approves of the said work and proposal, and ordered to recommend it to y^e Quarterly Meeting, and there intend to order two or three ffriends to look after the Subscription Money to see y^t it be employed to the use intended for, and that the work of printing the said Bible carried on with what Expedition may be. — If you the ffriends of the said Half yearly meeting, and our Quarterly Meeting here at Philadelphia, do concur and approve of the said proposals and are willing to encourage the same (which I doubt not) then I propose to you whether or no you think it convenient to write or order some ffriend or ffriends to write in behalf of the said Meeting or Meetings to the several respective Monthly and Quarterly Meetings in Pensilvania and west Jersey acquainting them what is proposed and your sence of the same *

* which I suppose would be great incouragement to our ffriends in England to encourage the said work

And whereas it has been spoken up and down concerning my going to England to live; So that I say that it was my intentions so to have done, by reason I laid out y^e greatest part of that small stock I had in Materials for printing (which are very chargeable) and coming here found little encouragement made me think of going back but perceiving that ffriend and people were generally concerned that I should go, has caused me to decline my former Intentions at present: and as I find encouragement in this particular above mentioned, or any thing else so that therein I may but be serviceable to Truth and the ffriends thereof and withal get a Livelihood for my Self and ffamily; shall therein be content and stay, &c. This from him who desires to serve you in what he may And so remain Your ffriend as in Truth abiding.

William Bradford

Philadelphia the first of the first Month 1687

Turn over

and Sold by William Bradford, Printer to their Majesties, | *King William and Queen Mary, at the Bible in New-York,* 1693. | Folio, pp. 1–11.

NEW YORK. An Ordinance of his Excellency and Council for Establishing Courts of Judicature within the Province of New-York, done at New-York, 15th May, 1691. [*New-York: William Bradford.* 1693?]

Title from the H. A. Brady Catalogue, lot No. 1524. It is probable that the Ordinance of May 15, 1699, was referred to.

NEW YORK. Benjamin Fletcher, Captain General and Governour in | Chief of the Province of New-York, Province of | Pennsilvania, and Country of New-Castle, and the | Territories and Tracts of Land depending thereon, in | America. | To all Officers and Ministers Ecclesiastical and Civil through- | out the Provinces and Territories under my Government. | [A Proclamation granting license to Warner Wessells and Antie Christians to collect money for the redemption of their relatives from slavery in Sallee, dated at Fort William Henry the 8th Day of June, 1693.] *Printed by William Bradford, Printer to King William & Queen Mary* | *at the City of New-York, Anno* 1693. | Folio, 1 leaf.

NEW YORK. Benjamin Fletcher, Capitayn Generael, en opper- | Governeur van de Provintie, van Nieuw-Yorke, | de Provintie van Pennsylvania, en 't Landtschap | van Nieuw-Casteel, ende Terratorienen Lander- | yen, daer toe belhorende in America. | Aenalle Officieren, ende Bedieniers, soo Kerkelyke, als Burgerlyke door de gant- | sche Provintien en Landschappen onder myn Government. | [The same in Dutch.] *Gedrukt tot Nieew-Yorke, by William Bradfordt, Anno* 1693. | Folio, 1 leaf.

NEW YORK. By His Excellency, Benjamin Fletcher, Captain General and Governour in Chief of their Majesties Province of New-York, Province of Pennsylvania, County of New Castle, and the Territories and Tracts of Land depending thereon, in America, and Vice-Admiral of the same. A Proclamation. [On the erection of fire Beacons to give warning of invasions by the French, dated at Fort William Henry, the 25th Day of August, 1693.] *Printed and Sold by William Bradford, Printer to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary at the City of New-York,* 1693. Folio, 1 leaf.

NEW YORK. Benjamin Fletcher, Captain General and Governour in Chief of Their Majesties Province of New-York, Province of Pennsilvania, Country of New-Castle, and the Territories and Tracts of Land depending thereon in America, and Vice-Admiral of the same, Their Majesties Lieutenant and Commander in Chief of the Militia, & of all the Forces by Sea and Land within Their Majesties Collony of Connecticut, and of all the Forts and places of Strength within the same. A Proclamation [to the people of Connecticut, dated at Fort William Henry, "the Eight Day of November, 1693," urging them to "yeild and render an intire Obedience unto their Majesties most Gracious Commission."] *Printed and Sold by William Bradford, Printer to*

How follow the substance of what I have proposed and mind to proposed if the same be encouraged

Those are to give notice that it is proposed for a large house Bible to be printed by way of subscription (a method usual in England for the printing of large volumns, because of printing, every large book, and many times an uncertainty of sale when published) Now for to all that are willing to forward so good (and great) a work as the printing of the Holy Bible are offered these proposals viz:t

1 That it shall be printed on a fair character and on good paper and well bound

2 That it shall contain the old and new Testament with the apocrophy, and all to have useful Marginal Notes

3 That it shall be allowed (to them that subscribe) for 20s Bible a piece which one of the same volumn in England would cost

4 That the pay shall be half Silver money and half goods at money price. But they (which really could not have money (and yet do willing to encourage the said work) goods at Money price shall satisfie

5 That those who do subscribe for six shall have the 7th gratis

6 That those who have conveniency to pay in England shall subscription, shall be allowed in proportion to 12 s (an.) in Spain a piece which I pay 510 th pounds in England will have 16 books which at 26 s pp is 18 th 8 s a Considerable profit and no risk to run

7 That to those who do not subscribe the Bibles will not be allowed under 26 s a piece.

8 That as encouragement is given by people by subscribing and paying the said work will be put forward with all Expedition and hope to bring that the same (if Life and health by God be continued) in one year and half after subscription paid.

W B

Post-Script

Now that when I have the judgment of friends on this matter and their good liking of the same, do intend to order and appoint one or two places in each County on both sides this River where any may come and subscribe that are minded, and there pay their said subscriptions, where they shall receive a Receipt for their said subscriptions when paid, and an Obligation for the Delivery of the Number of Bibles (so printed and bound as aforesaid) as by respective subscribers shall deposit Money for

William Bradford

Their Majesties, King William and Queen Mary at the Sign of the Bible in the City of New-York, 1693. Folio.

NEW YORK. By His Excellency | Benjamin Fletcher, Captain General and Governor in Chief of Their Majesties | Province of New-York, Province of Pennsilvania, Country of New-Castle, and the | Territories and Tracts of Land depending thereon in America, and | Vice-Admiral of the same, Their Majesties Lieutenant and Commander in | Chief of the Militia, & of all the Forces by Sea and Land within Their | Majesties Collony of Connecticut, and of all the Forts and places of Strength | within the same. | A Proclamation | [dated November 13, 1693, relative to deserters from the army and navy, and travellers and others without passes.] *Printed and Sold by William Bradford, Printer to Their Majesties, King William | and Queen Mary at the Sign of the Bible in the City of New-York*, 1693. | Folio, 1 leaf.

PENNSYLVANIA. Anno Regni Gulielmi & Mariæ, | Regis & Reginæ, | Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ, | Quinto. | An Act for granting to King William and Queen | Mary the Rate of One Penny per Pound upon the | clear Value of all the Real and Personal Estates, | and Six Shillings per Head upon such as are not | otherwise rated by this Act. To be imployed by the | Governour of this Province of Pennsilvania and | Territories thereof, for the Time being, towards | the Support of this Government. | [*New York: William Bradford.* 1693.] Folio, pp. (4).

1694.

AN | ACCOUNT | of the | Treaty | between | His Excellency | Benjamin Fletcher Captain General and Go- | vernour in Chief of the Province of New York, &c. | And the | Indians | of the | Five Nations, | viz. | The Mohaques, Oneydes, Onnondages, Cajouges and Sennekes, at Albany, beginning the 15th | of August, 1694. | *Printed & Sold by William Bradford, Printer to Their Majesties, | King William and Queen Mary, at the Sign of the Bible in | New-York*, 1694. | Sm. 4to, pp. 39.

KEITH, (G.) Truth Advanced | in the | Correction | of many | Gross & hurtful Errors; | Wherein is occasionally opened & explained many great and | peculiar Mysteries and Doctrines of the | Christian Religion. | By George Keith. | Whereunto is added, | A Chronological Treatise of the several Ages | of the World: | Showing the Intervals, Time & Effects of the Seven Churches, | Seven Seals, Seven Trumpets, and seven Vials, called, The seven last | Plagues, and the various dreadful Effects that are like to ensue at the | pouring forth of each of them, which is near at hand. | Together with an Account of the Time of the Churches going | into the Wilderness, her Return, full Restoration, and Universal | spreading of the glorious Gospel into all Nations of the Earth. | As also, the time of the Personal Anti-christ his Reign and last | Persecution; With the Time of the Propheeying, Killing and Rising | again of the two Witnesses. | And Lastly, Concerning the Thousand Years Reign of the | Saints with Christ yet to come, and time of beginning

Propoſals for the Printing of a large BIBLE, by *William Bradford.*

THeſe are to give Notice, that it is propoſed for a large houſe. Bible to be Printed by way of Subſcriptions [a method usual in *England* for the printing of large Volumns, becauſe Printing is very chargeable] therefore to all that are willing to forward ſo good (and great) a Work, as the Printing of the holy Bible, are offered theſe Propoſals, *viz.*

1. That it ſhall be printed in a fair Character, on good Paper, and well bound.

2. That it ſhall contain the Old and New Teſtament, with the Apocraphy, and all to have uſeful Marginal Notes.

3. That it ſhall be allowed (to them that ſubſcribe) for Twenty Shillings *per Bible*: [*A Price* which one of the ſame volumn in *England* would coſt.]

4. That the pay ſhall be half Silver Money, and half Country Produce at Money price. *One* half down now, and the other half on the delivery of the Bibles.

5. That thoſe who do ſubſcribe for ſix, ſhall have the Seventh gratis, and have them delivered one month before any above that number ſhall be ſold to others.

6. To thoſe which do not ſubſcribe, the ſaid Bibles will not be allowed under 26 *s.* a piece.

7. Thoſe who are minded to have the Common-Prayer, ſhall have the whole bound up for 22 *s.* and thoſe that do not ſubſcribe 28 *s.* and 6 d. *per* Book.

8. That as encouragement is given by Peoples ſubſcribing and paying down one half, the ſaid Work will be put forward with what Expedition may be.

9. That the *Subſcribers* may enter their *Subſcriptions* and time of Payment, at *Pheneas Pemberton*'s and *Robert Halls* in the County of *Bucks*. At *Malen Stacy*'s Mill at the Falls. At *Thomas Budds* Houſe in *Burlington*. At *John Haſting's* in the County of *Cheſter*. At *Edward Blake's* in *New-Caſtle*. At *Thomas Woodrooffs* in *Salem*. And at *William Bradford*'s in *Philadelphia*, Printer & Undertaker of the ſaid Work. At which places the *Subſcribers* ſhall have a Receipt for ſo much of their *Subſcriptions* as paid, and an obligation for the delivery of the number of Bibles (ſo Printed and Bound as aforeſaid) as the reſpective *Subſcribers* ſhall depoſit one half for.

Alſo this may further give notice, that *Samuell Richardſon* and *Samuell Carpenter* of *Philadelphia*, are appointed to take care and be aſſiſtant in the laying out of the *Subſcription* Money, and to ſee that it be imploy'd to the uſe intended, and conſequently that the whole Work be expedited. Which is promiſed by

Philadelphia, the 14th of the 1ſt Month, 1688.

William Bradford.

thereof, only | by way of Essay and Hypothesis. | [*New York:*] *Printed* [*by William Bradford*] *in the Year* 1694. | Sm. 4to.

Collation: Title, 1 leaf,; Contents, pp. (2); Preface, pp. (6); Truth Advanced, pp. 1–184; Chronological Account of the World, Title, 1 p.; Quotations from the New Testament, 1 p.; text, pp. 3–31.

LEEDS. (D.) An Almanack for the Year of Christian Account 1694. By Daniel Leeds. *New York: William Bradford.* 1694. Sm. 8vo. pp. (24).

NEW YORK. The | Laws & Acts | of the | General Assembly | for | Their Majesties Province | of | New-York, | As they were Enacted in divers Sessions, the first of | which began April, the 9th, Annoq; Domini, | 1691. | At *New-York,* | *Printed and Sold by William Bradford, Printer to their Majesties, King* | *William & Queen Mary,* 1694. | Folio.

Collation: Title, 1 leaf; Contents, pp. (2); Laws, pp. 1–84; Catalogue of Fees, pp. 1–11. The Catalogue of Fees, although called for in the Table of Contents, was printed in the preceding year.

NEW YORK. Anno Regni Gulielmi & Mariæ, Regis & Reginæ, | Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ & Hiberna, Sixto. | The 24th of March, Anno Dom. 169$\frac{4}{5}$. | [*New York: William Bradford.* 1694.] Folio, pp. 85–92.

The acts of the first session of the fourth Assembly, misdated 1694–5 for 1693–4. On comparing the five acts here printed with the votes of the Assembly it appears that they were passed at various times during March—the last on the 24th—and approved by the Governor on the 26th of that month in 1693–4, not 1694–5 as printed in the heading.

NEW YORK. [Acts passed in] The Fourth Assembly, second sessions: | Beginning the 4th Day of October, and ending the 23d of the same, Anno | Regni Regis & Reginæ Gulielmi & Mariæ, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ | & Hiberniæ, Sexto. | [*New York: William Bradford.* 1694.] Folio, pp. (4).

NEW YORK CITY. The Charter of the City of New York. *New York: William Bradford.* 1694 or 1695.

NEW YORK CITY. The Laws and Ordinances of the City of New York. *New York: William Bradford.* 1694 or 1695.

NEW YORK CITY. An Ordinance passed by the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Assistants of the City of New York; for raising 3d per £ for building a battery. *New York: William Bradford.* 1694.

The Ordinances—twenty in number—were ordered to be printed Oct. 25, 1694; Bradford's bill for printing them and the Charter was "allowed" Jan. 16, 1695–6. On March 10, 1694–5, Bradford's bill for printing an Ordinance was ordered to be paid.

SOME Seasonable Considerations for the good People of Connecticut. *New York: William Bradford.* 1694.

No copy is known to exist. An answer to it was printed in Boston, and reprinted in the first volume of the Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society.

1695.

LEEDS, (D.) An Almanack for the Year of Christian Account 1695. By Daniel Leeds. *New York: William Bradford.* 1695.

In the note-book of Pierre Eugene Du Simitiere, now in the Library of Congress, among other things is recorded during September, 1778, the receipt, as a present from Dr. William Bryant, of Trenton, of "the almanacks printed at New York by William Bradford for the years 1694, 95, 96, 97, 98, & part of 1700."

MAULE, (T.) Truth held forth and maintained According to the Testimony of the Holy Prophets, Christ and his Apostles, recorded in the Holy Scriptures. With Some Account of the Judgments of the Lord lately inflicted upon New England by Witchcraft. To which is added, Something concerning the Fall of Adam, his State in the Fall, and way of Restoration to God again, with many other weighty things necessary for People to weigh and consider, Thomas Maule. [*New York:*] *Printed* [*by William Bradford*] *in the Year* 1695. Sm. 4to.

Collation: Title, 1 leaf; Contents, pp. (3); Preface, pp. (3); text, pp. 1–260.

NEW YORK. The Fifth Assembly, First Sessions, | Beginning the 20th day of June, and ending the 4th of July, Anno Regni Regis | Gulielmi, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ, Septimo. | [Colophon:] *Printed and Sold by William Bradford, Printer to his Majesty, King William, at the Sign of the Bible in New-York,* 1695. | Folio, pp. 101–104, (2).

NEW YORK. The sixth Assembly, First Sessions: Beginning the first Day of October, and ending the 26th of the same, Anno Regni | Regis Gulielmi, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ, Septimo. | [*New York: William Bradford.* 1695.] Folio, pp. 107–113.

The acts of the second session of the Fifth Assembly, misprinted the Sixth Assembly, first session.

NEW YORK. By His Excellency | Benjamin Fletcher, Captain General and Governour in Chief of Their Majesties | Province of New-York, and the Territories and Tracts of Land depending | thereon in America, and Vice-Admiral of the same, Their Majesties | Lieutenant and Commander in Chief of the Militia, and of all the Forces | by Sea and Land within Their Majesties Collony of Connecticut, and of | all the Forts and places of Strength within the same. | A Proclamation | [dated April 22, 1695, dissolving the Assembly.] *Printed and Sold by William Bradford, Printer to Their Majesties King William* | *and Queen Mary at the Bible in the City of New-York.* 1695. | Folio, | leaf.

NEW YORK. By His Excellency | Benjamin Fletcher, Captain General and Governour in Chief of The | Province of New-York, and the Territories and Tracts of Land depending | thereon in America, and Vice-Admiral of the same, His Majesties | Lieutenant and Commander in Chief of the Militia, and of all the Forces | by Sea and Land within His Majesties Collony of Connecticut, and of | all the Forts and places of Strength within the same. | A Procla-

Benjamin Fletcher, Capiteyn Generael, en opper-Governeur van de Provintie, van *Nieuw-Yorke,* de Provintie van *Pennyſylvania,* en't Landtschap van *Nieuw-Caſteel,* ende Terratorien en Landeryen, daer toe belhorende in *America.*

Aen alle Officieren, ende Bedieniers, ſoo Kerkelyke, als Burgerlyke door de gantſche Provintien en Landſchappen onder myn Governement.

ALſo ick ſekerlyk ge-informeert ben, Dat de Soon van *Warnaer Weſſells* ende de Man van *Annetie Chriſtiaens*, Inwoonders en Zeelieden deſer Steede *Nieúw-Yorke*, volgende haer beroep op gebracht ſyn in *Zalè*, waer de ſelven nu ſyn in elendige Slavernye onder de Maght van de *Ongelovigen*, ende dat haere Vrienden niet maghtig zyn om te geven een genoegſaem Rantſoen tot haerer vryheyt en Verloſſinge. Daerom heb ick op haer applicatie tot my, voor en met Advys vanden Raet, uyt Chriſtelyke Liefde, ende tot medelyden van de ſware dienſt Baerheyt en Banden van de gemelte Perſoonen, vergunt, gelyk ick by deſe vergunne, verlof en vryheyt aen de gemelte *Warnaer Weſſels* en *Annetie Chriſtiaens*, om te eyſchen en te ontfangen een vrye en goetwillige giſte van alle *Chriſten* onder myn Governement, ſo wel in publicke Samencomſten, als particuliere Huyſen. Ende om d' ongeregeltheyt voorte comen met ſulex te Collecteeren, werden alle Miniſters en Predicanten, waer Kerken of publicke en private Vergaderingen ſyn, belaſt om te publiceeren een ware Copie van deſe Vergunninge, om ſulx opentlykte leſen, en daer na, aen te ſlaen aen de deuren of andre publyke plaetſen, en het Volk te vermanen tot alle Chriſtelyke Liefde, om met de aenſtaende ſtamencomſte te ſullen ontfangen de vrye en goet-Willige geſte van't Volk voor't gemelte gebruyk. Ende waer geen Kerken of publycke Vergader-plaetſen ſyn, ſoo werden de Conſtables, Hierdoor, belaſt in haere beſondere plaetſen, hebbende een ware Copye van deſe Vergunninge, om ront te gaen en collecteeren de Gifte van de goede Chriſtenen Voort gemelte gebruyck. Van welke Gifte en Chariteyt de gemelte Miniſters of Predicanten en Conſtables ſullen een diſtincte Reekening houden, die ſy ſullen overleveren met het gecollecteerde Gelt, uyt cracht deſer, ſonder uytſtel, aen *Stephanus van Courtland*, Eſq; *Peter Jacobs Marius*, *Johannes Kerfbyll* ende *Johannes Kip*, die by deſe gemagtight ſyn hetſelve t' ontfangen, en over te maken, ofte soo veel als nodig ſyn ſal; voorde verloſſinge vande gemelte gevangens, uyt haer ſlaverye doorde beſte en bequaemſte middelen en weegen. Met deſe Conditie nochtaus dat by aldien daer ſoude overſchieten, boven de de valeur van haer loſgelt ofte ſo ſe doodt, ofte anders, verlooſt ſullen ſyn, dat de Gemelte *Stephanus van Courtlandt*, Esq; *Peter Jacobs Martin*, *Johannes Kerfbyll* en *Johannes Kip*, ſullen aen my ofte aenden Governeur ofte opper-Commander in die rydt veranrwoorden de gemelte gecollecteerde ſommen, en't overſchot van haer ofte enige van haer loſgelt dat't magh aen gelyet werden tot gelyke, ofte andre Godsdienſtige gebruyken, en voor geen ander gebruyk, ofte intentie ter werelt te mogen employderen.

Gegeven onder myn Hand en Segel in't Fort Willem Hendrick *de 8ſte Dag van* Juny, 1693.

Ben. Fletcher.

Gedruckt tot Nieuw-Yorke, *by* William Bradford, *Anno* 1693.

FAC-SIMILE OF FLETCHER'S PROCLAMATION IN DUTCH.[1]

[1] For translation, see p. 503.

mation | [dated June 6, 1695, against the impressment of sailors for the King's ship.] *Printed and Sold by William Bradford, Printer to His Majesty, King William,* | *at the Bible in the City of New-York.* 1695. | Folio, 1 leaf.

NEW YORK. Votes and Proceedings of the first session of the Fifth Assembly. *New York: William Bradford.* 1695.

NEW YORK CITY. [Ordinances — 12 in number — ordered to be printed Nov. 19, 1695. *New York: William Bradford.* 1695.]

NEW YORK CITY. The Freeman's Oath. *New York: William Bradford.* 1695.

1696.

BARBADOES. An Act of Assembly passed in the Island of Barbadoes for the suppression of Pirates. *New York: William Bradford.* 1696.

A | JOURNAL | Of what Passed in the Expedition of | His Excellency | Coll. Benjamin Fletcher, Captain General and | Governour in Chief of the Province of New-York, &c. To | Albany, to Renew the Covenant Chain with the five | Canton Nations of Indians, the Mohaques, Oneydes, Onondages, | Cajouges and Sinnekes. | [*New York: William Bradford.* 1696.] Sm. 4to. pp. 1–11.

LEEDS. (D.) An Almanack for the Year of Christian Account 1696. *New York: William Bradford.* 1696.

L[INGARD.] (R.) A | Letter of Advice | To A Young | Gentleman | Leaving the | University | Concerning his Behaviour | and Conversation in the | World. | By R. L. | *Printed and Sold by VV. Bradford,* | *Printer to his Majesty, King* | *William, at the Bible in* | *New-York,* 1696. | 16mo.

Collation: Title, 1 leaf; Advertisement, pp. (4); text, pp. 1–45. First printed in London in 1671.

THE LONDON Gazette containing an account of an engagement with the French. *New York: Reprinted by William Bradford.* 1696.

NEW YORK. [*Royal Arms.*] The Fifth Assembly, Third Sessions. | Beginning the 25th Day of March, and ending the 24th Day of April, Anno | Regni Regis Gulielmi nunc Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ, Sexto. | [Colophon:] *Printed by William Bradford, Printer to the King's Excellent Majesty, at* | *the Bible in New-York,* 1696. | Folio, pp. (10).

NEW YORK. [*Royal Arms.*] Acts made the 5th Assembly, 4th Session. | Beginning the 15th day of October, and ending the 3d Day of November, | following, Anno Regni Regis Gulielmi Tirtia Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, | & Hiberniæ, Octavo. | [*New York: William Bradford.* 1696.] Folio, pp. (6).

NEW YORK. By His Excellency | Benjamin Fletcher, Captain General and Governor in Chief of | the Province of New-York, and the Territories and Tracts of | Land depending thereon in America, and Vice-Admiral of the | same, His Majesties Lieutenant and Commander in Chief of | the Militia, and of all the Forces by Sea and Land within His Majesties Collony of Connecticut, and of all the Forts and | places of Strength within the same. | A Proclamation. | [Appointing Thanksgiving days for the safe return of William III to England and the military successes in Flanders, dated "at His Majesties Fort in New-York the Ninth Day of January, in the Seventh Year of His Majesties Reign, Annoq; Domini 1695, 6." *New York: William Bradford.* 1696.] Folio, 1 leaf.

NEW YORK. [*Royal Arms.*] | By His Excellency | Benjamin Fletcher, Captain General and Governour in Chief of The | Province of New-York, and the Territories and Tracts of Land depending | thereon in America, and Vice-Admiral of the same, His Majesties | Lieutenant and Commander in Chief of all the Forces | by Sea and Land within His Majesties Collony of Connecticut, and of | all the Forts and places of Strength within the same. | A Proclamation | [dated February 27, 1695–6, appointing March 27, a Fast day.] *Printed and Sold by William Bradford, Printer to His Majesty, King William* | *at the Bible in the City of New-York* 1696. | Folio, 1 leaf.

NEW YORK. By His Excellency | Coll. Benjamin Fletcher, Captain General and Governour in Chief of His | Majesties Province of New-York, &c. | A Proclamation | [dated April 21, 1696, regarding the enlistment of volunteers.] *Printed by William Bradford, Printer to His Majesty, at the Bible in the* | *City of New-York* 1696. | Folio, 1 leaf.

NEW YORK. [*Royal Arms.*] | By His Excellency | Coll. Benjamin Fletcher, Captain General and Governour in Chief of His | Majesties Province of New-York, &c. | A Proclamation | [dated May 11, 1696, offering a reward for the destruction of the enemy.] *Printed by William Bradford, Printer to His Majesty, at the Bible in the* | *City of New-York* 1696. | Folio, 1 leaf.

NEW YORK. [*Royal Arms.*] | By His Excellency | Coll. Benjamin Fletcher, Captain General and Governour in Chief of | His Majesties Province of New-York, etc. | A Proclamation | [dated May 21, 1696 of a Thanksgiving day for the King's escape from the plot against his life.] *Printed and Sold by William Bradford, Printer to His Majesty at the* | *Bible in the City of New-York* 1696. | Folio, 1 leaf.

NEW YORK. [*Royal Arms.*] | By His Excellency | Coll. Benjamin Fletcher, Captain General and Governour in Chief of | His Majesties Province of New-York, &c. | A Proclamation | [dated June 11, 1696, prohibiting the exportation of breadstuffs.] *Printed and Sold by William Bradford, Printer to the Kings Excellent* | *Majesty, at the Bible in New-York*, 1696. | Folio, 1 leaf.

NEW YORK. [*Royal Arms.*] | By His Excellency | Coll. Benjamin Fletcher, Captain General and Governour in Chief of | His Majesties Province of New-

York, &c. | A Proclamation | [dated July 2, 1696, permitting the exportation of flour for eight days.] *Printed and Sold by William Bradford, Printer to His Majesty at the* | *Bible in the City of New-York* 1696. | Folio, 1 leaf.

NEW YORK. [*Royal Arms.*] | By His Excellency | Coll. Benjamin Fletcher, Captain General and Governour in Chief of | His Majesties Province of New-York, &c. | A Proclamation | [dated August 1, 1696, calling upon the creditors of the Fusileers to file their claims.] *Printed by William Bradford, Printer to the Kings Excellent Majesty at* | *the Bible in New-York* 1696. | Folio, 1 leaf.

NEW YORK. [*Royal Arms.*] | By His Excellency | Coll. Benjamin Fletcher, Captain General and Governour in Chief of | His Majesties Province of New-York, &c. | A Proclamation | [dated August 2, 1696, announcing the warlike preparations of the French.] *Printed by William Bradford, Printer to the Kings Excellent Majesty at* | *the Bible in New-York* 1696. | Folio, 1 leaf.

NEW YORK. [*Royal Arms.*] | By His Excellency | Coll. Benjamin Fletcher, Captain General and Governour in Chief of His | Majesties Province of New-York, &c. | A Proclamation | [dated September 12, 1696, of a reward for the apprehension of certain deserters.] *Printed by William Bradford, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majesty* | *at the Bible in the City of New-York*, 1696. | Folio, 1 leaf.

NEW YORK. Votes and Proceedings of the Assembly. *New York: William Bradford.* 1696.

LE | TRESOR | des | Consolations | Divines et Humaines, | Ou Traite dans le quel le Chretien peut | apprendre a vaincre et a surmonter les | Afflictions et les Miseres de cette vie. | . . . | . . . | . . . . | *A New-York, Chez Guillaume Bradford, a l'* | *Enseigne de la Bible*, 1696. | Sm. 8vo.

Collation: Title, 1 leaf; Dedication, pp. (4); text, pp. 1–98.

1697

CLAP. (J.) An Almanack for 1697. By John Clap. *New York: William Bradford.* 1697. Sm 8vo. pp. (52).

LEEDS. (D.) An Almanack for the Year of Christian Account 1697. By Daniel Leeds. *New York: William Bradford.* 1697.

[LEEDS.] News of A | Trumpet | Sounding in the | Wilderness. | Or, | The Quakers Ancient Testimony Revived, | Examined and Compared with it self, and also | with their New Doctrine. | Whereby the Ignorant may learn Wisdom, and | the Wise advance in their Understandings. | Collected with Diligence, and carefully cited from | their Ancient and Later Writings, and Recom- | mended to the serious Reading and Consideration of | all Enquiring

Christians, by | Daniel Leeds. | . . . | . . . . | *Printed and Sold by William Bradford at the* | *Bible in New-York*, 1697. | 16mo.

Collation: 1 Preliminary leaf; Title, 1 leaf; Friendly Reader, 1 p.; Preface, pp. (9); Contents, pp. (2); text, pp. 1–151.

KOSTER. (H. B.—AND OTHERS) Advice for all Professors and Writers. By Henry Bernhard Koster, William Davis, Thomas Ritter and Thomas Bowyer. *New York: William Bradford.* 1697.

See Pastorius *infra.*

[MAULE. (THOMAS)] Nevv-England | Pesecutors Mauld | VVith their own VVeapons. | Giving some Account of the bloody Laws made at Boston | against the Kings Subjects that dissented from their | way of worship. | Together with a brief Account of the Imprisonment and | Tryal of Thomas Maule of Salem, for publishing a Book, | entituled, Truth held forth and maintained, &c. | By Tho. Philathes. | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . . | [*New York: William Bradford.* 1697.] Sm. 4to.

Collation: Title, 1 leaf; Preface, pp. (4); text, pp. 1–62. There are two varieties of the title-page.

LEEDS. (D.) An Almanack for the Year of Christian Account 1698. By Daniel Leeds. *New York: William Bradford.* 1698.

A | LETTER | From A | Gentleman | of the | City of New York | To Another, | Concerning the Troubles which happen'd | in That Province in the Time of the late Happy | Revolution. | *Printed and Sold by William Bradford at the Sign of the* | *Bible in New-York*, 1698. | Sm. 4to. Title, 1 leaf; text. pp. 3–24.

NEW YORK. [*Royal Arms.*] | ACTS made the 5th Assembly, 5th Sessions. | Beginning the 25th of March, 1697. and ending the 22th day of April following, Anno Regis Gulielmi Tertij, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ & | Hiberniæ, Nono. | [*New York: W. Bradford.* 1697.] Folio, pp. (5).

NEW YORK. [*Royal Arms.*] | By His Excellency | Collonel Benjamin Fletcher Captain General and Governour in Chief of his | Majesties Province of New-York, &c. | A Proclamation | [dated May 31, 1697, prohibiting the exportation of breadstuffs.] *Printed by William Bradford, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majesty in* | *the City of New-York*, 1697. | Folio, 1 leaf.

NEW YORK. [*Royal Arms.*] By His Excellency | Collonel Benjamin Fletcher Captain General and Governour in Chief of his | Majesties Province of New-York, &c. | A Proclamation | [proroguing the Assembly until March 25, 1697–8, dated at Fort William Henry, October 21, 1697.] *Printed by William Bradford, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majesty in* | *the City of New-York*, 1697. | Folio, 1 leaf.

NEW YORK. [*Royal Arms.*] | By His Excellency | Collonel Benjamin Fletcher Captain General and Governour in Chief of his | Majesties Province

Numb. 48.

THE

New-York Gazette

From *September* 26. to Monday *October* 3. 1726.

A List of the Names of the present Representatives Elected and chosen by the several Cities and Counties in this Colony to serve in General Assembly.

For the City and County of New-York,
Adolph Philipse, Esq; Speaker.
Stephen De Lancey, Esq;
Capt. *Gerrit Van Horne*,
Capt. *Anthony Rutgers*,
For the City and County of Albany,
Coll. *Myndert Schuyler*, *Kyer Gerritse*, Esq;
Capt. *Jacob Glen*,
Capt. *Jeremiah Ranslaer*,
Mr. *Robert Livingston*, jun.
For the County of Ulster,
Coll. *Abraham Gaasbeck Chambers*,
Mr. *Albert Pawling*,
For Dutchess County,
Mr. *Henry Beekman*,
Mr. *Johannes van Kleck*
For the Burrough of *Westchester*,
Coll. *Lewis Morris*.
For the County of *Westchester*.
Coll. *William Willet*,
Major *Fredrick Philipse*.
For *Queens County*,
Coll. *Isaac Hicks*,
Capt. *Benjamin Hicks*.
For *Kings County*,
Coll. *Richard Stillwell*.
Capt. *Samuel Gerruse*,
For *Suffolk County*,
Capt. *Epenetus Plat*,
Mr. *Samuel Hutchinson*.
For *Richmond County*,
Mr. *Richard Merril*.
Mr. *John Le Count*.
For *Orange County*.
Capt. *Lancaster Syms*,
Capt. *Cornelius Harng*.

Which Representatives being convened in General Assembly, on the 27th of *September* his Excellency the Governour made the following Speech to them, *viz.*

Gentlemen;

THE Choice which the People of this Province have so lately made of you to Represent them, gives Me a fresh Opportunity of knowing their Sentiments and Inclinations. I have always endeavoured to promote their Interest to the utmost of my Ability, and it will add to my Pleasure to do it in the manner which they themselves desire.

When you enquire into the State of the present Revenue, I believe you will find it insufficient to answer the usual Expence for the Support of the Government. And considering the Flourishing and Encreasing Condition of the Colony, it would be to its Dishonour, as well as Disadvantage, to lessen the Encouragement that has been given to the necessary Officers of the Government. I depend on your Readiness to the best of Kings, who has shewn, during the whole course of His Reign, That *the constant Employment of His Thoughts, and the most earnest Wishes of His Heart, tend wholly to the Securing to His Subjects their just Rights and Advantages.* You need not fear that any of His Servants will dare to abuse the Confidence reposed in them, when they must expect, that their Neglect of Duty or Abuse of Trust, will draw upon them His just Displeasure.

You will find, that the Supply last provided for Finishing the new Apartments in the Fort, has been imployed with the utmost Frugality; and I hope, that by the same Management, the Repairs of the Roof of the Chappel and the Barracks, which are in a Condition entirely Ruinous, will require no very large Sum, tho' it is plain, that the Charge of doing it will encrease considerably, if it is delay'd any longer than the next Spring, which Obliges Me to Recommend it to your Care at present, that Provision may be made for so pressing and necessary a Work.

I must Remind you, that your Agent continues his Diligence in watching over the Interests of the Province, tho' he has remain'd a long time without any Allowance; so generous a Conduct, on his part, will not fail of engaging you to take care that his past Services may not go unrewarded, and that so useful a Person may be fixed in your Service, and a settled Provision made for his Encouragement.

I shall lay before you my late Conferences with the *Six Nations*, in which I flatter my self, that I have contributed not a little to fix them in their Duty to His Majesty, their Affection to this Government, and their just Apprehensions of the ill Designs of the People of *Canada*, in Fortifying so near to them at *Jagara*. I have sent a fit Person to reside among the *Sennecka's* this Winter, who is not permitted to Trade, and will thereby have the more weight and credit with them.

of New-York, &c. | A Proclamation | [dated November 4, 1697, against deserters.] *Printed by William Bradford, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majesty in* | *the City of New-York*, 1697. | Folio, 1 leaf.

NEW YORK. Votes and Proceedings of the Assembly. *New York: William Bradford.* 1697.

[PASTORIUS. (FRANCIS DANIEL)] Henry Bernhard Koster, William Davis, Thomas Rutter & Thomas Bowyer, | Four | Boasting Disputers | Of this World briefly | Rebuked, | And Answered according to their Folly, | which they themselves have manifested in a late Pamphlet, entituled, Advise for all Pro- | fessors and Writers. | [Colophon:] *Printed and Sold by William Bradford at the Bible in New York*, 1697. | 16mo. pp. 1–15, (1).

1698

[BRADFORD. (WILLIAM)] The Secretary's Guide, or Young Man's Companion. In Four Parts. Containing I. Directions for Spelling, Reading and Writing True English, with right Pronunciation. II. Arithmetick made easie. III. The Method of Writing Letters upon most Subjects. IV. A choice Collection of Bills, Bonds, Letters of Attorney, Indentures, Leases &c. &c. *New York: William Bradford, about* 1698.

The above title is condensed from that of the fourth edition, which was printed by Bradford in 1729. The preface to that edition—signed W. B.—begins "It is now above thirty years since I first compiled this short Manuel, during which time several Impressions have been sold off."

NEW YORK. [*Royal Arms.*] | By His Excellency | Collonel Benjamin Fletcher Captain General and Governour in Chief of His | Majesties Province of New-York, &c. | A Proclamation | [appointing Thanksgiving days for the Peace with France, dated at New York, Feb. 26, 169⅞.] *Printed by William Bradford, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majesty in* | *the City of New-York*, 1697. [1698.] | Folio, 1 leaf.

NEW YORK. [*Royal Arms.*] | By His Excellency | Benjamin Fletcher Captain General and Governour in Chief of His | Majesties Province of New-York, &c. | A Proclamation | [giving notice to Privateers and others of the Peace, dated at New York, Feb. 26, 169⅞.] *Printed by William Bradford, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majesty in* | *the City of New-York*, 1697. [1698.] | Folio, 1 leaf.

NEW YORK. [*Royal Arms.*] | By His Excellency | Richard Earl of Bellomont Captain General and Governour in Chief of | His Majesties Province of New-York, &c. | A Proclamation | [in regard to the "Freedom of Elections," dated at New York, April 7, 1698.] *Printed by William Bradford, Printer to the Kings Most Excellent Majesty in* | *the City of New-York*, 1698. | Folio, 1 leaf.

COOTE. (RICHARD ——, EARL OF BELLOMONT) An | Account | Of the Proceedings of | His Excellency, | the | Earl of Bellomont | Captain General

and Governour of New-York, &c. | and the Honourable, the Council, at an Extra- | ordinary Council held in Fort VVilliam Henry, | New-York the 8th day of May, 1698. | Published by his Excellency's Command. | [*Royal Arms.*] | *Printed and Sold by William Bradford, Printer to the King's most Excellent* | *Majesty, in the City of New-York*, 1698. | Folio, Title, 1 leaf; pp. 3–6.

NEW YORK. [*Royal Arms.*] | By His Excellency | Richard Earl of Bellomont, Captain General and Governour in Chief of His | Majesties Province of New-York, and Territories depending thereon in | America, and Vice-Admiral of the same, &c. | A Proclamation | [against pirates dated at Fort William Henry, May 9, 1698.] *Printed and Sold by William Bradford, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majesty, in the City of* | *New-York*, 1698. | Folio, 1 leaf.

[COOTE.] His Excellency, | the | Earl of Bellomont | his | Speech | To the Representatives of his Majesties Province of | New-York, the 19th of May, 1698. | [Colophon:] *Printed and Sold by William Bradford, Printer to the King's most Excellent* | *Majesty, in the City of New-York*, 1698. | Folio, pp. 1–3.

NEW YORK. By His Excellency | Richard Earl of Bellomont, Captain General and Governour in Chief of His Majesties | Province of New York, and Territories depending thereon in America, and Vice | Admiral of the same, &c. | A Proclamation | [against those attempting to make Perth Amboy a port of entry, dated at Fort William Henry May 24, 1698.] *Printed and Sold by William Bradford, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majesty in the City of New-York*, | *Anno Domini*, 1698. | Folio, 1 leaf.

NEW YORK. [*Royal Arms.*] | By His Excellency | Richard Earl of Bellomont, Captain General and Governour in Chief of His Majesties Province | of New-York, and Territories depending thereon in America, and Vice Admiral of the same, | &c. | A Proclamation | [ordering the oaths established by Act of Parliament to be taken by all the male inhabitants of more than 16 years of age.] *Printed by William Bradford, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majesty in the City of New-York*, 1698. | Folio, 1 leaf.

NEW YORK CITY. Certificate of Naturalization. *New York: William Bradford.* 1698.

P[ASTORIUS.] (F[RANCIS] D[ANIEL]) A | New Primmer | or | Methodical Directions | To attain the | True Spelling, | Reading & Writing of | English. | Whereto are added, some things Necessary | & Useful both for the Young of this Province, | and likewise for those, who from foreign Countries and Nations come to settle | amongst us. | By F. D. P. | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | *Printed by William Bradford in New-York, and* | *Sold by the Author in Pennsilvania.* [1698.] | 16mo. pp. 88.

PROPOSITIONS made by the Five Nations of | Indians, viz., The Mohaques, Oneydes, Onnondages, | Cayouges & Sinnekes, to his Excellency Richard Earl

| of Bellomont, Capt. General and Governour in chief [of] his Majesties Province of New-York, &c. in Albany, | the 20th of July, Anno Dom. 1698. | [Colophon:] *Printed and Sold by William Bradford, Printer to the Kings most Excellent* | *Majesty in the City of New-York*, 1698. | Folio, pp. 1–22.

[TATHAM, John — Thomas REVELL and Nathaniel WESTLAND.] The Case Put & Decided | By | George Fox, George Whitehead, Stephen Crisp, | and other the most Antient & Eminent Quakers, | Between | Edward Billing on the one part, | And some West-Jersians, headed by | Samuell Jenings | On the other Part, | In an Award relating to the Government of | their Province, wherein, because not moulded to the Pallate of | the said Samuell, the Light, the Truth, the Justice and Infallability | of these great Friends are arreigned by him and his Accomplices. | Also | Several Remarks and Annimadversions on the same Award, | setting forth the Premises. With some Reflections on the Sens- | less Opposition of these Men against the present Governour, and | their daring Audatiousness in their presumptuous asserting an | Authority here over the Parliament of England. | Published for the Information of the Impartial and Considerate, particu- | larly such as Worship God, and profess Christianity, not in | Faction and Hypocrasie, but in Truth and Sincerity. | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . . [*New York: William Bradford.* 1698.] Sm. 4to. pp. 1–16.

1699.

COOTE. (Richard ——, Earl of Bellomont.) His Excellency, | the | Earl of Bellomont | his | Speech | To the Representatives of his Majesties Province of | New-York, the 21th of March, 1699. | [Colophon]: *Printed and Sold by William Bradford, Printer to the King's most Excellent* | *Majesty in the City of New-York*, 1699. | Folio, pp. 1–3.

LEEDS. (D.) An | Almanack | For the Year of Christian Account | 1699. | Being the Third after Bessextile or | Leap-Year. | And from the Creation of the World 5666. | But by Dove's Computation, 5703. | Containing Matters Useful and Necessary. | Chiefly accomodated to the Latitude | of 40 Degrees North, and Longitude of | about 73 degr. west from London. But | may, without sensible Error serve all the | adjacent Places, from Newfound-Land | to the Capes of Virginia- | By Daniel Leeds, Philomat. | . . . | . . . | . . . . | *Printed and Sold by William Bradford at the* | *Bible in New-York*, 1699. | Sm. 8vo. pp. (24).

LEEDS. A | Trumpet Sounded | Out of the Wilderness of | America; | Which may serve as a Warning to the | Government and People of England | to Beware of Quakerisme. | Wherein is shewed the Great contradictions of the | Quakers, both in their former and later | Writings. Also how they deny Jesus of Nazareth to | be the Christ. And in Pensilvania and | thereaway, where they have the Government in | their own Hands, they hire and encourage Men to fight; | and how they Persecute, Fine, Imprison, and take away | Goods for Conscience sake. Notwithstanding they formerly exclaimed

against the Government of | England, &c. for the same things. Setting forth | likewise their base Temporizing with whatsoever is upermost, &c. | By Daniel Leeds. | . . . | . . . . | *Printed by William Bradford at the Bible in New-* | *York; and are to be Sold by B. Aylmer at the Three Pidgeons in Cornhill, and C. Brome at the Gun* | *at the West-end of St. Paul's London.* 1699. | Sm. 8vo.

Collation: 1 Preliminary leaf; Title, 1 leaf; "Friendly Reader," 1 p.; Preface, pp. (9); Contents, pp. (2); Introduction, pp. 1–4; text, pp. 4–151.

NEW YORK. [*Royal Arms.*] | ACTS made the 7th Assembly & 7th Sessions. | Beginning the second Day of March, 1698. and ending the 16th day of May, | 1699. Anno Regni Regis Gulielmi Tertij, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, & | Hiberniæ, Undecim. | [Colophon:] *Printed and Sold by William Bradford, Printer to the King's most Excellent* | *Majesty, in the City of New-York*, 1699. | Folio, pp. 119–150.

The acts of the first, misprinted the seventh, session of the Seventh Assembly.

NEW YORK. [*Royal Arms.*] | AN ORDINANCE | of | His Excellency and Council | For the Establishing | Courts of Judicature | For the Ease and Benefit of each respective City, Town | and County within this Province of | New-York. | [*New York: William Bradford.* 1699.] Folio, pp. 1–4.

NEW YORK. [*Royal Arms.*] | By His Excellency | Richard Earl of Bellomont, Captain General and Governour in Chief of His Majesties Province | of New-York, and Territories depending thereon in America, and Vice-Admiral of the same, | &c. | A Proclamation. | [Against the Scotch settlement at Darien, dated at Fort William Henry in New York the 15th Day of May, 1699] *Printed by W. Bradford, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majesty, in New-York*, 1699. | Folio, 1 leaf.

NEW YORK CITY. Notice of the Ferry Lease. *New York: William Bradford.* 1699.

NEW YORK CITY. Regulations of the Market. *New York: William Bradford.* 1699.

1700.

HUE and Cry against Errors. *New York: William Bradford.* 1700.

Mentioned in Leeds' Cage of Unclean Birds, printed in 1701.

LEEDS. (D.) An Almanack for the Year of Christian Account 1700. By Daniel Leeds. *New York: William Bradford.* 1700.

NEW YORK. [Acts passed in] the 2d Sessions of the seventh Assembly. | Beginning the 29th Day of July, 1700. and ending the 9th of August, Anno | Regni Regis & Reginæ Gulielmi Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ, | Duodecim. | [*New York: William Bradford.* 1700.] Folio, pp. 151–155.

NEW YORK. [*Royal Arms.*] | ACTS Passed the 7th Assembly and 3d Sessions, | Beginning the first Day of October, 1700. and ending the second Day

of | November, Anno Regni Regis Gulielmi, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ & | Hiberniæ, Duodecim. | [*New York: William Bradford.* 1700.] Folio, pp. [155]–196 for 164.

Sheets A, B, and an unmarked half-sheet. The first page of A, which should be 157, is unnumbered; it is followed by pp. 156, 157, and 190. B is numbered 191–194, and the half-sheet 195–196.

NEW YORK CITY. An Ordinance for laying a duty on flour imported into the city. *New York: William Bradford.* 1700.

[SOUTHWICK? (Rev. Solomon)] Gospel Order | Revived, | Being an Answer to a Book lately set | forth by the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather, President | of Harvard Colledge, &c. | Entituled, | The Order of the Gospel, &c. | Dedicated to the Churches of Christ in New-England. | By sundry Ministers of the Gospel in New-England. | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . . | [*New York:*] *Printed* [*by William Bradford*] *in the Year* 1700. | Sm. 4to.

Collation: Advertisement, 1 leaf; Title, 1 leaf; Epistle Dedicatory, pp. (8); text, pp. 1–40; Errata, 1 leaf. There are two varieties of the leaf containing the Advertisement, as noticed in the preceding chapter.

TABLE OF DATES IN NEW-YORK HISTORY.

1492 Columbus discovers America.
1497 The Cabots sight the North American coast at Labrador.
1498 Columbus discovers the continent of South America.
1524 Verrazano explores New-York and Narragansett Bays.
1525 Gomez gives the name of San Antonio to the Hudson River.
1609 Henry Hudson sails into New-York Bay and explores the Hudson River to the head of navigation.
1610 Trading voyages from Holland to the Hudson River begun.
1613 Trading camp established on Manhattan Island.
1614 The New Netherland Charter granted.
1618 Treaty with the Iroquois at Tawassgunshee.
1623 The West India Company send the first emigrants (Walloons) to New Netherland.
1626 Peter Minuit is appointed Director-General and purchases Manhattan Island from the Indians.
1628 The first clergyman, Rev. Jonas Michaelius, arrives, and a church is organized.
1629 The Patroonships created.
1633 Director-General Walter Van Twiller arrives.
1635 Fort Amsterdam completed.
1638 Director-General William Kieft's term commences.
1640 Wars with the Indians begin.
1642 The Church in the fort built; also the City Tavern, afterwards the "Stadt Huys" or City Hall.
1644 After several decisive battles final peace with the Indian tribes surrounding Manhattan Island is made.
1647 Director-General Peter Stuyvesant arrives at Manhattan Island.
1653 New Amsterdam incorporated as a city.
1656 Massacre of citizens by Indians in Stuyvesant's absence.
1658 Some of the streets are paved, and police and fire departments are inaugurated.
1664 Charles II., grants New Netherland to James, Duke of York, and an English Squadron takes New Amsterdam.
1665 Municipal Government in New-York changed to the English form. Trials by jury established.

1667 Treaty of Breda confirms New-York in possession of the English. The Dutch take Surinam in exchange.
1668 Francis Lovelace succeeds Richard Nicolls as Governor.
1672 Postal service between New-York and Boston instituted.
1673 New-York recaptured by the Dutch.
1674 Retrocession of New-York to the English by the treaty of Westminster, and Sir Edmund Andros Governor.
1678 Bolting privilege granted to New-York City.
1679 The great East River dock built.
1680 Trial of Philip Carteret, Governor of East Jersey.
1682 Thomas Dongan becomes Governor of New-York.
1683–October. The first General Assembly of the Province meets, and Courts of Justice established.
1683–November. The city is divided into six wards.
1686 New-York City Charter granted by Governor Dongan.
1688 New-York and New England made one Province, and Sir Edmund Andros appointed Governor-General.
1689–February. William and Mary proclaimed King and Queen.
1689–June. Jacob Leisler made Captain of the Fort and Commander of the Province by the Committee of Safety.
1689–December. Leisler assumes the Lieutenant-Governorship, on ground of the King's letter.
1690 Massacre at Schenectady, and a Colonial Congress called to consider an attack on Canada.
1691 Governor Sloughter arrives, and Leisler and Milborne executed.
1692 Governor Benjamin Fletcher arrives.
1693 Expedition against the French enemy repulsed at Schenectady; Bradford appointed Government printer in New-York.
1696 Captain William Kidd sent out against pirates.
1697 Governor Fletcher superseded by the Earl of Bellomont.
1698 Trinity Church completed and Rev. William Vesey inducted rector. First services held on March 13th.
1699 The erection of the City Hall in Wall street begun. The Stadt Huys sold at auction for about $4500.
1700 Population at close of century between five and six thousand.

END OF VOLUME I.

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